

# SCOTLAND



R.L.MACKIE







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**SCOTLAND**

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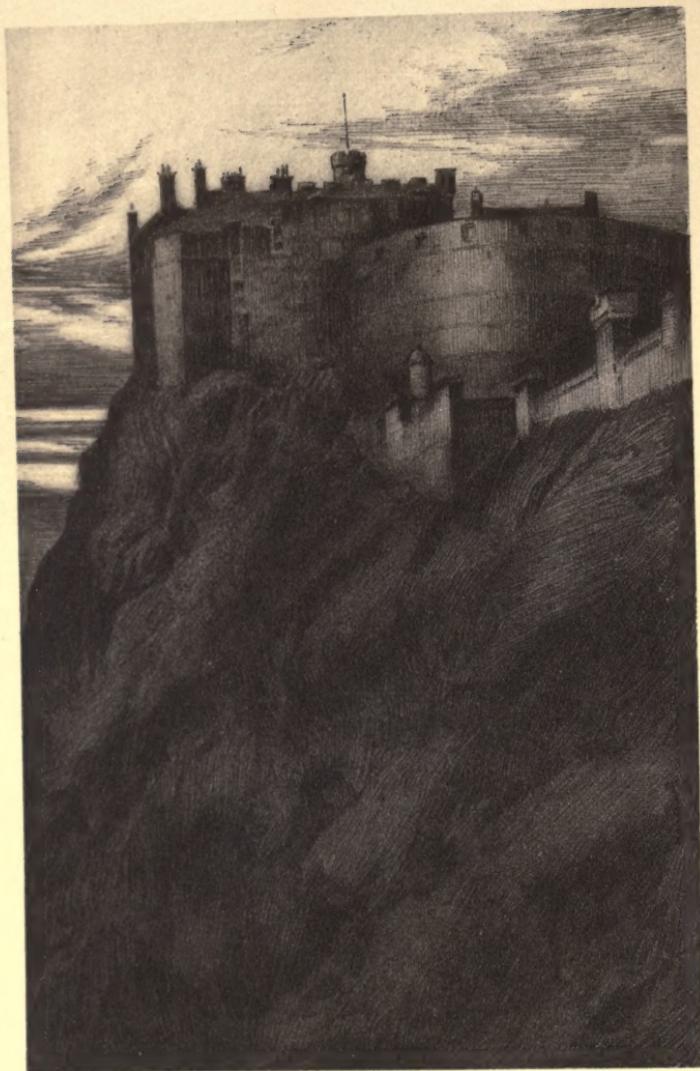
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**SCOTLAND**

AN ACCOUNT OF HER TRIUMPHS AND DEFEATS  
HER MANNERS INSTITUTIONS AND ACHIEVE-  
MENTS IN ART AND LITERATURE FROM  
EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF SCOTT

BY  
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TO MY WIFE

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## PREFACE

THE aim of the writer of this volume has been to provide a short, well-balanced, and well-proportioned introduction to the history of Scotland. An attempt has been made to be impartial without being dull, to deal as faithfully with Queen Mary as with John Knox, to mete out equal justice to Highlander and Lowlander, Catholic and Reformer, Jacobite and Hanoverian. For it cannot be denied that many of the great Scottish historians from their very enthusiasm for certain national heroes give a one-sided and badly proportioned narrative. The Celtic scholar will have it that Scottish civilization is essentially Celtic, and that the tale of the struggles between the Stewarts and the Douglases should not be dignified with the title of a history of Scotland. The historian who was born in the Lowlands, again, though he is probably a Celt by race, sings—or sang—of the virtues of Teutonic institutions. Similarly the historian who began his literary career as a fashioner of ballades and sonnets over-emphasizes the purely romantic element in Scottish history. He regards Queen Mary as another Helen of Troy, to whose beauty Knox and the rest act only as foils; he has much to say of the 'Fifteen' and the 'Forty-five,' and little or nothing to say of the Industrial Revolution. Nor will you find in that scholar who is steeped in the literature of the Reformation period, whose attitude to Knox is "on this side idolatry," the slightest token of apprehension that the Catholic cause might be better than its defenders.

It ill becomes the present writer to deride those whose little finger is thicker than his loins; still he must state the *raison d'être* for the present book. He has given praise not

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

only to Knox and Melvill, but to the great mediaeval ecclesiastics like Bishop Kennedy. Though he dare not say that the policy of Charles I was just, he does homage to the glorious memory of Montrose; though his sympathies are with the Presbyterians, he cannot grow eloquent over the Covenanters or refrain from praising the saintly Bishop Leighton. Similarly the reader will find that the history of Scotland in the eighteenth century is more than a record of the three Jacobite rebellions, that the 'Forty-five' was only one stage in a great social upheaval in the Highlands, and that the results of the 'Forty-five' may be reckoned as trivial beside the results of the Industrial Revolution.

The author does not mean to mention all the authorities which he has consulted; but he must mention one or two living authors to whom he is specially indebted. Dr Hume Brown's books, especially his *Early Travellers in Scotland*, were of great service. Then, on the subject of Roman Scotland Dr George Macdonald's *The Roman Wall in Scotland* and Mr James Curle's *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* were absolutely indispensable. For the dark period between the Roman occupation and the War of Independence a sure guide was found in Mr Alan O. Anderson's *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers*. In the description of the battle of Bannockburn the contentions brought forward by Mr W. M. Mackenzie in the preface to his edition of Barbour's *Brus* and in his *Battle of Bannockburn* have been adopted. For the period between the Reformation and the end of the eighteenth century special reference must be made to Dr W. L. Mathieson's three great books *Politics and Religion, Scotland and the Union*, and *The Awakening of Scotland*. For the description of the state of Scotland in the eighteenth century contributions have been levied on *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, by H. Grey Graham—now no longer a living author. Knotty questions of chronology have been resolved by a reference to Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, a book which should be the constant companion of every historian of Scotland. MacGibbon and Ross's monumental works, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture*

## P R E F A C E

*of Scotland* and *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, were also frequently consulted.

The reader may find a map giving the physical features and the names of most of the Scottish villages of some service in tracing, say, the course of a campaign. Such maps, giving the essential details, but not overcrowded, can be found in Messrs Ward, Lock and Co.'s shilling *Atlas of the British Isles*.

In conclusion, the author desires to acknowledge the valuable help of Mr Francis C. Inglis, of Edinburgh, in the work of selecting the illustrations, and of Mr Charles C. Wood, who prepared the index and expended much time and care in the correction of the proofs.

ROBERT LAIRD MACKIE



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	The excavation of the half-forgotten fort at Newstead was begun in 1905 by Mr J. Curle and completed in 1910. The tilting-helmet, like the numerous other finds which were made in these years, is now in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities. Our reproduction is by permission of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.	
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more usually called *terra sigillata*, or sealed clay. Like the bronze jug, it belonged to the table appointments of the officers' mess at Newstead. The mark of the potter Cinnamus, stamped backward, thus *IMANNIC*, can be seen on the panel to the left of the medallion of Venus. The bowl came from the great workshops of Lezoux in Auvergne, and is a specimen of second-century workmanship.

From the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities.  
*Photographs by F. C. Inglis.*

## 4. BOUNDARY SLAB FROM EASTERN END OF THE ANTONINE WALL

6

The construction of the wall was allotted to detachments from three legions, each detachment being responsible for a length of about 7000 yards. When the distance was completed, it was marked at each end by a boundary slab. The first of these slabs is shown in the photograph; as it marked the limits of the first section of the wall, it is much larger and much more elaborate than the ordinary boundary slab. The translation of the inscription in the central panel is as follows: "To the honour of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the Father of his Country, the Second Legion, 'Augustus's Own,' completed four thousand six hundred and fifty-two paces." The left-hand panel shows a Roman horseman galloping over the bodies of four naked Caledonians, armed with oblong shield, sword, and spear. The right-hand panel shows the sequel to the struggle, the sacrifice of the Suovetaurilia, performed by soldiers of the Second Legion.

The slab, which is nine feet long, was found lying on its face, like most of the other boundary slabs. It seems that it was overthrown by the Roman troops themselves when the wall was abandoned, that it might escape the notice of the barbarians. It was discovered in 1866, and is now in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 5. ROMAN FORT AT CASTLECARY

12

The photograph shows the inner face of the southern wall of the *principia*, or commander's headquarters. The existing fort at Castlecary is one of the nineteen stations that were erected along the line of the Antonine Wall, but the site was probably occupied originally by one of the forts constructed by Agricola. As it was almost equidistant from the estuaries of the Forth and Clyde it was regarded as the strategic centre of the wall, and was surrounded by massive ramparts of concrete and garrisoned by a cohort a thousand strong. It shows traces of extensive alterations, and had evidently been lost and reoccupied more than once. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

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## 6. IONA CATHEDRAL: BENEDICTINE MONASTERY AND CHAPEL OF ST ORAN

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The original abbey of Iona was situated some distance to the north of the present cathedral. It was wrecked by the Norsemen and rebuilt several times. The most ancient structure shown in the photograph is the roofless little chapel of St Oran, said to have been built at the command of Queen Margaret. Its rectangular shape, narrow, splayed window-openings, its gables and the absence of a chancel are typical of pre-Norman churches in Scotland, but the west doorway shows the round-headed arch decorated with characteristic Norman ornamentation. In 1203 Reginald, the son of Sumerled, founded here a great Benedictine monastery, which he dedicated to St Columba. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Iona was detached from the bishopric of Dunkeld and added to the diocese of the Isles, whereupon the monastery church became the cathedral of the diocese. It was allowed to fall into ruin in the seventeenth century. The photograph shows it as it appeared at the end of the nineteenth century. Since then it has been carefully restored. Of the original thirteenth-century church very little remains; the greater part of the existing structure is no older than the end of the fifteenth century, much of its apparently archaic ornamentation being a late imitation of old Celtic work. To the left of the nave may be seen the ruins of the refectory and St Martin's Cross, the finest example of the free-standing Celtic crosses. Countless kings and chiefs are buried in the precincts of the cathedral and St Oran's Chapel. *Photograph by Hardie.*

## 7. A PAGE FROM THE "BOOK OF DEER"

50

The *Book of Deer*, containing the Gospel of St John and fragments of the other Gospels, part of an office for the Visitation of the Sick, and the Apostles' Creed, was written by a Celtic scribe, probably about the ninth century. The scribe had evidently little knowledge of Latin; words are frequently misspelt or run together. The decorations are rude, and the illumination usually consists of a few daubs of red paint; but the interlacing and fret patterns and the fantastic animal figures recall the designs on the Nigg Cross (see Plate 10) or the Hunterston Brooch (see Plate 9). The illustration shows the first page of St John's Gospel. The writing is in the debased Roman minuscule used by both Anglo-Saxon and Irish scribes.

The *Book of Deer* also contains the legend of the foundation of the monastery and the record of various grants to the Abbey of Deer. These were written in Gaelic on the margins and fly-leaves at different times in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They are probably the earliest specimens of the Scottish Gaelic language in existence.

The *Book of Deer* has been in the possession of the

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University of Cambridge since 1715. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis* from the facsimile edition issued by the Spalding Club in 1869.

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## 8. THE QUIGRICH, OR CROSIER, OF ST FILIAN

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The actual crosier of St Fillan—a crook of copper ornamented with strips of niello-work—is enclosed in the silver case shown in the photograph. This outer case consists of small plates of silver ornamented with filigree work of silver wire, arranged in those intricate designs in which the Celtic craftsman delighted. The socket, the front part of the crosier, the curving crest, and the triangular plaques are of comparatively late workmanship. The other parts of the case are much superior in design and finish and of much earlier date; they were at first fixed to the original crosier head, but removed later and patched up with newer work to make a case for the crosier. For the romantic history of the crosier see Joseph Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, First Series, Lecture VI. It was originally the most cherished possession of the Abbots of Glendochart, but as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century it passed into the hands of lay 'Doire,' or hereditary keepers. It was long held to possess miraculous powers. In 1782 it was seen by an Oxford student in the possession of one Malise Doire, or Dewar, but was again lost sight of. It had gone to Canada with its owner, but it was traced, and in 1876 Alexander Dewar gave it to the Scottish Museum of Antiquities, where it still remains. Our reproduction is by permission of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

## 9. THE HUNTERSTON BROOCH

54

This brooch was discovered in 1826 by a shepherd on the hill-side of Hunterston, in Ayrshire. It is a flattened ring of silver, half an inch broad at its narrowest part and two inches broad at its widest part. The panels and borders are filled with the most delicate gold filigree-work, usually in the form of little twining serpents, to which the photograph hardly does justice. The front is decorated still further by the insertion of settings of amber. On the back two inscriptions have been scratched in runic characters. One of them reads, "Maelbritha owns this brooch"; the other is, "Olfrithi owns this brooch." But though the characters are Scandinavian one of the owners had a Celtic name and the design of the brooch is clearly akin to the interlacing patterns on the Nigg Cross and the Crosier of St Fillan.

The brooch is now in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities, and our reproduction is by permission of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

## 10. THE NIGG CROSS

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This cross had always stood in the churchyard of Nigg, on the Cromarty Firth. It is carved on a slab of grey sandstone

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7 feet 5 inches high. At the end of the eighteenth century it was broken across, and though it has since been carefully repaired it is evident that the lower half of the upper panels and part of the upper arm of the cross have been lost. A glance at this photograph will show that what is said in the text (pp. 54-55) of the delicacy and elaboration of Celtic workmanship is no exaggeration. The background of each of the two middle panels, for example, is filled by twenty twining serpents. Examples of figure sculpture will also be noticed. In the triangular pediment at the top of the slab are two ecclesiastics with books in their hands, bowing low as if in adoration; two beasts crouch at their feet. Between them is a chalice, over which a bird holds a small circular or heart-shaped object. On the back of the slab the figure of a bird can be discerned at the top of the slab; below that is a man armed with shield, sword, and spear following two beasts. Below these again is a much-obliterated David slaying a lion. The sculptor adds a sheep and a harp to show that David was a shepherd and a musician. At the foot of the panel can be seen the famous symbol of the pursuit of the human soul by Divine love. A deer is pursued by a man on horseback and a dog, while a spectator beats a pair of cymbals.

*Photograph by F. C. Inglis of the cast in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities.*

II. (a) ST MARGARET'S CHAPEL FROM THE SOUTH-WEST;

(b) THE CHANCEL AND CHANCEL ARCH

60

This is the little oratory said to have been built by Queen Margaret of Scotland within the precincts of Edinburgh Castle. Built as it was some time about the end of the eleventh century, it is reputed to be the earliest specimen of Norman architecture in Scotland. It was restored in 1853, when the modern doorway in the western gable was built up. From collotypes by Louis Weirter, R.B.A.

12. (a) THE NAVE, DUNFERMLINE ABBEY. (b) DALMENY

CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH

78

Dunfermline Abbey was founded by Queen Margaret of Scotland soon after her marriage, but the nave, the only part of the church that remains—with the exception of the foundations of the Lady Chapel—was not built till the beginning of the reign of David I. It is therefore almost as old as the nave of Durham Cathedral, with which it at once suggests comparison. In the early years of the thirteenth century the original choir built by Queen Margaret was replaced by a statelier building, but choir and transepts were wrecked at the Reformation, and what fanaticism spared the vandalism of a nineteenth-century architect finally destroyed. The church erected on the site of the old choir is worse than plain; it is pompous.

From the time of Malcolm Canmore to the time of Robert

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the Bruce most of the Kings of Scotland were buried in the choir of the church, and the tomb of Queen Margaret can be seen within the ruins of the Lady Chapel. *Photograph by Hardie.*

Dalmeny Church, built about the middle of the twelfth century, is the most complete of the Norman parish churches in Scotland. It consists of a chancel with a semicircular apse and a nave, separated from the chancel by a richly carved chancel arch. The characteristic Norman windows and the arcading over the doorway will be observed. The doorway is specially interesting; the carving has been preserved almost intact, and among the figures are some which resemble the grotesque animals which appear on the much more ancient Celtic crosses. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 13. THE NAVE AND CHOIR OF ARBROATH ABBEY

94

The abbey was founded by William the Lion about 1178 and dedicated to St Mary and St Thomas of Canterbury. In 1214 William was buried in the east end of the church, which had then been completed, and by 1233 the whole building had been finished. As it was completed in about half a century, and underwent very little subsequent alteration, it shows much more homogeneity of style than is usual in Scottish cathedrals or abbey churches. Throughout it shows all the characteristics of the early Pointed or early English style, though here and there are traces of Norman influence. On the right of the picture is the south wall of the nave; above it tower the imposing remains of the south transept; to the left of that is the sacristy, and beside it the ruins of the choir. The abbey did not suffer much at the Reformation, but was subsequently used as a quarry. The two western towers and the great western doorway have also been preserved. *Photograph by Valentine.*

## 14. A CHARTER OF DAVID I GIVEN TO THE ABBEY OF MELROSE

118

This is not the original foundation charter of Melrose Abbey, but it is practically a duplicate of the first charter and must have been written at latest only a year or two after the foundation of the abbey. It begins with the greeting of "David by the grace of God King of Scots" to his "bishops, abbots, earls, barons, and true men and all his lieges in the whole of his realm, French, English, Scots, and Galwegian." He grants to the monks of the abbey, as a perpetual gift, all the lands of Melrose, Eildon, and Darnick, wood and open country, meadows and waters, pastures and moors, paths and cornland, and also grants them the right of passing through the royal forests of Selkirk and Traquair and allows them to pasture their cattle there, snare birds, and take firewood or timber. In addition he gives them the privilege of fishing in the Tweed and presents them with the lands and woods of

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Gattonside. The charter is witnessed by Prince Henry and his son Prince William, the Bishop of St Andrews, the Chancellor and other royal officials, several nobles, and the landowners from the neighbouring districts. The date of the charter is fixed by the mention of "last Ascension ; the day, that is, when Stephen the King of England was captured."

*Photograph by F. C. Inglis* from the original charter in the Scottish Record Office, by official permission.

## 15. ST ANDREWS CATHEDRAL AND CHAPEL OF ST REGULUS

120

The east end of the cathedral, though part of the original structure, has been much altered ; it was originally pierced with nine narrow round-headed windows, arranged in three tiers ; but about 1400 the two upper tiers were replaced by one great window. In the foreground can be seen the bases of the great piers which supported the roof of the choir. To the left is part of the Priory wall and one of its flanking towers. The chapel of St Regulus, or St Rule, on the right, is unique among British churches. It is Norman, but Norman with a difference ; the slender and lofty tower suggests comparison with the Celtic round towers rather than with the massive Norman belfry. It was built, in fact, early in the twelfth century, by builders with whom the influence of the Celtic tradition was still potent. The existing chapel was probably only the chancel of a much larger edifice ; the chancel was probably terminated by an apse, while an examination of the west front of the tower makes it apparent that a nave had existed at one time, though it had probably disappeared long before the Reformation. Before the erection of the present cathedral this chapel was the cathedral of St Andrews. *Photograph by Hardie.*

## 16. GLASGOW CATHEDRAL : (a) CHOIR AND NAVE, LOOKING WEST ; (b) BLACKADDER'S CRYPT

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The first Bishop of Glasgow was St Kentigern, or St Mungo, the patron saint of both city and cathedral. Nothing is recorded of the first bishopric of Glasgow. In 1115 the diocese was restored by David I, then Prince of Cumbria, and the next few years saw the erection of a wooden cathedral. This was burned down, and at the end of the twelfth century Bishop Josceline replaced it by a new church of stone, parts of which are embodied in the present building. The greater part of the crypt and choir was built between 1233 and 1258, the nave was constructed about the beginning of the fourteenth century, the spire about the middle of the fourteenth century, and Blackadder's Crypt by Bishop William Blackadder at the end of that century. The building suffered little at the Reformation ; the two western towers which appear in Slezer's engraving (see Plate 46) were

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destroyed about the middle of the last century. The Bishop's Palace, also shown in Slezer's engraving, has now utterly disappeared. The very short transepts suggest a comparison with the typical French cathedral. Since the photograph of the interior was taken the plaster has been stripped from the roof of the nave and the noble timber roof displayed. Glasgow is easily the finest of Scottish cathedrals, while its elaborate and beautiful crypt has no equal in Western Europe. *Photographs by (a) Valentine ; (b) Hardie.*

## 17. SEAL AND COUNTER-SEAL OF JOHN BALLIOL

138

The seal shows the King mounted on horseback. He is clad in chain-mail covered with a surcoat ; his helmet is cylindrical with a flat top, and is pierced in front with three rows of vertical slits and one horizontal slit. The counter-seal shows the King sitting on a richly decorated throne. The left-hand shield bears the arms of the house of Balliol. Inscription : JOHANNES DEI GRACIA REX SCOTTORUM.

These early seals were seldom fixed on the document itself, but were usually appended to it by a strip of parchment or a silk cord, which was passed through a slit in the parchment. The wax was pressed round the end of the silk or strip of parchment. The seal was impressed on one side of the piece of wax, and the counter-seal on the other.

From the Laing Collection of Seals in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, by official permission. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 18. ABBEY CRAIG AND RIVER FORTH, NEAR STIRLING

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Before the battle of Stirling Bridge Wallace posted his men on the slopes of the Abbey Craig, the wooded hill shown in the photograph. The exact position of the bridge is still disputed ; it may have stood where the old stone bridge of Stirling stands to-day, or it may have spanned a shallow reach of the Forth nearer the Abbey Craig. The Craig is crowned by the Wallace Monument—a Gothic tower surmounted by an open crown, erected in 1869. *Photograph by Valentine.*

## 19. SEALS AND COUNTER-SEALS OF (a) KING ROBERT THE BRUCE ; (b) DAVID II

182

- (a) The King's helmet is round, and instead of being all in one piece it has a movable visor. His surcoat is embroidered with the arms of Scotland. Inscription : ROBERTUS DEO RECTORE REX SCOTTORUM
- (b) On comparing this seal with the seals of John Balliol and Robert I important changes of costume will be noticed. The surcoat has been replaced by the cyclas open at the sides ; the hauberk is now formed of banded ring-mail,

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and plates of metal protect the shoulders and knees.  
Inscription : DAVID DEI GRACIA REX SCOTORUM.

From the Laing Collection of Seals in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, by official permission. *Photographs by F. C. Inglis.*

## 20. DUMBARTON CASTLE FROM THE NORTH-WEST

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The castle is situated on a rock of basalt, 240 feet high. From the earliest times it has been a fortress ; in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries it was of the greatest importance, for it guarded the alternative route by sea to France, and when the North Sea was commanded by the English fleet its retention by the Scots was absolutely essential if communication with France was to be maintained. The existing buildings are of no great antiquity or architectural merit. Dumbarton is one of the four national fortresses in which by the terms of the Treaty of Union a garrison must be maintained. *Photograph by Hardie.*

## 21. SEALS AND COUNTER-SEALS OF (a) ROBERT II ; (b) ROBERT III

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(a) In the seal it will be noticed that the King's armour is now of plate, mixed with banded ring-mail. His round helmet is surmounted by a lion ; over his armour he wears a close-fitting jupon, embroidered with the arms of Scotland. For the first time a foreground has been introduced. The design of the counter-seal is unusually elaborate ; notice the two men peering over the battlements to right and left of the canopy. *Inscription : ROBERTUS DEI GRACIA REX SCOTORUM.*

(b) This seal, which is smaller than usual, is the second great seal of Robert III, and probably came into use in the later part of his reign. It will be noticed that on the seal the King is represented as clad wholly in plate, while on the counter-seal he is shown with a long beard. *Inscription : SIGILLUM ROBERTI DEI GRACIA REGIS SCOTORUM.*

From the Laing Collection of Seals in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, by official permission. *Photographs by F. C. Inglis.*

## 22. JAMES I

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Born December 1394 ; became King 4th April, 1406 ; assassinated 20th February, 1437. See Chapters XVIII and XIX.

From an ancient panel portrait in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. *Photograph by Annan and Sons.*

## 23. MELROSE ABBEY FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

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The first Abbey of Melrose, founded in the seventh century, was situated on the banks of the Tweed, two and a half

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miles below the present abbey. In the eleventh century it fell into ruin. The later abbey was founded by David I in 1136, and it soon became one of the wealthiest communities in Scotland. But as it lay in the path of invaders from England it often suffered. The abbey was wrecked in the Wars of Independence, restored by King Robert the Bruce, burned by Richard II, and twice sacked by the English in the reign of Queen Mary. After the Reformation it was used as a quarry, but in 1618 part of the nave was roofed and used as a parish church.

Of the buildings of the monastery, where a hundred monks and as many lay brethren dwelt, only the church is left. The oldest parts of the existing structure, the nave and transepts, date from the closing years of the fourteenth century. A glance at the beautiful and elaborate tracery of the window of the south transept, at the delicately carved pinnacles and flying buttresses, or at the sculpture of the niches and capitals of the columns, will show that Melrose is one of the finest examples of the Decorated period in the whole of Britain. Hardly less beautiful is the Perpendicular work in the choir, especially the wonderful east window. The heart of Bruce was buried before the high altar, and readers of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* will know that legend and romance have added something to the charm of the old abbey. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 24. A PAGE FROM THE EDINBURGH MS. OF BARBOUR'S "BRUS"

248

The *Brus* was completed by John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen (1316?–1395) about the end of the year 1375. Two manuscripts of the poem exist: the older, transcribed in 1487, is in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge; the later one, transcribed in 1489, is preserved in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. The photograph shows the page in the Edinburgh MS. containing the famous passage in praise of freedom. It begins eleven lines from the foot of the first column:

"A! fredome is a noble thing!  
Fredome mayss man to haiff liking;  
Fredome all solace to man giffis:  
He levys at es that frely levys."

*Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 25. ST SALVATOR'S CHAPEL, ST ANDREWS

254

The chapel of St Salvator's College was built about 1450. It contains the elaborate and beautiful tomb of the founder of the college, Bishop Kennedy. It is one of the best examples of fifteenth-century Scottish architecture; the massive, austere tower and the heavy buttresses are characteristic of the style and period. The chapel survived almost intact till the second half of the eighteenth century, when a misguided kirk session loosened the

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stone roof and let it crash down into the interior of the building. In 1747 St Salvator's College was united to St Leonard's College, and this new 'United College' took up its local habitation in the fabric of St Salvator's, while at the end of the last century the chapel, which had become a parish church, was restored to the university and is now the university chapel. In 1526 Patrick Hamilton, the Reformer, was burned in front of the gateway under the tower. *Photograph by Hardie.*

## 26. JAMES II AND JAMES III

258

JAMES II. Born 16th October, 1430; began to reign 20th February, 1437; killed 3rd August, 1460.

JAMES III. Born 10th July, 1451; began to reign 3rd August, 1460; killed 11th June, 1488.

From panel portraits by an unknown artist in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. *Photographs by Annan and Sons.*

## 27. JAMES IV AND HIS QUEEN

274

JAMES STEWART. Born 17th March, 1473; became King 11th June, 1488; married Margaret Tudor 8th August, 1503; killed at Flodden 9th September, 1513.

From a panel portrait by an unknown artist in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

MARGARET TUDOR. Eldest daughter of Henry VII. Born 29th November, 1489. Married (1) James IV, 8th August, 1503; (2) Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of Angus, 6th August, 1514, but was divorced; (3) Henry Stewart, Lord Methven, 17th July, 1528. Died 18th October, 1541.

From a portrait by Jean de Mabuse in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. *Photographs by Annan and Sons.*

## 28. LINLITHGOW PALACE AND THE CHURCH OF ST MICHAEL, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

276

As early as the time of David I the castle of Linlithgow was a royal residence. The first castle was occupied for some time by Edward I, and was probably demolished by the Scots when it was recaptured in the War of Independence. It was rebuilt about 1350, but completely destroyed by fire in 1424. The oldest part of the existing palace is the west front, which was built soon after 1424. When the palace was completed in the reign of James IV it consisted of a complete rectangle of buildings enclosing a courtyard. Additions were made by James V, and after the visit of James VI in 1617 the north side was rebuilt. The north-west tower contained the King's bedroom, south of that were the drawing- and dining-rooms, while on the south front the long, narrow windows of the chapel can be discerned. The Parliament Hall was on the eastern side of the quadrangle. Linlithgow was by far the most magnificent of all the Scottish palaces; from the

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time of James I the Stewarts seemed to prefer it to their older and more gloomy residences. To-day the gilt and gay colours have disappeared from the walls, the beautiful fountain in the courtyard and many another ornament has been shattered. The palace seems to have fallen into ruin soon after the time of James VI; it was fortified by Cromwell, and burned down by General Hawley's troops in 1746. To the south of the palace stands the parish church of St Michael. The original church was burned down in the conflagration which destroyed the palace, and was completely rebuilt in 1424. Only the western tower is visible in the photograph; it was built between 1530 and 1540; it was originally surmounted by an open crown, but that was removed about 1821. It was in this church that the apparition of St John appeared to James IV. *Photograph by Hardie.*

## 29. THE OLD TOLBOOTH OF EDINBURGH

300

The Old Tolbooth of Edinburgh, immortalized by Scott as "the Heart of Midlothian," was situated at the north-west corner of St Giles' Church. Long before it gained an ambiguous fame as a prison it was the meeting-place of Parliament, and of those judicial committees of Parliament which later developed into the Court of Session. Of the structure shown in the illustration the eastern part, next the church, was built in the reign of James III, while the western part, which stands on the site of a much more ancient building, was constructed soon after 1561. In that year, as the Tolbooth had become ruinous, the Court of Session was removed to a newer building. The Scottish Parliament, however, met here till the completion of the Parliament House in 1639, after which date the Tolbooth was used solely as a prison. The whole building was demolished in 1817.

From a drawing by Alex. Nasmyth, 1828. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 30. JAMES V AND HIS QUEEN, MARY OF GUISE

310

James V was born 10th April, 1512; began to reign 9th September, 1513; assumed the government in 1528; died 14th December, 1542. His second wife was Mary of Guise, widow of the Duc de Longueville. She was born 1515; married James V 1538; became Regent of Scotland 1554; died 1560.

From a contemporary painting in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 31. ST ANDREWS CATHEDRAL FROM THE WEST

314

The construction of the cathedral of St Andrews was begun by Bishop Arnold between 1158 and 1162, and was probably completed about a century later. The round-headed windows in the eastern wall, the transepts, and the four eastern bays of the nave show that the Norman tradition was still predominant when the original

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cathedral was built. The nave originally extended at least 34 feet farther west, but between 1272 and 1279 the west front was blown down, and the present western doorway was erected farther east, reducing the length of the cathedral to 355 feet. In 1318 the cathedral was dedicated in the presence of King Robert the Bruce. In 1378 a fire destroyed the upper part of the nave, but it was rebuilt about the end of the century, as is evident from the elaborate Pointed window above the western doorway. The cathedral was sacked by the Reformers, but the fabric suffered little structural damage; in the seventeenth century, however, it was used as a common quarry. The cathedral was also the conventional church of the priory of the canons regular of St Augustine. Part of the great priory wall built by Prior Hepburn in 1520 can be seen in the background of the picture. *Photograph by Hardie.*

## 32. CARDINAL BEATON AND JOHN KNOX

320

David Beaton (1494-1546) became Abbot of Arbroath in 1523, Bishop of Mirepoix in 1537, Archbishop of St Andrews and Cardinal in 1539. In 1543 he was appointed Chancellor of Scotland, but in 1546 he was assassinated. He was the bulwark of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, and of the alliance with France, a statesman of remarkable courage and ability, but the laxity of his private life was remarkable even in a loose age, and his fame as a statesman is stained by his cruelty to the Reformers.

Probably from a copy of the original portrait painted about 1541. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

John Knox (1505-1572) first gained fame as a preacher of the Reformed doctrines in 1546, when he joined the murderers of Beaton in St Andrews Castle. He was captured and sent to the galleys in France, but was released in 1549 and came to England, where he was appointed a royal chaplain. On the accession of Mary Tudor he fled to the Continent. In 1554 he met Calvin at Geneva. He became successively pastor of the English Church at Frankfort-on-Main and pastor of the English Church in Geneva, and in 1559 returned to Scotland. His *History of the Reformation* was not published till twelve years after his death.

The portrait is from a woodcut in the first edition of Theodore Beza's *Icones* (1580). Though it was engraved eight years after the Reformer's death it ranks among the few authentic portraits of Knox, for it was based upon a picture by Vaensoun which was lent to Beza by King James VI. It must be remembered, too, that Beza had probably often seen Knox at Geneva.

## 33. ST ANDREWS CASTLE FROM THE SOUTH

324

Built about 1550 by Archbishop Hamilton on the foundations of the old castle of the Bishops of St Andrews, which had

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been bombarded by the French fleet in 1546. The original gateway of the castle, through which Cardinal Beaton's murderers forced their way, has recently been exposed in the base of the south-east tower. The irregularity in the stonework which marks the position of the old gateway is distinctly visible in the picture. Notice as characteristic of the period the Renaissance details, especially above the gateway. The castle is situated on the summit of a cliff overlooking St Andrews Bay. *Photograph by Hardie.*

## 34. MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

336

Born 7th or 8th December, 1542; began to reign 14th December, 1542; went to France August 1548; married (1) Francis, the Dauphin of France, 24th April 1558; became Queen of France 10th July, 1559, and Queen-Dowager of France 5th December, 1560. Returned to Scotland 19th August, 1561; married (2) Henry Lord Darnley, 29th July, 1565, and (3) James Earl of Bothwell, 15th May, 1567. Abdicated 24th July, 1567; fled to England 16th May, 1568; beheaded at Fotheringay 8th February, 1587.

From a drawing by François Clouet in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

## 35. HOLYROOD ABBEY FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

338

Founded by David I in 1128, but only a few portions of the original Norman building are left. The greater part of the existing building is in the early Pointed style, and therefore seems to date from the close of the thirteenth century. Of the pre-Reformation abbey church only the nave is left; the whole building had fallen into ruin in the sixteenth century, and the stones of the choir and transepts were sold to defray the expense of rebuilding the nave. The present east front was constructed in the reign of Charles I. James II's ambition to restore the church to its ancient grandeur was frustrated at the Revolution, when the church was sacked by a mob. In 1769 a ponderous stone roof that had been placed on the ancient walls a short time before collapsed and wrecked the church. Since that time it has been a roofless ruin. Some traces of the cloister may be seen in the photograph. The great flying buttresses on the south side were built in the second half of the fifteenth century. The peculiarity of their construction is explained by the presence of the cloister; the flying arch had to pass clear of the cloister roof. James II and many of the Queens of Scotland were buried here. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 36. MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON AND LORD DARNLEY

344

William Maitland of Lethington (1528?–1573) entered the service of the Regent, Mary of Guise, in 1554, but joined the Lords of the Congregation in 1559 and did

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work of inestimable value in the negotiations with England and France in 1560. He was Secretary till the end of Mary's reign, but though he was a Protestant he became the organizing force behind the 'Queen's lords' after Mary was exiled. He was besieged in Edinburgh Castle in 1571, and died a few hours after the castle was taken. He was a lukewarm Protestant, and was reviled by both parties for his inconsistency; but he was a brilliant diplomat, who through all his changes of party remained faithful to what he deemed to be the best interests of his country.

From a portrait in the collection of the Earl of Lauderdale at Thirlestane Castle.

Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley (1545-1567) was a son of Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, and Lady Margaret Douglas, the daughter of Margaret Tudor; he had therefore, next to Queen Mary, the strongest claim to succeed to the English throne. He appeared in Scotland in 1565, was created Duke of Albany and became the husband of Queen Mary in the same year, but she refused him the crown matrimonial, and in 1567 he was murdered.

From a portrait in the possession of H.M. the King.  
*Photographs by F. C. Inglis.*

## 37. LOCHLEVEN CASTLE: KEEP AND WALL OF THE ENCEINTE

348

This castle is a typical fourteenth-century Scottish stronghold, such as is described in Chapter XX. We see the massive, square keep looking down on a courtyard, which is surrounded simply by a curtain wall. It has been remarked that the entrance to a fourteenth-century keep was never level with the ground; it will be observed that in this case it was on the second story. Here Queen Mary was forced to sign a deed of abdication in 1567.  
*Photograph by Hardie.*

## 38. THE EARLS OF MORAY AND MORTON

352

James Stewart, Earl of Moray (1533-1570), was an illegitimate son of James V, who made him Prior of St Andrews in 1538. He joined the Lords of the Congregation in 1559 and negotiated the Treaty of Berwick with England in 1560. He was created Earl of Moray by Mary in 1562, but became estranged from her after her marriage with Darnley. He fled to France after the murder of Darnley, but he returned to Scotland after Mary's abdication and accepted the regency. He was assassinated on 23rd January, 1570.

From a contemporary portrait in Holyrood Palace.  
*Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

James Douglas, fourth Earl of Morton, was one of the original Lords of the Congregation. He became Lord Chancellor in 1563, and was a party to the murder of Rizzio; on Mary's abdication he became a member of the Council of Regency. Though he was the Regent Mary's chief

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adviser, and though he virtually controlled Scotland after Moray's death, he did not become Regent till 1572. He was driven from office in 1578, but regained his position a few months later. In 1581, however, he was accused of being responsible for the murder of Darnley and was executed.

From a contemporary portrait in the Earl of Morton's collection.

## 39. JOHN KNOX'S HOUSE

360

This house, whether it be connected with the Reformer or not, is one of the most interesting buildings in Edinburgh. Some writers have fixed the date of its construction about the end of the fifteenth century, but there can be no doubt that the house in its present form dates from a few years after the middle of the sixteenth century. Its walls are ornamented with curious carvings; on a stone belt running along the whole front is inscribed LVFE.GOD. ABOVE.AL.AND.YI.NICHTBOVR.AS.YI.SE LF. while on the corner of the house a figure of Moses is carved, the hand pointing to a representation of the sun, inscribed with the words

ΘΕΟΣ  
DEUS  
GOD

As in many other old Scottish buildings, projecting galleries had been added at various dates and closed up to form additional rooms.

An old and persistent tradition identifies this house with the manse of John Knox, in which he lived for either the whole or part of the period between 1559 and 1572, when he was Minister of Edinburgh. But there is no documentary evidence to prove that Knox occupied this house; on the other hand, contemporary documents are extant which prove that in the period between 1559 and 1573 it belonged to James Mossman, a wealthy goldsmith, who joined the 'Queen's lords' in Edinburgh Castle early in 1573, and was beheaded as a traitor. Some years ago a stone was uncovered which bore the letters J.M. and M.A.—the initials of James Mossman and Mariot Arres his wife. To this the upholders of tradition reply that Mossman possessed several houses in Edinburgh and may not have lived in this house, that even if he did the house was large enough to be partitioned between Knox and him, and that, finally, the absence of documentary proof in favour of tradition does not render the tradition false.

The calotype from which this illustration is reproduced was taken about 1846 by D. O. Hill, one of the pioneers of photography. The building was then in a ruinous condition and disfigured by curious additions, but it has since been restored and the comparatively modern excrescences removed. The projecting window, for example, was known as the 'preaching window'; from it, tradition said, Knox used to preach. As a matter of fact it

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was constructed in the eighteenth century. Similarly a pulpit had been built round the figure of Moses, who was thus converted into the Reformer.

From the calotype by D. O. Hill in the possession of F. C. Inglis, Esq.

## 40. JAMES VI

372

Born 19th June, 1566; became King 24th July, 1567; assumed the government 8th March, 1578; married Anne of Denmark 24th November, 1589; became King of Great Britain and Ireland 24th March, 1603; died 27th March, 1625.

From a painting by an unknown artist in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. The inscription in the top right-hand corner states that the portrait was painted in 1595, when the King was twenty-nine years of age.  
*Photograph by Annan and Sons.*

## 41. STIRLING CASTLE FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

378

It is probable that in prehistoric times there was a stronghold of some kind on the Castle Rock of Stirling. Stirling Castle was surrendered by William the Lion to Henry II in 1174, and it figures often in the Wars of Independence. But of the fourteenth-century castle only a fragment remains. Not till the time of the Stewarts did it become a royal residence. Of the structures shown in the photograph the curtain wall and the square flanking tower are at least as old as the first half of the fifteenth century; the lower part of the massive circular tower, which flanks the main gateway, was built probably in the reign of James III. Behind it can be seen the highest part of the graceful and stately Parliament House which was built by order of James III—tradition says, to the plans of the unfortunate Cochrane. Most interesting of all the buildings is the Palace, begun by James IV, but finished in the reign of James V, presumably by craftsmen whom he brought from France. Like Falkland it is a Gothic building with Renaissance details; the statues in the niches are most of them imitations—at a considerable distance—of classical models. Unfortunately these noble buildings have been used for centuries as barracks, to the destruction of timber roofs, carved chimneys, and the obliteration of the proportions of the stately old apartments. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 42. ST MARY'S COLLEGE, ST ANDREWS

390

Though St Mary's College was not founded till 1537 and the greater part of the present fabric is no older than the middle of the sixteenth century, it stands on the site of the original buildings of St Andrews University. The university had no fixed local habitation till 1419, when it was presented with a house in South Street; in 1430 Bishop Wardlaw presented the adjoining house to the university, and these buildings became known as the

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Pedagogium. But in the course of the next century most of the students were attracted to the newer colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard, and the Pedagogy fell into decay. In 1537 Archbishop James Beaton, the uncle of the Cardinal, founded the College of the Blessed Mary of the Assumption and the remains of the Pedagogy were swept away to make room for the new college. His work was continued by Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop Hamilton, and in 1554 a new charter of foundation was given to the college. Hitherto each of the colleges had taught both philosophy and theology, but after 1679 St Mary's forsook the teaching of philosophy and obtained a monopoly of the teaching of theology. Andrew Melville was principal of this college for some years. The tree is known as 'Queen Mary's Thorn'; tradition says it was planted by Mary herself. *Photograph by Valentine.*

## 43. GEORGE BUCHANAN

392

Born 1506; died 1582. The greatest classical scholar of his age. He was educated at St Andrews and Paris and became a tutor at the College of Sainte Barbe in Paris. He returned to Scotland in 1536 to become tutor to one of the King's natural sons, but having written a satire on the Roman Catholic clergy he was thrown into prison. He escaped and went back to France; for over twenty years he lectured in different university towns, sometimes in Paris, sometimes in Bordeaux, sometimes in Coimbra, where he fell into the hands of the Inquisition. He again returned to Scotland, where he became successively tutor to Queen Mary, principal of St Leonard's College in St Andrews, and tutor to the young King. His chief works were written in Latin; they include odes and translations of the Psalms, plays like *Baptistes*, satires such as *Franciscanus*, political treatises like *De jure regni apud Scotos*, and his great but unveracious history of Scotland.

The portrait is reproduced from an old engraving.  
*Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 44. NAVE AND CHOIR OF ST GILES' CATHEDRAL, EDINBURGH

406

This building stands on the site of the original parish church of Edinburgh, which is mentioned as early as the ninth century. The church was rebuilt at the beginning of the twelfth century, but it suffered much at the hands of the English invaders, and in the successive renovations carried out during the fourteenth century most of the Norman work disappeared. The octagonal pillars of the nave and of the first four bays of the choir were undoubtedly constructed at this period, but the roof was much lower than it is now—the dark band running across the north-west pier under the crossing marks the level of the original capital. In 1385 the cathedral was burned down, but the walls and pillars remained standing, and in the early years of the fifteenth century the

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church was completely restored. About 1460 the choir was extended ; the elaborately decorated pillars visible at the eastern end of the church were added at this time. In 1466 St Giles' was erected into a collegiate church ; before the Reformation it contained thirty-six altars, served by about a hundred clergy. The interior suffered at the Reformation, when the building was partitioned off into several churches ; but in 1633 Charles I raised it to the dignity of a cathedral and tried to restore it to something of its ancient beauty. The triumph of the Presbyterians overthrew Charles's plans. Till the early years of the nineteenth century it was not only a meeting-place for four congregations : the General Assembly sat in one aisle, and part of the north transept was the burgh police-office. In 1829 it suffered a drastic renovation ; but not till 1880 were the partitions and galleries thrown down and the noble proportions of the ancient building revealed. One feature of the church is the number of side-chapels, some as old as the fourteenth century, one, the Chapel of the Thistle—not the least beautiful—built in the reign of George V. So numerous are they that the nave seems to have four aisles instead of the customary two. The Regent Moray, Knox, Montrose, Napier of Merchiston, are only a few of the illustrious Scotsmen buried in the church or its precincts. *Photograph by Valentine.*

## 45. THE NATIONAL COVENANT

408

This copy of the National Covenant (1638) was bequeathed to New College, Edinburgh, by the Rev. Dr Thomas Guthrie. It is a particularly fine example and bears the signatures of a hundred and eighty persons, including Earl Rothes, Lord Lindsay, and Lord Ker, the Ministers of Muthil, Fyvie, and Stonykirk ; also the bailies and councillors at Lauder. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 46. GLASGOW IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

410

From Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1693. See note to Plate 16.  
*Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 47. THE MARQUISES OF ARGYLL AND MONTROSE

418

Archibald Campbell (1598–1661) succeeded his father, the seventh Earl of Argyll, in 1638, and was raised to the rank of marquis in 1641. An account of the part which he took in the Civil War and the events which preceded it will be found in Chapter XXIX. Montrose had shattered his power in Scotland, but after the battle of Philiphaugh he recovered his pre-eminent position in Scottish politics. He remained in conformity with Cromwell's policy till the execution of Charles I. Though he joined in proclaiming Charles II he did not raise a finger to save Montrose, and though he set the crown on Charles's head he never gained the confidence of that monarch. After the defeat of the Scots at Worcester he was besieged

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by the forces of the Commonwealth in his castle of Inveraray and forced to surrender. He sat in Cromwell's last Parliament as member for Aberdeenshire. At the Restoration he went to London to welcome the King, but was sent back to Scotland, found guilty of treason, and executed.

The portrait is from a contemporary painting in the possession of the Marquis of Lothian. It does full justice to the squint which earned Argyll the nickname of 'the glaed-eyed Marquis.'

James Graham (1612-1650), fifth Earl and first Marquis of Montrose. On his first appearance in public life he was a Covenanter; he occupied Aberdeen in 1639 and headed the army which invaded England in 1640, but in the following year he went over to the King. In 1644 he was made a marquis and given a commission as Lieutenant-General in Scotland. Between September 1644 and August 1645 he was victorious in the battles of Tippermuir, Aberdeen, Inverlochy, Auldearn, Alford, and Kilsyth, but he was defeated at Philiphaugh. He escaped to the Continent, but returned in 1650 to head the forlorn hope which was routed at Carbisdale. He was captured, tried in Edinburgh, and executed on the 21st of May, 1650.

The portrait is from an engraving probably by Wm. Faithorne. *Photographs by F. C. Inglis.*

## 48. THE DUKES OF HAMILTON AND LAUDERDALE

426

William, second Duke of Hamilton (1616-1651), was created Earl of Lanark in 1639 and succeeded his brother, the first Duke of Hamilton, ten years later. After various changes of party he concluded the Engagement with Charles I; he fled to Holland after the Whiggamore Raid, and accompanied Charles II to Scotland in 1650. He took part in the campaign of Worcester, was mortally wounded, and died a few days after the battle.

John Maitland, second Earl and first Duke of Lauderdale (1616-1682), was the grandson of Lord Thirlestane and the grand-nephew of Maitland of Lethington. He first appears in politics as one of the most staunch supporters of the Covenanters. In 1647, however, he helped to arrange the Engagement with Charles I. He fled to Holland, returned to Scotland with Charles II, but was captured at Worcester and remained a prisoner till the Restoration. From 1660 to 1680 he was Secretary for Scotland, and in 1672 he was created Duke of Lauderdale.

A portrait by Cornelius Janssen van Ceulen, from the collection of the Duke of Hamilton, at present in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. *Photograph by Annan and Sons.*

## 49. ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON AND WILLIAM CARSTARES

440

Robert Leighton (1611-1684) was appointed Principal of Edinburgh University in 1653, twelve years after he entered the Church. He gained a reputation for eloquence, saintliness of life, and hatred of ecclesiastical

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strife. In 1661 he became Bishop of Dunblane, and eight years later he was raised to the position of Archbishop of Glasgow. But his policy of ecclesiastical comprehension failed; he retired from his office and became vicar of an English parish.

From an engraving by H. Adlard after a painting by White.

William Carstares (1649–1715) was educated in Scotland, but spent some years in Holland, and after 1672 had a chequered career as an agent for William of Orange. He was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for five years, and again after Argyll's rebellion in 1683 he was arrested and tortured. He was released and went to Holland, whence he returned in 1688 as chaplain to William of Orange. William accepted his advice on Scottish affairs, and it was to Carstares that the Presbyterian settlement of 1690 was due. He was appointed Principal of Edinburgh University in 1703, and was four times Moderator of the General Assembly.

From an engraving by S. Freeman after the original painting in the possession of A. Dunlop, Esq., of Keppoch.  
*Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 50. ARCHBISHOP SHARP

442

Born 1613. After studying at St Andrews and Oxford Sharp became parish minister of Crail. He had signed the Covenant, and acted as one of the representatives of the Presbyterians in the negotiations with Charles II at the time of the Restoration. He played his party false, however, became Archbishop of St Andrews in 1661, and soon gained notoriety for the unreasonable harshness with which he treated his opponents. He was murdered on Magus Muir, near St Andrews, on the 3rd of May, 1679.

From the old copy in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery of the portrait by Sir Peter Lely. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 51. ENTRANCE TO THE COVENANTERS' PRISON, GREY-FRIARS CHURCHYARD, EDINBURGH

444

Greyfriars Churchyard was originally the garden of the Greyfriars Monastery, founded by James I. In 1562 Queen Mary granted the gardens to the city of Edinburgh to be used as a place of burial. "This *infelix campus*," says R. L. Stevenson, ". . . is in many ways sacred to the memory of the men whom Mackenzie persecuted. . . . In the long arm of the churchyard that extends to Lauriston the prisoners from Bothwell Bridge—fed on bread and water and guarded, life for life, by vigilant marksmen—lay five months looking for the scaffold or the plantations." *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 52. THE CORONATION OATH OF WILLIAM AND MARY

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This revised Coronation Oath made the sovereign promise to "maintain the true religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching

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of his holy word, and the due and right ministration of the sacraments now received and preached within the realm of Scotland," and also "to root out all heretiks and enemies of the true worship of God." It was presented to William and Mary by three commissioners from the Scottish Parliament on the 11th of May, 1689. William refused to repeat the last clause until he was assured that it did not bind him to act as a persecutor.

A similar oath, binding the sovereign to maintain the Church of Scotland, has been taken by every King or Queen of Great Britain since the time of William and Mary. It must be taken by the sovereign immediately after his accession.

*Photograph by F. C. Inglis* from the original in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, by official permission.

## 53. JOHN GRAHAM, VISCOUNT DUNDEE

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After he had seen service in the Dutch army Graham became a captain of cavalry in the forces in Scotland and was entrusted with the suppression of conventicles in the south-west, but was defeated at Drumclog. He was the chief instrument in the policy of religious repression practised in Scotland by Charles II and James II; though he was seldom, if ever, guilty of wanton cruelty, he showed himself to be at the very best a capable but extremely unimaginative soldier, bent on carrying out the commands of his superiors, whatever they might be. In 1688 he joined James II in the south of England, remained faithful to him to the last, and in spite of this was allowed by William III to return to Scotland—with what result is related in Chapter XXX.

From a portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the possession of the Earl of Strathmore. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 54. GLENCOE

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Scene of the massacre of the Macdonalds on the 13th of February, 1692. "In the Gaelic tongue, Glencoe signifies the Glen of Weeping: and in truth that pass is the most dreary and melancholy of all the Scottish passes, the very Valley of the Shadow of Death. Mists and storms brood over it through the greater part of the finest summer; and even on those rare days when the sun is bright, and when there is no cloud in the sky, the impression made by the landscape is sad and awful. The path lies along a stream which issues from the most sullen and gloomy of mountain pools. Huge precipices of naked stone frown on both sides. Even in July the streaks of snow may often be discerned in the rifts near the summits. All down the sides of the crags heaps of ruin mark the headlong paths of the torrents."—Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. xviii. *Photograph by Valentine.*

## 55. WILLIAM PATERSON

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William Paterson (1658–1719) was born in Dumfriesshire, but spent most of his life in England. He became a wealthy

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London merchant, and in 1694 established the Bank of England, from which he withdrew in the following year. His connexion with the Darien scheme is described in Chapter XXXI. He did much to promote the Union, and was the first to advocate those financial reforms, such as the Sinking Fund, to which Walpole owes much of his reputation. The portrait is a reproduction of a contemporary drawing in the British Museum.

## 56. PARLIAMENT HOUSE, EDINBURGH : INTERIOR OF PARLIAMENT HALL, LOOKING NORTH

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Before 1639 the Scottish Parliament met in the Old Tolbooth, beside the church of St Giles. In 1632, however, the erection of a Parliament House within the bounds of St Giles' Churchyard was begun, and in 1639 the building was completed. Here the Scottish Parliament met between 1639 and 1707. After the Union the southern portion was divided from the northern by a screen and "became a place of dominion to certain sedentary personages called 'Lords Ordinary'—the judges in the Outer House of the Court of Session—while the part beyond the screen was occupied by the stalls of hucksters. To-day it is a *Salle des Pas Perdus*, a promenade for advocates or their clients. The hall was once hung with tapestries, but these were removed about the close of the eighteenth century, and to-day the most impressive feature in the hall is the magnificent oaken roof. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 57. THE DUKES OF ARGYLL AND QUEENSBERRY

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John Campbell (1678–1743), second Duke of Argyll and first Duke of Greenwich, was a soldier of no little distinction. He served in Flanders in 1702, and again from 1706 to 1709, and was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General. In 1711 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the British army in Spain, and as commander-in-chief of the royal forces in Scotland he carried out successfully the task of suppressing the Jacobite rebellion. As a statesman he showed his powers in 1705, when he steered the Scots Parliament through a critical session and secured the passage of the Act of Union, and again in 1714, when his intervention did much to assure the peaceful accession of George I. As an orator he enchanted listeners with his charm and grace, but he was deficient in argumentative power. During his whole political career he was a Whig, but in the closing years of his life he became a bitter opponent of Walpole. He was deprived of his offices in 1740, but though he was restored to them in 1742 he retired soon after.

From the engraving by J. Houbraken after the portrait by W. Aikman in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. *Photograph by Annan and Sons.*

James Douglas (1662–1711) second Duke of Queensberry and first Duke of Dover, was made Secretary of State for

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Scotland in 1702, but became involved in the intrigues of Simon Fraser, the Jacobite conspirator, and withdrew from the Government for a short time. In 1705, however, he became Lord Privy Seal, and in 1706 he was appointed Lord Commissioner for the last session of the Scottish Parliament. It was an office that demanded the greatest courage and political wisdom, but Queensberry made no mistakes and the Treaty of Union was signed. For his services in this crisis he received the title of Duke of Dover.

From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller. *Photograph by Annan and Sons.*

## 58. SIGNATURES TO THE TREATY OF UNION

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The Commissioners appointed to treat of a union between Scotland and England assembled at Westminster on the 16th of April, 1706, and on the 23rd of July they presented the result of their deliberations to Queen Anne in the form of twenty-five articles, signed and sealed. Copies of these Articles for a Treaty were also presented to the Scottish and English Parliaments. The copy presented to the Scottish Parliament is preserved in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh. The signatures and seals appended to this copy are reproduced in the photograph. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis*, by permission of the authorities.

## 59. THE RIDING OF THE PARLIAMENT

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This illustration is a reproduction of two sections from Alexander Kincaid's folio plate, published at the end of the seventeenth century, entitled "The Cavalcade or Solemnity observed at the first sitting down or at a dissolving of any Parliament in Scotland." On the left of the upper section is seen the exterior of Parliament House; before the doorway the Lord High Constable is seated in an armchair, while beside him stands the Earl Marischal. The procession is headed by two trumpeters and two pursuivants; behind them come the burgh members, mounted on horseback or walking on foot. In the lower section are seen the maces, the crown, borne by a noble of high rank, and, last of all, the Lord High Commissioner and his gentlemen and servants. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## 60. THE OLD AND YOUNG PRETENDERS

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Prince James Francis Edward Stewart, Chevalier de St George (1688-1766), 'the Old Pretender.' Titular King of Great Britain and Ireland, 1701; was present with the French forces that attempted to land in Scotland in 1708; took some part in the 'Fifteen'; married Clementina Sobieski 9th May, 1719; died 1st January, 1766.

From the portrait by A. R. Mengs in the National Portrait Gallery, London. *Photograph by Emery Walker, Ltd.*

Prince Charles Edward Stewart (1720-1788), 'the Young

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Pretender.' Landed in Scotland July 1745 and proclaimed his father as King; left Scotland 19th September, 1746; became titular King of Great Britain and Ireland 1766; married Louise of Stolberg-Goedern 1772; died at Rome 31st January, 1788.

From a bust by Jean Baptiste Lemoyne, modelled in 1746. *Photograph by Annan and Sons* from the original in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

## 61. HUME AND RAEURN

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David Hume (1711-1776), author of the *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739, 1740), on which his place among the foremost British philosophers depends, the *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* and the *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* (1748 and 1751)—popularizations of parts of his great work—and the history of Great Britain (1754-1762). The portrait reproduced is a characteristic example of the art of Allan Ramsay (1713-1784). Readers of Stevenson's *Memories and Portraits* will recognize the "comely, florid countenance, bewigged and habited in scarlet." *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. (1756-1823), the greatest Scottish artist, and one of the greatest portrait-painters of modern Europe, whom competent critics have put beside Velasquez himself. His life was uneventful. He was educated at Heriot's Hospital, in Edinburgh, was apprenticed to a goldsmith, spent a few months in the studio of a tenth-rate portrait-painter, married a rich widow when he was about twenty, and set to work to discover a method of painting of his own. In 1785 he visited Italy; in 1815 he was elected a member of the Royal Academy. The author of *The Scottish School of Painting* speaks of the portrait reproduced as "one of his most brilliant, giving us the man as described by a sitter when, hand on chin, he contemplated his subject before putting brush to canvas." The portrait of Sir Walter Scott also reproduced in this volume was one of his latest works. *Photograph by Annan and Sons.*

## 62. ADAM SMITH AND JAMES WATT

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Adam Smith (1723-1790) was educated at Glasgow and Oxford. In 1751 he was appointed Professor of Logic at Glasgow, but exchanged this chair for that of Moral Philosophy in the following year. This position he surrendered to become tutor to the Duke of Buccleuch, whom he accompanied to the Continent. He returned to Scotland in 1766. He was one of the members of Johnson's Literary Club. In 1759 he published his *Theory of the Moral Sentiments*, and in 1766 his *Wealth of Nations* appeared. He founded the science of political economy in Britain, and his doctrines produced a revolutionary change in the economic policy of the British Government.

From a medallion by J. Tassie in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. The medallion was modelled in 1787.

James Watt (1736-1819) started business as a mathematical

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instrument maker in the precincts of Glasgow University in 1757. In 1764 he discovered the cause of the waste of energy in a Newcomen steam-engine which he had been given to repair; five years later he patented the 'Watt' steam-engine. From 1775 to 1800 he was in partnership with Matthew Boulton at the Soho Engineering Works, Birmingham. During this time he made numerous improvements on the steam-engine; he obtained rotary motion from the reciprocating engine by the use of the crank, utilized the pressure of the steam to obtain the double stroke, and invented the centrifugal governor for regulating the speed of the engine. He also introduced bleaching by chlorine into Scotland, and made improvements on the process.

From a medallion by John Henning, H.R.S.A., in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. *Photograph by Annan and Sons.*

## 63. BURNS AND SCOTT

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Robert Burns (1759-1796). The portrait is a reproduction of Archibald Skirving's beautiful drawing in red chalk, now in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832). The portrait is reproduced from a rare old engraving in the possession of Mr. F. C. Inglis. The original picture was the last of the three portraits of Scott painted by Raeburn, "which," says Lockhart, "possesses a peculiar value and interest as being the very last work of Raeburn's pencil."

## 64. BRAXFIELD AND DUNDAS

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Robert MacQueen (1722-1799) became a judge in the Court of Session in 1776, when he assumed the title of Lord Braxfield. In 1788 he became Lord Justice Clerk, and in that capacity presided over the political trials in 1793-1794. Readers of Cockburn's *Memorials* will not easily forget the stories told there of his ferocious humour. He was the original of Stevenson's Weir of Hermiston.

Henry Dundas (1742-1811), the absolute ruler of Scotland for a generation and Pitt's ablest lieutenant, entered Parliament in 1774, and became successively Lord Advocate, Treasurer of the Navy, Home Secretary, President of the Board of Control, and Secretary for War. In 1802 he was created Viscount Melville; in 1804 he became First Lord of the Admiralty, but he was impeached in the following year, and though he was acquitted his career as a statesman was brought to an end.

These two portraits are specimens of the work of John Kay (1742-1826), an Edinburgh barber, who made etchings of his contemporaries, which he exhibited in his shop-window. Altogether he turned out nearly nine hundred etchings, excellent portraits, though not remarkable for grace or beauty. *Photographs by F. C. Inglis.*

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### 65. LORD JEFFREY

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Jeffrey (1773-1850) owes his place in Scottish history not to his performances as a literary critic—extravagantly praised and extravagantly blamed—but to his services in the cause of Parliamentary and municipal reform. In 1802 the formation of the *Edinburgh Review* by a band of brilliant young Whigs dealt the heaviest blow to the 'Dundas Despotism' that it had yet suffered. From 1803 to 1829 Jeffrey was editor of the *Review*, and in this position rendered inestimable service to the long discredited Whigs. In 1830 he became Lord Advocate in the newly formed Whig Ministry, but retired from that office in 1834 to take a seat on the bench of the Court of Session.

*Photograph by Annan and Sons from the painting by John Pairman in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.*



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### ROMAN ALTAR FOUND AT BIRRENS, IN DUMFRIESSHIRE

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Dedicated to Mars and Victory by the Rhaetians serving in the Second Cohort of the Tungrians. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh. The illustration is given by permission of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

### THE ROUND TOWER, BRECHIN

54

This is one of the two round towers on the mainland of Scotland; the other is at Abernethy. It was probably erected in the first half of the tenth century, though the little spire is much later. The curiously shaped doorway at the foot of the tower is adorned with characteristic Celtic carved work, including figures of ecclesiastics. These towers were probably meant for places of refuge in times of invasion. Notice how the tower of the chapel of St Regulus at St Andrews (see Plate 15) seems to be a development of this type of structure.

### THE CORONATION CHAIR IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, CONTAINING THE STONE OF DESTINY

143

According to tradition, the Stone of Destiny was the one on which Jacob rested his head at Bethel. It was carried by Jacob's sons to Egypt, thence it was transported to Spain, and from Spain it was taken to Ireland in 700 B.C. On it the Irish kings were crowned till 330 B.C., when it was taken to Scotland. This tale is only a fanciful legend, for the stone is indisputably of Scottish sand-stone; but there is no doubt that for centuries before the death of Alexander III it had been kept in the abbey of Scone and used at the coronation of the Scottish kings. The prophecy that a Scot would reign in whatever country the stone was found seemed to be falsified when it was removed to England in 1296, but the superstitious believed that it had come true when James VI became King of England. The chair was made to contain the stone by command of Edward I.

### A MANGONEL

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A siege-engine for throwing stones. See the illustration at p. 171.

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## SUMMONING A CASTLE TO SURRENDER

From a fourteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum.

## ASSAULT ON A CASTLE

Notice the mangonel in the foreground. From a fourteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum.

## A 'SOW'

The ' sow ' was a movable shed, probably roofed with hides, under the shelter of which the engineers with picks undermined the walls of the castle. In the picture one of the defenders on the battlements of the castle is battering at the roof of the ' sow ' with a pointed stake, another is in the act of hurling a stone, while the third is evidently pouring boiling pitch on it. From a fourteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum.

## JOUSTING

From a fifteenth-century manuscript.

## A TOURNAMENT

From a fourteenth-century manuscript of *Le Roi Meliadus*.

## FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SHIP AND GALLEY

From a manuscript of Froissart's *Chronicle* in the British Museum.

## A DANCE IN THE GALLERY

From a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Compte D'Artois*.

## COLOPHON AND TITLE-PAGE FROM CHEPMAN AND MYLLAR'S EDITION OF DUNBAR'S POEMS

Chepman and Myllar were granted the exclusive privilege of printing in Scotland in 1507, and in 1508 the first volume issued from their press. They never published a collected edition of Dunbar's works; at various times in the poet's lifetime they printed single poems or small groups of poems in pamphlet form. The title-page shown is that of the *Golden Targe*. The punning design used as a colophon was affixed to most of the pamphlets. The various booklets have been bound together and are preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. *Photograph by F. C. Inglis.*

## THE MARKET CROSS, EDINBURGH

This cross has passed through many changes since the summons of Pluto issued from it before Flodden. In

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1617, before James's visit to Scotland, it was reconstructed, and only the shaft of the original cross was allowed to remain. This is the cross shown in the picture. In 1756 it was demolished by order of the magistrates. The shaft was preserved, however, and incorporated in the modern cross, presented to the city by Mr Gladstone in 1886.

## FALKLAND PALACE

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The palace was originally a seat of the Earls of Fife, and came into the possession of the Crown when the estates of Murdach Duke of Albany and Earl of Fife were forfeited in 1425. But the original palace has entirely disappeared. The south front, shown in the illustration, belongs to the second half of the fifteenth century; notice how the Scottish architect has produced a novel effect by breaking up his wall with ornamental buttresses. The courtyard of the palace shows that curious blend of Renaissance and Gothic which we remarked in the palace in Stirling Castle (see Plate 41); it was probably constructed by French workmen brought over by James V.

## A SEMI-CHOIR OF FRANCISCAN FRIARS

315

From a fourteenth-century psalter in the British Museum.

## A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MAN-OF-WAR

322

*The Ann Gallant*, built for Henry VIII in 1546.

## A FRANCISCAN FRIAR

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The order of the Grey Friars, so called from the colour of their robes, was founded by St Francis of Assisi. The friars had monasteries in almost all the important towns in Scotland. From a print in Hollar's *Monasticon*.

## A DOMINICAN FRIAR

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The order of the Black Friars, or Preaching Friars, was founded by St Dominic in 1215, and, like the Franciscans, had monasteries in most important towns in Scotland. From a print in Hollar's *Monasticon*.

## A CARTHUSIAN MONK

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The order was founded in 1086, but the only Carthusian monastery in Scotland was the Charterhouse at Perth, founded by James I. From a print in Hollar's *Monasticon*.

## A CISTERCIAN MONK

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The order of Cistercians, or White Monks, was founded in 1098. Their most famous abbey in Scotland was the great abbey of Melrose. From a print in Hollar's *Monasticon*.

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## HOLYROOD PALACE

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Though from the time of David I the Kings of Scotland seem to have visited Holyrood frequently, they appear to have been content with the accommodation provided by the abbey building till the end of the fifteenth century, when James IV began the construction of the palace shown in the illustration. It was in this building that many a stormy scene in the reigns of Mary and James VI was enacted. In 1650, however, the whole palace, except the north-west wing, was destroyed by fire. Cromwell made some attempt to rebuild it, but his additions were removed in the reign of Charles II and the palace completely reconstructed. The north-west tower, however, where the old royal apartments are, still remains. "For fifty weeks together," says R. L. Stevenson, "it is no more than a show for tourists and a museum of old furniture; but on the fifty-first, behold the palace reawakened and mimicking its past. The Lord Commissioner, a kind of stage sovereign, sits among stage courtiers; a coach and six and clattering escort come and go before the gate; at night the windows are lighted up, and its near neighbours, the workmen, may dance in their own houses to the palace music."

## EDINBURGH CASTLE FROM THE EAST

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A conjectural restoration of the castle as it was before the destruction of David's Tower in the siege of 1573. See also Frontispiece.

A history of Edinburgh Castle would be a history of Scotland. It was probably a fortress long before Edwin captured it in the early part of the seventh century and made it the northern stronghold of his great kingdom. It was here that Queen Margaret died; from this place Alexander III started on his fatal journey. The castle was completely demolished after it was captured by Randolph in 1314. The oldest portion shown in the illustration is the central tower, erected in the reign of David II and known as David's Tower. It was wrecked in the siege of 1573, and what was left of it was hidden by the Half-Moon Battery, but recent excavations have led to the discovery of stairs, doorways, and massive walls, buried deep in the earth. The building to the left of David's Tower is the Palace, built in the reign of James V. Here Mary of Guise died, and here James VI was born. For an entertaining history of the fortress, with illustrations, see *The Story of Edinburgh Castle*, by Louis Weirter, R.B.A.

## THE SIEGE OF EDINBURGH CASTLE IN 1573

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This curious old woodcut will give a fairly clear impression of the appearance of Edinburgh in the second half of the sixteenth century, though the artist has exaggerated the width of the streets to make room for the figures of the soldiers. The Flodden Wall with its 'ports' can

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easily be distinguished ; half-way along the left-hand side the Netherbow Port, mentioned in Chapter XXXII, will be noticed. It divided the Canongate, then a separate burgh, from the city. The cross of the Canongate will be seen on the extreme right of the picture. North of the city green fields stretch to the Firth and to Leith, then a fortified town. Within the city St Giles', with its lantern-topped tower, at once catches the eye. It will be noticed that many of the houses in what are now the most congested districts in Edinburgh had in those days spacious gardens behind them. The representation of the castle deserves study. David's Tower can be plainly seen, also the 'Spur' to the east of the fortress, a position of great importance the possession of which was bitterly contested. It has now been levelled and widened to form the castle Esplanade. Both 'King's lords' and 'Queen's lords,' it will be noticed, fought under the banner of St Andrew, while the banner of St George indicates the position of the English allies.

Reduced facsimile of a woodcut in a sixteenth-century copy of Holinshed.

### A N   A R Q U E B U S I E R ,   O R   H A G B U T T E R

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In the arquebus, invented toward the end of the fifteenth century, the lighted match was conveyed to the touch-hole by a sort of lock, which was released when the trigger was pressed. The hagbut was a variation of the arquebus ; the action was the same, but the butt, instead of being straight as in the arquebus, was bent in such a way that when it was placed against the shoulder the barrel was in a line with the eye of the person who was firing, and a fairly accurate aim was possible. Our illustration is taken from a sixteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum.

### 'THE MAIDEN'

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This was an early form of the guillotine, and is said to have been invented by the Regent Morton, who perished by it in 1581. It was in use in Edinburgh for more than a century, and Morton was not by any means its only notable victim. The Marquis of Argyll, Montrose's great opponent, was beheaded by it in 1661, and the Earl of Argyll met the same fate after the rebellion of 1685. The instrument is now in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

### T H E   P A R L I A M E N T   H O U S E ,   E D I N B U R G H ,   I N   T H E   T I M E   O F C H A R L E S   I

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See Plate 56. From a contemporary engraving.

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## 'THUMBIKINS'

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These 'thumbikins,' or thumbscrews, similar to those employed by the Scottish Privy Council for extorting confessions from prisoners, were formerly used by the civic authorities of Montrose. Now in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities.

## CHAPTER I

### THE ROMANS IN SCOTLAND

NOT till A.D. 80, when the Roman legions first wound over the Cheviots, can the history of Scotland be said to begin. Of what happened before no record is left in chronicle or monument ; no coin preserves the name of a king, no altar the name of the god he worshipped. Our knowledge even of the succeeding century has been gained not so much from the pages of Tacitus and his fellow-historians as from stones, pieces of armour, and fragments of pottery, and at the end of that century darkness closes in once more.

Since A.D. 43 the Roman invaders of Britain had pushed farther and farther to the north and west. Four years after their arrival they had overrun the English lowlands as far as the Humber and Shrewsbury ; between the years 70 and 80 Wales and the north of England were subdued, and in the latter year Julius Agricola, who had arrived in Britain two years before, led his forces across the Cheviots into the country of the Caledonians.

Agricola found himself among unfamiliar peoples, red-haired and large of limb, in a mountainous country where the hill-sides were covered with woods and where marshes filled the hollows. No enemy attacked him, and he was able to build and garrison forts before he went into winter quarters.

In the following year he tightened his hold on the lands which he had overrun. A great road, guarded by forts, now stretched over the Cheviots, past the triple crest of the Eildons, and over the Pentland Hills to the Firth of Forth. Across the isthmus which separates the Forth from the Clyde, north of which the Caledonians had retreated, a second line of forts

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

was drawn. The third year saw him in the south-west, where the hill-fortress of Birrenswork, afterward to become an important Roman station, was stormed. For a time he entertained hopes of crossing to Ireland and adding that island to the Roman dominions, but from the north came rumours that all the tribes beyond the Forth were in arms, and the plan was abandoned.

In the summer of 83 he began a campaign which was intended to destroy the Caledonian power once and for all. When he marched northward this time his army kept in touch with the fleet, which hugged the coast and raided the harbours of the enemy.

A few words in Tacitus help us to picture a common scene on this northward march. It is night, and the light of the camp-fire gleams on a motley crowd, fair-haired German or Batavian auxiliaries, both foot and cavalry, Gaulish legionaries, and weather-beaten marines from the fleet. The soldiers and marines share their rations amicably and compare experiences ; tales of the forest and mountain, of toil and sudden attack, are followed by tales of storms and of the sluggish northern sea where the oar drags heavily. Around them stretch the leathern tents, and beyond the tents the low walls of earth where the sentinels pace slowly, while without the wind moans through the dark mystery of the Caledonian forest.

But the advance of Agricola, though it at first stupefied the enemy, soon roused them to a fiercer resistance than they had hitherto shown. Fort after fort was attacked, and to this day the sixfold ditch at Ardoch, the rows of pits which defend Roughcastle, show how much the Roman legionary feared the mad rush of the Caledonian. Some of Agricola's officers advised a retreat, but, dividing his army into three parts, he pushed northward.

He was soon to learn something of the spirit of the Caledonians. One night they surrounded the camp of the weakened Ninth Legion, slew the sentinels, and, bursting through the gates, rushed on their sleeping enemies. The Romans were all but overwhelmed, when a shout was heard without,



PLATE II. IRON VISOR-MASK AND HELMET



## THE ROMANS IN SCOTLAND

and through the dim light of dawn they discerned the standards of Agricola's division. The Caledonians hesitated ; the Romans within the camp, anxious to avoid the shame of needing reinforcements, fell on them furiously and drove them back through the gates. The Romans now seemed to have an opportunity of inflicting a crushing blow on the enemy, but the Caledonians soon vanished among the woods and marshes. A disaster had been barely averted ; nothing substantial had been gained.

Agricola now advanced far into Perthshire, and encamped for the winter at Inchtuthill, near the junction of the Tay and the Earn. Not till late in the summer of 84 did he resume his march against the still unsubdued Caledonians. As before, his fleet crept along the coast, plundering and burning, while he, at the head of a flying column, plunged into the northern forests and came upon 30,000 Caledonians posted on the slopes of Mons Graupius under the leadership of Calgacus. From their ranks came the sounds of wild shouting and singing, their long swords glittered in the sun, and the wheels of their chariots rattled across the plain.

Agricola now arranged his forces. In the centre he placed eight thousand of his infantry auxiliaries, on the flanks hovered three thousand cavalry, while the legionaries were kept in the rear.

The battle began with a discharge of weapons from the auxiliary cohorts and from the Caledonians posted on the plain at the foot of the hill ; then Agricola ordered his Batavian and Tungrian cohorts to advance and grapple with the enemy hand to hand. In the contest which followed the Caledonians, though they charged wildly, found that their small targets and long, pointless swords could work little harm on the Batavians, who struck at their adversaries with the bosses of their great shields and stabbed with their short, keen swords. The ranks of the Caledonians broke under the steady pressure, and they were forced slowly up the hill. Meantime the Roman cavalry had routed the chariots and, galloping uphill, plunged into the struggling mass. Hither and thither the two sides swayed,

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the Roman cavalry trying to push through by the sheer weight of their horses, the infantry fighting grimly, but often thrown into confusion by the chariots, which tore through their ranks, driven by terrified horses, often with a dead charioteer grasping the reins.

Now a new danger threatened Agricola's forces. The Caledonians who had occupied the higher slopes of the mountain came down and, making a *détour*, sought to take the Roman army in the rear. Immediately Agricola dispatched four regiments of cavalry, who, hurling themselves at the Caledonians, threw them into utter confusion, and then, galloping forward, fell upon the rear of the main body of the enemy. Assailed on both sides, the ranks of the Caledonians grew thin ; some fled, some held their ground, and some, though their weapons were lost, flung themselves upon the Romans in a last desperate charge. But the end could not be long delayed ; soon the ground was clear save for weapons and bodies of the slain, and the Caledonians were fleeing to the woods with the Romans in pursuit. The victory was not yet assured, for when the Caledonians reached the woods they rallied and fell hotly upon the foremost Romans. But at Agricola's command the cavalry were told to move forward in unbroken order and sweep the woods like a drag-net. At the sight of the long glittering lines advancing through the forest the Caledonians fled, nor did they again rally.

All that night above the din of the revelling soldiers could be heard the wailing of men and women. The Caledonians were wandering over the battlefield, dragging off their wounded. Next day no sound came from the woods, on the hills there was no gleam of weapons. Here and there a cloud of smoke rolled up to the sky ; the Caledonians had fired their houses, and withdrawn where Agricola could not pursue them.

### THE ROMANS SAIL ROUND SCOTLAND

As the summer was far spent Agricola had to rest content with this barren victory, and retired slowly southward to his winter quarters. Meantime the fleet, which had been ordered



PLATE III. BRONZE JUG AND BOWL OF 'SAMIAN'  
WARE



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to proceed on a voyage of discovery, steered for the north. A landing was made on the Orkneys ; far on the northern horizon the sailors saw what they took to be the islands of Thule. Thence they sailed down the western coast, picking their way through sounds and long sea lochs, till they came to a part of the coast which they recognized, and were able to assure themselves of what had long been guessed, that Britain was an island.

In the following year Agricola was recalled—because of the jealousy of the Emperor Domitian, Tacitus says; more probably because the Caledonian forests were swallowing up troops needed to meet the pressure of the barbarians on the Danube and the Rhine. The northern forts were abandoned, though in the south Newstead remained occupied for several years. In the bitter words of the historian, “ Britain had been conquered and at once thrown away.”

Of what happened in Scotland during the next fifty years no historian has left a record. We can dimly see the Caledonian hordes sweeping across the isthmus into the south and throwing themselves on the forts which marked the Roman frontier. The battered helmet-masks, cloven skulls, and broken swords that have been dug up from Newstead tell a tale of desperate fighting, ending in the capture or evacuation of the fort. In 108 the Ninth Legion was at York ; it is never heard of again. It had been cut to pieces in one of these wild uprisings of the northern tribes ; its only epitaph is silence.

So indomitable seemed these Caledonians, or so worthless their country, that when Hadrian fixed the boundary of the Roman province about 122 he chose neither the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde nor the northern side of the Cheviots, but the space between Solway and Tyne. But even Hadrian’s wall of turf, defended by forts, could not overawe northern Britain, and about 140, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, the governor Lollius Urbicus advanced into Scotland with the Second, Sixth, and Twentieth Legions, defeated the Caledonians, and occupied the isthmus between Forth and Clyde.

Probably incursions from the north accounted for this

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forward movement. At any rate, Lollius Urbicus determined to lessen the danger of invasion by a permanent occupation of southern Scotland. The road from Corbridge to the shores of the Forth was again opened up, and Newstead and the other deserted forts which once guarded it were reconstructed and garrisoned. A wall of turf, about thirty-six miles long, was built between the Clyde and the Forth. It was defended at intervals of about two miles by forts, and still further strengthened by a ditch, forty feet broad, which extended in front of it. Behind the rampart, joining fort to fort, stretched the military way, along which troops could be hurried when the beacons on the signal mound spread the news of invasion.

About the year 143 the wall was completed ; the legions withdrew to their bases in southern Britain, and were replaced by auxiliaries, Gauls, Germans, Thracians, and Syrians.

The occupation of Scotland was now as complete as it was fated ever to be. It was never more than a military occupation. We do not find, as in southern Britain, towns planned after the Roman fashion with forum and basilica, inhabited by Britons who used Latin as their ordinary speech. Each community lived its own life, in the midst of a hostile population that was ready to break into rebellion at a moment's notice. What that life was like excavations made within the last few years can give us a fair idea. We can picture the far-stretching rampart of turf, where the sentinel paces slowly, or the square-built fort lying behind it, whose double row of ditches shows how much the charge of the Caledonians is feared. In the middle of the fort rises the stone-built *principi*t**, behind which stretch long rows of wooden huts, the barracks of the soldiers. Without, surrounded by a single ditch, is the annexe, where the baths are to be found, and where the women, and perhaps some of the retired soldiers, have their quarters. The finds of smith's and carpenter's tools, as well as scythes, hoes, and spades, show that the Roman soldier was more than a soldier, while the numerous altars to Fortune give one a hint of how he spent his leisure. He showed his piety by erecting altars not only to Jupiter and Mars, but to the guardian



PLATE IV. BOUNDARY SLAB FROM THE ANTONINE WALL.



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spirit of Britain and to Celtic deities. On one occasion he sought to propitiate the god of the well by an offering of tin coins.

As to the purpose of the wall, one must remember that it was not meant to be an impregnable barrier, a huge fortress thirty-six miles long defending southern Britain as the lines of Torres Vedras defended Lisbon. Its garrison of ten thousand could not possibly hold such an extended line against the combined forces of the Caledonians. It was designed, not to suppress rebellion, but to prevent rebellion breaking out. At the least sign of disturbance on the northern side of the wall beacons would be fired and detachments hurried along from the nearest forts, that the disturbers of the peace might be crushed at once.

How helpless the garrisons were in the face of a general rising was shown in the year 155. In that year the Brigantes, whose territory stretched from the Peak to the Cheviots, rose in rebellion and hurled themselves upon the Roman forts. The northern wall was abandoned, again Newstead was captured, and though reinforcements were hurried from Germany, at least three years passed before the forts could be won back from the enemy and the ruined buildings restored. The peace was only temporary. In 162 there was another rising, in which some of the frontier forts were lost for a time.

### END OF THE ROMAN OCCUPATION

Every one knew that the end was not far off. The new buildings were constructed carelessly, as if by men who had lost heart or knew that their stay would be short. In another twenty years the end came. As Commodus was ascending the throne the North again flamed out into rebellion, and in 184 he took the title of Britannicus, as a sign that the rebellion had been subdued. It was an empty boast; Hadrian's Wall had indeed been won back from the rebels, but, save one or two outlying posts, all north of it was abandoned. Somewhere about 183 the final evacuation took place. The distance slabs in the great wall, which the legionaries had affixed proudly

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forty years before, were buried face downward, the altars were thrown into pits or wells, the stone buildings partially demolished, the wooden barracks set on fire. We can see the long

line of the cohorts, Hamian, Tungrian, Thracian, tramping along the southern road, their Roman officers looking sullenly back to where the smoke of the abandoned forts hung low on the horizon. Newstead and Birrens, the chief strongholds in southern Scotland, were also evacuated, their altars buried, their wells choked with stones and rubbish, and with this the Roman occupation of Scotland came to an end.

Yet this was not the last time that Roman troops were to be seen on the soil of Scotland. In the year 208 the aged Emperor Septimius Severus entered Scotland to chastise the Caledonians and the

Maeatae, as the inhabitants of the northern and southern parts beyond the wall were now called. He found himself in a country of barren mountains and marshy plains, fighting with an enemy that would not risk a pitched battle. Strange stories have come down to us of roads cut through forests, of morasses filled, of rivers bridged, of men swept



ROMAN ALTAR FOUND AT BIRRENS, IN DUMFRIESSHIRE

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away by floods, or ambushed by the enemy, or dispatched by their comrades when they lagged behind, till fifty thousand lives had been lost. Of what actually happened we can say little, though the spade of the archaeologist may some day furnish a solution to the mystery. It matters little ; even if Severus did penetrate to the extremity of the island, even if he did force a peace from the Caledonians, before he died in 211 both Maeatae and Caledonians had risen in rebellion, and he knew that the work of conquest would have to be done anew. It was never attempted ; his son withdrew from the struggle, and Hadrian's Wall, which he had reconstructed, became for two centuries the limit of the Roman province. During these two centuries, though the tribes north of the wall had much to do with the fortunes of Roman Britain, no Roman soldier, so far as we know, set foot in the regions beyond the Cheviots.

Thus a hundred and thirty years separates the first and last Roman invasion of Scotland. The actual occupation lasted only forty years, and once during that period the Romans had to loose their hold of all the territory north of the Cheviots. In short, the history of the Romans in Scotland is one of fierce, profitless frontier fighting, leading at the best to a precarious military occupation. Nothing was gained, not even safety, by the occupation of the northern frontier, and the Caledonians in turn gained nothing from Roman civilization.

## CHAPTER II

### THE TRIUMPH OF BARBARISM

**W**HAT manner of men were these barbarians who twice within thirty years drove the Romans from the Antonine Wall? Before the dawn of history Scotland, and indeed the whole of Britain, had been peopled by a race with dark hair and long skulls, makers of tools of polished stone. But it was not with this race that Caesar and Agricola had to do. Some centuries before the Romans set foot in Britain a horde of strangers with broad skulls and fair hair had crossed from the Continent and settled in the island. They were Celts, the ancestors of the Scottish Highlanders of the present day. This first wave of invasion was followed by a second, that of the Brythons, another Celtic people, speaking a slightly different language, before whom the first invaders were forced to retreat into the west and north. When Agricola invaded Scotland the Brythons had occupied all the south of the country except Galloway and the southern shore of the Firth of Forth, and a Brythonic tribe had even pushed to the north of the Forth.

What became of the aborigines is uncertain. Probably many a battle took place in which the stone axe rattled against the bronze shield of the Celtic warrior, till the older race was either exterminated or forced to adopt the language and habits of the conquerors. With the possible exception of one or two place-names, not a word of their tongue has survived.

For a description of the customs and appearance of these early inhabitants of Scotland one has little material but vague travellers' tales. In his account of the remoter parts of the island Caesar tells us that the inhabitants were ignorant of

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weaving, clothing themselves only in skins, and that groups of ten or twelve men held their wives in common. As he did not himself penetrate more than thirty miles north of the Thames, however, he is probably repeating a description given by the more civilized Britons of the south. His account of the marriage customs of these northerly peoples gains support from the fact that in the later Pictish kingdom succession was through the female. Tacitus, on the other hand, describes Calgacus as encouraging the Caledonians to fight by reminding them of their wives and homes, and says that in the hour of defeat "sometimes they were discouraged by the sight of their children, more often roused." Of their appearance and methods of fighting he tells us something. They had ruddy locks and were large of limb. They fought on foot, with small targets and long, pointless swords, but some tribes used war-chariots. The veteran soldiers wore trophies of their former battles. Their national organization seems to have been loose ; the host which fought at Mons Graupius consisted of warriors from many tribes, owning no supreme head, for even Calgacus is not described as a king—he is simply "one excelling the other generals in bravery and rank." Other evidences we can get from archaeology ; the presence in the crannogs of red Samian ware from the workshops of Gaul shows that these strange lake-dwellings were in use at this period. They were to be found in many a Scottish loch—natural or artificial islands, covered with a wooden platform, on which were erected large tent-like wooden huts. That these peoples were far from unskilled in metal-work the swords of bronze and the slender golden torc found at Newstead bear ample witness.

## THE COMING OF THE SCOTS

For about eighty years after the death of Severus Roman Britain remained at peace. The great barrier of Hadrian, with its outlying fortresses, effectually kept back the barbarians of the north, and allowed Roman customs and the Latin language to be adopted by the southern Briton. The first

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rumour of coming trouble was heard about the year 286, when Carausius, the commander of the *classis Britannica*, claimed to be the equal of the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian. His demand was unwillingly granted, but in 293 he was murdered by Allectus, one of his officers. Three years later the Emperor Constantius Chlorus invaded Britain, and Allectus was defeated and slain. About the same time Teutonic pirates began to appear in the seas of Western Europe, and to harass the southern and eastern coasts of Britain; about half a century later the Picti, or Piets, as the Romans called the painted barbarians of Scotland, began to make raids into the north of the province, while the west was exposed to the inroads of the Scotti, Goideelic Celts of Ireland.

This is the first appearance of the Scots in history. At this time there was not a single Scot north of the Cheviots; and it must be remembered that it was not till the tenth century, five hundred years after the Scots had settled in it, that the country began to get the name of Scotland.

About the year 343 the Emperor Constans crossed to Britain and drove back the raiders, but the effect of his campaign was only temporary. Seventeen years later a more terrible invasion began. Saxons, Scots, Picts, and Atacotts (probably the natives of Galloway) burst into the province, drove back the troops that had marched to meet them, stormed the great fortresses, and penetrated far into the south of the island. It was no mere raid, for the invaders seem to have intended to settle in the land which they had conquered, and though a general was sent from Gaul, he could do little against them. For eight years this state of turmoil continued, till in 368 Theodosius, the ablest general in the Empire, had to be dispatched to Britain. Landing with a large army, he soon drove the invaders from the south of the island; then in the following year he marched north, clearing out the barbarians, and restoring the towns and fortresses which had been destroyed. Once again Hadrian's Wall was the boundary of the province.

But the great Roman Empire was beginning to fall to

PLATE V. ROMAN FORT AT CASTLECARY





## THE TRIUMPH OF BARBARISM

pieces. The story of revolt and invasion was repeated in all its provinces, and every provincial general could now aspire to the Imperial purple. In 383 Magnus Maximus, a Spanish officer in the British army, proclaimed himself Emperor, and, after driving back the marauding Picts and Scots, crossed to Gaul with a large army. He conquered Western Europe, and entered Italy itself, but in 388 he was defeated and slain by the legitimate Emperors. Again Picts, Scots, and Saxons poured into the weakened province, till, in the closing years of the fourth century, Stilicho, the minister of Honorius, dispatched troops to Britain, "who bridled the Saxon and the Scot." One picture stands out vividly from this dim background of fleeting figures : a poet describes a group of Roman soldiers bending over the body of a dying Pict, and examining the figures marked with some iron instrument on his skin. But the respite was brief. Rome itself was threatened, and in 402 the reinforcements sent by Stilicho were withdrawn for the defence of Italy. On the last night of 406 the great raid on Rome took place, and in 410 the Emperor Honorius wrote to the cities of Britain urging them to look to their own safety. Britain was no longer part of the Roman Empire.

To the Briton of the south, whose mother tongue was Latin, whose house, with its tessellated floors and painted walls, aped the fashions of Italy, who loitered in baths and gaming-houses, and did not worship the spirits of earth and water, as his fathers had done, but sacrificed to Jupiter, or stood with outstretched hands in a Christian church, this must have seemed the end of all things. The work of three and a half centuries was undone ; the arts and graces of civilization counted for nothing ; he would prevail against the barbarian who had most of the barbarian in his nature.

## THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

But before the Romans had departed from Britain an event of the greatest moment took place in the country of the Picts. Till a few years ago, at the entrance to the deserted burying-ground of Kirkmadrine, in Wigtonshire, one might have seen

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two narrow, flat slabs, about five feet high, bearing upon them the cross of Constantine surrounded by a circle. Inscribed upon one are the mystic letters A et Ω, and the following words, cut in bold Roman characters : *Hic iacent s[an]c[t]i et praecipui sacerdotes Ides[us] Viventius et Maiorius.* In all probability these stones are relics of the mission of St Ninian, the first Christian teacher who penetrated north of the Solway.

Ninian was born in Britain about the middle of the fourth century. His father was a Christian and a man of rank. While he was a youth, when the connexion between Britain and the rest of the Empire was still unbroken, he made his way to Rome, where he lived for many years. At length he was consecrated bishop, and he set out on his journey homeward along the great road that stretched through Gaul. He halted at Tours, that he might have some converse with St Martin, and from him procured masons to build a church of stone. So in time *Candida Casa*, 'the Church of White Stone,' rose at Whithorn, on the northern shore of the Solway, but before it was completed, in the autumn of 397, news came that St Martin of Tours was dead, whereupon Ninian resolved that the church should be dedicated to him. For some years he preached to the Galwegians and southern Picts, and made converts ; but if he had hoped that his teaching would quell the savagery of the Picts and make them less eager for the plunder of southern Britain, he was cruelly disappointed.

After Ninian's death many of his converts lapsed into paganism. It was not till missionaries came from Ireland that Christianity became the abiding belief of the natives of Scotland. At this period Ireland was a heathen country, but about 432 St Patrick, a Briton, crossed the western seas, and in a comparatively short time the greater part of the island came under the influence of the Christian faith.

Meanwhile the plight of southern Britain was growing steadily worse. By the middle of the fifth century the Teutonic sea-rovers had gained a firm footing on the eastern and southern coasts, and a grim secular struggle began between them and the Britons. Soon they had swarmed over the central plains,

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stampmg out the memorials of a civilization they did not understand, till they came to the western uplands. There they had to do with a hardier folk, and there for a time the tide of conquest was arrested.

Once more the Scots appeared on the scene. They were Goidelic Celts who dwelt in the north-east corner of Ireland, in a district called Dalriada, and spoke a language which resembled that of the Picts more than that of the Britons. They had probably come under the influence of St Patrick and received the semblance, at least, of Christianity. In 498 Fergus Mor with a band of these Dalriad Scots crossed from Ireland and settled in what is now the county of Argyll. For about sixty years they not only held their own against the Picts whom they had displaced, but added to their territories, till in 560 they were attacked by Brude, the Pictish monarch, and defeated in a battle in which their king, Gabran, was slain.

About thirteen years previously another people had made a settlement in the south-east of Scotland. In 547 Ida, a king of the Angles, had seized and fortified Bamborough and made it the centre of his kingdom of Bernicia, which extended from the Tees to the Forth.

## FOUR RACES IN SCOTLAND

In the year 560, then, the country which we now call Scotland was divided among four or five different races. The district between the Firth of Forth and the Tweed formed the northern part of the kingdom of Bernicia, occupied by the Angles, a Teutonic race speaking a language quite different from that of the neighbouring peoples. The south-western part, with the exception of the district west of the river Nith, formed part of the still unconquered territory of the Britons, which at this time in the western area extended without a break as far as Cornwall. The district west of the Nith was occupied by a Pictish people. In the west Dalriada, consisting of the peninsula of Cantire, belonged to the Scots, who at this period were ruled by King Conall, while to the east and north of Dalriada stretched the wide territories of the Picts.

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Though the Picts of the south had been influenced by the teaching of Ninian, the northern Picts were still heathen. No knowledge of their gods has come down to us ; they seem to have worshipped the forces of nature, the spirits of the winds and the waters. We read, for instance, that they worshipped a fountain which was the haunt of demons and had magical properties. They held in great reverence the Druids or magicians, men who claimed power to control the elements and call up storms at will. On sculptured stones found in what was once the territory of the Picts we see strange figures recurring again and again—a crescent intersected by two decorated rods, and a double circle crossed by a zigzag line. These occur sometimes alone, sometimes along with a cross. Symbols they must be, but what they mean no one can tell. One may guess, however, that they were pagan symbols, which in the course of time were adopted by the Christian monks and invested with a new significance, just as that haunted fountain was worshipped by the Pictish converts after it had been blessed by Columba, or as in other lands the lament for Adonis became an Easter hymn.

## CHAPTER III

### THE MISSION OF COLUMBA

AFTER St Patrick's mission to Ireland Christianity spread rapidly, and a great Church soon arose, a Church throbbing with life and afame with enthusiasm. This enthusiasm sometimes overflowed in a fantastic asceticism, or in the unwearying labours of the illuminator, bending for days over one page of the Sacred Book; it took a far nobler form in that missionary zeal which drove its monks not only into Scotland and England, but into countries as far distant as Gaul and Switzerland.

The Church was purely monastic, divided into communities, each settled on its allotted portion of the land of the tribe, each ruled over by its abbot. Its doctrines at this time were the same as those of the Church on the Continent, although there were differences in some external details. Though a priest could be ordained only by a bishop, and though when a bishop was present no priest could celebrate the Eucharist, in all other cases the bishop was under the jurisdiction of the abbot of his monastery, who was often simply in priest's orders. In the method of fixing the date of Easter and in the fashion of the priest's tonsure it differed from the Roman Church—a circumstance which a century after resulted in bitter strife.

In this Church St Columba, or Columcille, was reared, and in it he rose to great eminence, founding many churches and monasteries. In 561 St Columba, enraged by what he considered the injustice of King Diarmaid, stirred up the men of Connaught and the north to attack him. The result was the battle of Cul-Drehme, in which King Diarmaid was routed. But the conduct of Columba in provoking strife was censured;

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a synod met to excommunicate him, and he was saved only by the intercession of St Brendan. According to the old legend, he went to his confessor, and was absolved on condition that he left Ireland for ever and saved as many souls as there had been men lost in the battle. Although this story is almost certainly mythical, remorse had probably some part in inducing him to seek the western islands of Scotland. Other things must have persuaded him—the perilous straits to which the little kingdom of Dalriada had been reduced by the heathen Picts, and that missionary zeal that burned with unabated fire throughout his life.

In the year 563, with twelve followers, Columba set sail for Scotland. He was kindly received by King Conall, who granted the island of Iona to him and his monks. Iona is a small island off the coast of Mull, about three miles long and a mile and a half broad. It is rugged, but with no hills of considerable height except Dunii, in the northern part, which rises to about 600 feet. Here, between the foot of the hill and the eastern shore of the island, Columba fixed the site of his monastery.

Two years later he made his way to the palace of the Pictish king, near the banks of the river Ness. When he and his companions arrived they found the gates of the enclosure barred against them, whereupon, as his biographer tells us, Columba made the sign of the Cross on the gates and knocked, at which they immediately flew open. The King, impressed by the miracle, advanced to meet the Saint, received him respectfully, and ever after held him in high esteem. It is certain that within a short time King Brude became a convert to Christianity, and that many of his people followed his example and embraced the new faith. We can imagine the aged Druids listening sullenly to the new doctrine, or flushing with anger when their magical powers were attributed to the help of evil spirits. To doubt the pretensions of these magicians never entered into the heads of St Columba and his followers. They believed in demons as they did in angels, in the efficacy of a charm as well as of a blessing. If a contrary wind arose, it was the work of the Druids ; if it fell suddenly,

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a miracle had been worked by the prayers of the Saint. It was only natural that the Druids should attempt to hinder Columba in his work, but when they tried to interrupt him as he was chanting the evening Psalms he sang in a voice "like pealing thunder," and when they persuaded him to drink of an enchanted fountain, the waters of which dealt disease to all who tasted them, he drank and was unhurt.

So Columba returned to Iona, joyous because, after venturing with a small band of monks over mountain passes and lochs and desolate moorlands into the heart of a hostile country, he had planted the seeds of his faith among the nation of the Picts and gained the friendship of a king whose authority was recognized from the Orkneys to the Firth of Forth. But he was not satisfied; again and again did he return to the kingdom of the Picts, burning with eagerness to carry his message to places where it had not yet been heard. His biographer shows him on one of these journeys, hastening his companions on, and walking before them that he might be in time to bring the message of the Gospel to a dying heathen. Monasteries were founded in many of the western islands as well as on the mainland, and Christianity was established beyond the fear of any relapse.

Of the community of Iona we have a vivid picture in the pages of Columba's biographer, Adamnan, the ninth abbot, who had conversed with men who knew the Saint. Within the rath, or rampart, clustered a group of wooden or wattled huts—the little church, the refectory, the dwellings of the monks, the granary, and the guest-chamber, where the feet of strangers were washed. Some distance to the west was the hut of Columba, where he spent much of his time reading or writing, attended by the faithful Diormit, for, according to Adamnan, "he never could spend the space of even one hour without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation." Farther west lay the fields of the monastery, where barley was sown and where the cattle of the community grazed. The youth who attended to the cows, we are told,

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used to stop on his way back to the monastery to get the blessing of the Saint.

The monastery was the scene of constant bustle and activity. Now some of the brethren were setting out, it might be on a missionary journey, it might be to get timber for the buildings ; now a party of Irish ecclesiastics was being welcomed ; now the boatman's hail from the Sound of Mull gave warning of the approach of a stranger, and Columba had regretfully to postpone the fast ordained for the day. Sometimes the guest was a hermit, searching for a solitary isle in the ocean, sometimes a dying Pict, anxious to hear the Gospel before he passed away. At intervals the Saint's bell would sound, and the brethren flocked to the church, wearing white robes if it were a festival. There, says Adamnan, "the venerable man raised his voice so wonderfully that it was sometimes heard four furlongs off . . . and sometimes eight furlongs." At times, when a vision of battle or danger had disturbed the Saint, the bell would sound at dead of night, and the monks would hasten across the darkened courtyard to the church, to find the Saint kneeling before the altar.

A hard task the Saint must have had to eradicate the plundering habits of the people among whom he lived. He was naturally a hot-tempered man, and it does not surprise us to read of his rushing into the water after a robber and, with outstretched arms, calling down curses upon him. But the example of the monks was of more value than curses and excommunication. If they took twigs from a poor man to build their huts, they gave him barley in return ; and when a robber was haled before Columba and accused of killing the young seals that belonged to the monastery the Saint rebuked him mildly, told him that if ever he were in need he would be supplied at the monastery, and ordered some sheep to be slain and given to him.

But the Saint was not only a great missionary, the founder and organizer of a great Church ; his opinion in State affairs counted for much. In 574 King Conall died, and Columba persuaded the Scots to choose the energetic Aidan as his

PLATE VI. IONA CATHEDRAL, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST





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successor in place of Eoganan, his elder brother. In the following year, along with King Aidan, Columba attended the Synod of Drumceatt, in Ireland, where the Scots of Dalriada were freed from the tribute they had been compelled to pay to the Irish king, though they had still to join him in his warlike expeditions.

In 584 Brude, the king of the Picts, died, and was succeeded by Gartnaidh, whose royal seat seems to have been in the southern part of the Pictish kingdom. The foundation of churches at Abernethy and St Andrews shows that Christianity was penetrating to parts of the country where its preachers had never been heard before, or had been heard only to be forgotten.

But the spread of Christianity did not put an end to the struggle between the different races of Scotland, as is shown in a strange story told by Adamnan. "At another time . . . he suddenly said to his servant Diormit : 'Ring the bell.' The brethren, roused by the sound, ran quickly to the church, with the holy prelate himself at their head. There he began, on bended knees, to say to them : 'Let us pray now earnestly to the Lord for this people and King Aidan, for at this hour they are engaged in battle.' Then after a short time he went out of the oratory, and looking up to heaven said : 'Now the barbarians are fleeing and to Aidan the victory has been given, a sad one though it be.' " This was the battle of Chirchind, fought against the Miathi, probably a Pictish tribe, in which the eldest sons of the King were slain.

So the years passed, and the traveller whom no journey could ever daunt, the imperious prelate, so quick to curse and to prophesy evil, had become a bent old man, praying for death. But the zeal for his faith had not burned low, and he was revered as a saint not only in his own monastery, but wherever his name was known in Scotland or Ireland. We can picture him sitting in his little hut, with pen and ink-horn beside him, bending over the leaves of parchment, while Diormit kept watch at the door lest any intruder should disturb him. We can see him stealing away to the woods to prayer, or climbing

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to the summit of Dunii and looking down on the thatched roofs of the monastery, or westward to the great levels of the Atlantic, or over the sound to the blue hills of Mull.

As he grew weaker he went abroad in a little chariot. Visiting the brethren thus as they were working in the fields one day in May, 597, he began to speak to them in words that struck a chill to their hearts. "During the Paschal ceremony lately celebrated in the month of April, with desire have I desired to go to Christ the Lord, as He would have granted to me, had I preferred it. But lest a joyful festival should be turned for you into mourning, I preferred to put off for a little longer the day of my passing from the world."

At these words his old companions were greatly afflicted, and the stricken man strove to console them. Then, turning to the east, he blessed the island and its inhabitants, the island that had now become dearer to him than his native land.

At the end of the week, on the Sabbath, leaning on the arm of his attendant Diormit, he went to bless the barn. After he had raised his hands and uttered the words of blessing his eyes fell upon two great heaps of corn, and he said : "I congratulate my beloved brethren that this year also, even if I am obliged to depart from you, you will have enough for the year." At these words Diormit uttered a cry of pain, and exclaimed : "At this season of the year, Father, you too often make us sad, because you remind us frequently of your passing."

To this the old man replied : "I have some few words to say to you in secret, and if you faithfully promise me to reveal them to no one before my death, I shall be able to speak to you more clearly concerning my passing." Diormit promised on bended knees, and the Saint began : "This day in the Holy Scriptures is called the Sabbath, which means rest. And of a truth this day is a Sabbath to me, because it is the last day of my present laborious life, on which I rest after the fatigues of my labours, and when midnight of this holy Sabbath

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comes I shall go the way of my fathers." When he heard these words Diormit burst into passionate weeping, and the old man, bending over him, tried to console him.

With slow steps Columba and his attendant passed from the barn and made their way back to the monastery. But the Saint was heavy with age, and when he had accomplished half of his journey he sat down to rest. Near at hand a white pack-horse, "the faithful servant that used to carry the flagons of milk from the cow-shed to the monastery," was grazing. It moved up to the Saint, and, placing its head against the old man's bosom, began to whinny plaintively. Diormit would have driven it away, but to the old man it seemed that the dumb beast was mourning over his approaching death, and he forbade Diormit to touch it, and when it turned away gave it his blessing.

Before he returned to the monastery Columba climbed the hill on which he so often used to sit, and, standing on the summit, he gazed down upon the cluster of huts ; then, raising his hands to heaven, he blessed the spot tenderly, saying : " To this place, though it is small and mean, shall not only the kings of the Scots and their peoples, but even the princes of barbarous and alien tribes, with their subjects, give great and unusual honour."

Then he descended from the hill, wrote for a little in his hut, attended the evening service, and, after giving some words of advice to the brethren, he lay down on his bed, which consisted of a slab of stone, with a smaller stone for a pillow. What followed is best described in the words of Adamnan, who doubtless had heard the story of the Saint's passing from the aged brethren of the monastery.

### DEATH OF ST COLUMBA

" As soon as the bell tolled at midnight he rose quickly and went to the church. Running faster than the others, he entered alone, and on bended knees fell before the altar in prayer. . . . Diormit, entering the church, cried with a piteous voice : ' Where art thou, Father ? ' And as the brothers

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had not yet brought the lights, he groped about in the darkness and found the Saint lying before the altar, and raising him a little and sitting beside him, he placed the holy head in his bosom. Meantime the throng of monks had rushed in with lights, and seeing their dying father, they burst into lamentation. And, as we have been informed by some who were present, the Saint, before his soul had departed, opened wide his eyes and looked around him from side to side with a countenance of wondrous joy and gladness, no doubt seeing the holy angels coming to meet him. Diormit then raised the holy right hand of the Saint, that he might bless the assembled monks. And the venerable father himself at the same time moved his hand as much as he was able, that as he could not bless them in words while his soul was departing, yet he might be seen to bless the brethren with the motion of his hand. And after he had given his holy benediction in this wise he straightway breathed his last."

It might have been expected that prelates and kings from Scotland and Ireland would have hastened to his funeral, but during the three days and three nights that the brethren chanted about his bier a great tempest raged without ceasing, preventing any one reaching the island, and his body was buried in the presence of the community of Iona alone.

It was a great work that he accomplished, this passionate priest who had been so quick to appeal to the sword. Think of him, with one or two companions, crossing rivers made terrible by tales of monsters, tramping over mountain passes, sailing to remote islands, like some John Wesley of the Middle Ages, devoured with the passion for souls. Consider that in 597, the year of his death, Augustine had just landed, and England was still a heathen country. Yet before this time he had established all over Scotland communities of monks, many of them under the protection of the chief or king and settled on a fixed portion of the tribal land, all of them owing obedience to the mother-Church at Iona. More than that, even those who opposed some of the practices of the Columban Church had nothing but praise for the piety,

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the disinterested zeal, and the purity of life that distinguished its clergy. And the missionary enthusiasm which burned so fiercely in the Irish Church burned also in the Church of St Columba, for a few years later Columban monks appeared at the Court of an English king.

## CHAPTER IV

### TWO CENTURIES OF STRIFE

THE history of Scotland for the two and a half centuries that followed the death of Columba is but a barren record of battles and the deaths of kings. Sometimes the Scots of Dalriada were fighting with the Britons of Strathclyde, sometimes Scot and Pict, led by kings of whom no memory survives save an empty name, clashed together on forgotten fields, sometimes the Angles of Northumbria warred against Pict or Briton. Now the chiefs of rival tribes were battling for the throne of Dalriada ; at another time four claimants to the Pictish crown were fighting with one another. Even the Church was not free from strife : the followers of Columba refused to sit at meat with the Roman priests. But in all this confusion, among these dim, ever-moving figures of warring kings and angry ecclesiastics, these glimpses of wounded men and burning churches, of pirate hulks sweeping the western seas, we can distinguish the beginnings of national unity. Before the two centuries and a half are ended Scots and Picts have been brought together under one king.

At the time of Columba's death the king of Bernicia was Ethelfrid, an ambitious monarch, who made war on the Britons, and added much of their territory to his domains. In 603 Aidan, the king of Dalriada, jealous of his growing power, marched against him, and a fierce battle took place at Deksastan,<sup>1</sup> which ended in the utter defeat of the Scots. "Never from that time," says Bede, "has any of the kings of Scots even to this day dared to come to battle in Britain against the nation of the Angles." But Ethelfrid's ambition

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Dawstane, near Jedburgh.

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was not satisfied. In 606 he drove Edwin, the ruler of Deira, from his kingdom, and for eleven years ruled over a realm stretching from the Humber to beyond the Tweed, till in 617 Edwin returned from exile and defeated the usurper. The sons of Ethelfrid and many of the young nobles escaped to the country of the Scots, where they were instructed in the Christian faith and baptized. In 633 the British king Cadwallon, and Penda, the heathen king of Mercia, joined forces and fell upon Edwin, whom they slew at Hatfield. For a year Anfrid, the eldest son of Ethelfred, reigned over Bernicia, but he was slain, and in 634 his brother Oswald came to the throne.

This event gave Celtic Christianity another opportunity of showing its missionary zeal, that zeal which forty years before had sent Columbanus and his monks as far as Gaul and Switzerland. At King Oswald's request a bishop was sent into his realm from the Scottish Church. But the Angles were unmoved by the new teaching, and the bishop returned to Iona, where in a council of the elders he denounced the people of Bernicia as intractable, hard, and barbarous. In the discussion which followed a monk named Aidan turned to the disappointed missionary and said : " Meseemeth, brother, that thou hast been harder than was just for unlearned hearers, and hast not offered them, according to apostolic precept, first the milk of milder doctrine." At these words all eyes were fixed on the speaker ; his counsels of moderation gained the approval of the assembly, and it was agreed that he should be sent to the Court of King Oswald.

The wisdom of this choice was soon apparent ; the missionary shrank from no exertion, no privation that would bring him nearer the fulfilment of his purpose. He travelled all over Northumbria on foot, turning aside whenever he saw a chance of making a convert, exhorting rich and poor alike, never hesitating to rebuke a wrongdoer, however powerful. For wealth or the favour of the great he cared little ; money which was given him he straightway bestowed on the poor or used for the ransom of slaves. Much as he loved King Oswald, he would not tarry long at the royal banquet ; when

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King Oswin presented him with a horse it was at once given away as alms. Intolerant of idleness in himself, he would not allow it in his disciples, but made them spend their leisure in reading or in learning Psalms by heart.

At Lindisfarne, at Bamborough, at many another place between the Humber and the Forth rose the little wooden churches with their thatched roofs, surrounded by the huts of the brethren, for in the Northumbrian Church, as in the Celtic Churches of Scotland and Ireland, all the clerics were monks.

Penda, however, again rallied the forces of heathenism, and in 642 Oswald was slain. He was succeeded by Oswin ; but in 651 Oswin was killed by treachery, and "the twelfth day after the slaying of the King whom he loved" Aidan died under the walls of his church at Bamborough. Another bishop, Finan, was sent from Scotland, and Oswy ascended the throne of Northumbria. But the indomitable Penda made yet another attempt to overthrow the power of the Northumbrian king ; four years later heathen Mercians and half-heathen Britons gathered round him and followed him in his northward march against Oswy. Oswy's entreaties for peace, his promise of priceless gifts from the royal treasury, failed to move the fierce old heathen from his purpose ; he insisted upon immediate battle. Somewhere in Lothian the struggle took place, but victory went to those who had looked for defeat and Penda was slain. From that day Oswy's power increased. As a result of his victory the Mercians and Britons came under his sway. In 657 the death of his nephew Talarg, king of the Picts, made the southern part of that nation subject to him, while the Scots of Dalriada seem to have owned him as their lord.

Meantime the power of the Church was increasing in Northumbria. A few years before a youth named Cuthbert had galloped up to the monastery of Melrose, and, leaping from his horse, had asked to be received into the community. In due time he became Prior of Melrose, and among the zealous Scottish ecclesiastics distinguished himself by his ceaseless

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exertions. Many of the wild Northumbrians were Christians only when they were well ; when they fell ill they prayed to the old gods. Many, dwelling in remote villages among the mountains, had never heard the teaching of the monks. To these people especially Cuthbert addressed himself. The shepherd who had used a charm when he was ill did not dare to meet the piercing eyes of the Saint, but stammered out his fault ; the men of remoter regions, whom previous missionaries had either despised or feared, listened eagerly to his simple, persuasive speech. Over many a trackless moorland, up many a lonely glen, did the Saint make his way, forgetful of hunger and fatigue, of the difficulties of the road, and of the fierce disposition of the people. Such was his enthusiasm that he was absent from his monastery sometimes for weeks at a time.

But the Church was now nearing a crisis in its history. In one or two of their customs the Columban clerics differed from the monks of the Roman Church who had evangelized the south of England. The fashion of the tonsure differed, the Columban monks leaving the back of the head quite unshaven ; and because the Columban Church adhered to an older mode of calculating the date of Easter there was sometimes an interval of a few weeks between the celebrations of the festival. The first murmurs of the dispute had been heard in the time of Aidan, but the most bitter opponents of his doctrine were constrained to respect him for his goodness, and it was not till 664, three years after Aidan's successor had died and had been succeeded as Bishop of Lindisfarne by the Scottish bishop Colman, that the dispute came to a head.

### THE SYNOD OF WHITBY

The most vehement champion of the Roman mode was Wilfred, the Abbot of Ripon. The King, Oswy, who had spent his youth among the Scots, supported the Columban Church, but found his Queen and his son Alchfrid ranged against him. To settle the matter the King commanded that a synod should be held in the abbey of Whitby, and that the

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question should be debated in his presence by the Columban and the Roman priests.

To Bishop Colman's arguments from antiquity and from the practice of St Columba Wilfred opposed the authority of St Peter. Even if Columba was a holy man and powerful in miracles, Wilfred urged, his example could not have more weight than that of St Peter, to whom had been entrusted the keys of heaven. Here the King interrupted eagerly : " Is it true, Colman, that these words were spoken to Peter by our Lord ? " " It is true, O King," said Colman. " Can you show any such power given to Columba ? " was the next question. Colman had to answer : " None." The King was not yet satisfied. " Do you both agree," he asked, " that these words were principally directed to Peter, and that the keys of heaven were given to him by our Lord ? " They answered : " We do." Then said the King : " And I also say unto you that he is the doorkeeper, whom I will not contradict, but will, as far as I know and am able, in all things obey his decrees, lest, when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there should be none to open them."

The King's speech decided the matter ; reluctantly Colman had to leave his church at Lindisfarne and return to Iona, carrying with him part of the bones of Aidan. But though the Celtic Church had fallen in England, it had fallen with honour, as the noble tribute of Bede, who " detested much " its heresies, bears witness : " Of how great frugality and of what continence were Colman and his predecessors, even the place which they ruled bore testimony. For when they departed very few houses were found there, excepting the church ; that is, those only without which social intercourse could not exist at all. Apart from flocks they had no moneys. For if they had received any money from the rich, they gave it straightway to the poor. For it was not necessary either that moneys should be gathered or that houses should be provided for the entertainment of the powerful of the world, since they never came to church except only for the sake of prayer or of hearing God's Word. The King himself, when occasion required,

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came with only five or six attendants ; and departed when his prayer in the church was ended. . . . For the whole anxiety of these teachers was to serve God, not the world."

The death of Oswy in 671, seven years after the Synod of Whitby, was the sign for the Picts to attempt to throw off the Northumbrian yoke. In the following year a great host of them marched southward, but they were met by a force of cavalry under the youthful King Egfrid and sustained so crushing a defeat that, according to an old chronicler, two rivers were blocked with corpses. But their chance came thirteen years later, when Egfrid, disdaining the advice of Cuthbert, advanced into the territory of Brude, king of the Picts. The Picts retired before the invader and lured Egfrid north of the Firth of Tay ; then, when he had reached the swamp of Nechtansmere, beyond the Sidlaw Hills, they fell upon his army and cut it to pieces. The King himself was slain, and only a few of his followers escaped to tell the dreadful news.

With this battle ended the domination of Northumbria over the Picts and over the Britons of Strathclyde ; nor could the Bishops of Lindisfarne any longer claim jurisdiction over the churches of Scotland.

### ADAMNAN

But the dispute about Easter had not been ended by the Synod of Whitby ; a difference of opinion on this question was beginning to show itself among the Celtic clergy of Scotland and Ireland who owed allegiance to Iona. The champion of the new order was none other than Adamnan, the pious and learned biographer of Columba, who after the death of Egfrid had visited Northumbria, and had there been convinced of the justice of the Roman observance. But though many of the Irish monasteries that were under the rule of the Abbot of Iona conformed to the new order, he could by no means persuade the Scottish monks, even those who lived in Iona, to forsake their old customs, and he died in 704 with his purpose unfulfilled.

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Adamnan, however, had left behind him an enduring monument. In his life of Columba, cumbered as it is with tales of the miraculous, he did what no other Scottish scholar was to do for many a century : he described the society in which he lived, its beliefs and customs, and the character of the people amid which it was placed. Of course these vivid little sketches are the result of so many happy accidents. When Adamnan tells how the Saint expelled a demon from a milk-pail he expects the reader to be impressed by his hero's supernatural powers ; the reader smiles at the miracle, but thankfully accepts the information that the monks kept cows, that Columba lived in a little hut between the cow-shed and the other buildings of the monastery, and that the Christian monks believed in the existence of demons who could conceal themselves in a milk-pail. But this is not the only merit that the book possesses. Adamnan has succeeded in his purpose : Columba, "the soldier of Christ," lives again in his pages ; the story of his last days especially cannot fail to move by its rare beauty and pathos.

The changes which Adamnan had sought to bring about were not to be long delayed. About six years after his death Nechtan, the king of the Picts, sent a letter to Ceolfrid, the Abbot of Jarrow, asking his advice about the tonsure and the observance of Easter, and requesting that architects should be sent to build a church of stone in the Roman fashion. The reply, of course, advised conformity to the customs of the rest of Christendom, and Nechtan altered the date of Easter, made all priests shave the crown, and drove the monks of Iona, who upheld the old usage, out of his kingdom into the west of Scotland. Soon afterward, however, the community of Iona and the dependent monasteries, moved by the exhortations of Egbert, an exiled English priest, adopted the coronal tonsure and followed the orthodox mode of observing Easter. But the supremacy of Iona over the churches of the Picts had come to an end.

It would be tedious to follow the endless strife that went on between the claimants to the throne of Dalriada or of the

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Pictish kingdom. It is little wonder that more than one king, tired of ruling a turbulent people, sought refuge in a monastery ; it is little wonder that the monastery could not hold for long men who had spent all their days in fighting. In 723, for instance, Sealbach of Dalriada, who had deposed and slain his brother, retired to a monastery and was succeeded by his son Dungal ; in the following year Nechtan, king of the Picts, copied his example and left the throne to King Drust. But in 726 the crown of Dalriada was seized by Eochaid, while the usurper's brother Alpin drove Drust from his throne. Sealbach left the quiet of the monastery and once more led his men to battle, but he was defeated.

Meantime the kingdom of the Picts was in an extraordinary plight. Alpin had to contend with a second usurper, Aengus, who met him in battle and defeated him. Later in the same year Alpin met defeat at the hands of Nechtan, who, like Sealbach, had put off his robes of religion ; but in the following year Aengus defeated first Nechtan and then Drust, and in 731 was firmly established on the Pictish throne.

This Aengus seems to have been a vigorous king. In 736 he ravaged Dalriada and captured Dunadd, its capital ; five years later he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Scots ; and in 756, along with Edbert of Northumbria, he led an army against Dumbarton, the chief town of Strathclyde, and forced the Britons to come to terms. It was in his reign that Bishop Acca fled from Hexham, bearing with him the relics of St Andrew ; and on the promontory of Kilrymount, beside the humbler buildings dedicated to the Columban saint Regulus, a stone church was built and dedicated to St Andrew.

Though the Scots had received a crushing defeat at the hands of Aengus, they had not lost their independence ; in 766 a battle took place between Kenneth, the Pictish king, and Aedh, king of Dalriada. But their power was fast dwindling. In 781 Fergus, the successor of Aedh, died, and for sixty years after that Dalriada seems to have been governed directly by the Pictish kings.

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### THE DANISH PIRATES

And now, in the year 794, the galleys of the Danish pirates appeared in the western seas. In the following year Iona was plundered ; seven years later the monastery was burned ; and in 806 the brethren were slaughtered by the Danes. Clearly an isolated, defenceless island like Iona was no place for a metropolitan church ; the remains of Columba were carried to Ireland, and in 807 Abbot Cellach ordained that in future the monastery at Kells was to be regarded as the centre of the Columban order. But the zeal of earlier days had not departed from the Church ; a few years later the shrine of Columba was carried to Iona, and a church of stone built to the south of the ancient wooden church, now a heap of ashes. Hither in 825 did St Blathmac come, "coveting martyrdom." Shortly after his arrival news came to the monastery that the pirates were at hand. Blathmac summoned the brethren and told them of their danger. "Whoever of you can face it," he said, "I pray you arm yourselves with courage ; but those that are weak at heart and panic-stricken should hasten their flight." Some fled, a few remained ; the bones of St Columba, enclosed in a curiously wrought shrine of gold and silver, were hidden in a place unknown to the Abbot. Soon afterward the clash of weapons and the wild shouts of the Danes were heard ; they rushed into the church, slaying the monks and sparing only Blathmac, in the hope that he would reveal where the shrine had been hidden. To their threats he gave the answer that he did not know where the shrine was ; "but if it were permitted me to know," he added, "never would these lips tell it to your ears. Savagely bring your swords, seize their hilts, and kill." The dauntless Abbot gained what he had coveted. A few moments after his body lay on the floor of the church, pierced by many a sword.

### UNION OF THE SCOTTISH AND PICTISH KINGDOMS

But while the Danish pirates were sweeping the western seas, or leaving heaps of smouldering ashes and murdered men

## TWO CENTURIES OF STRIFE

to show where they had landed, a great revolution had taken place in the government of the country. In 839 King Eoganan led the Picts against the invaders and fell in battle. This was an opportunity for the Scots, who for sixty years had been in subjection to the Pictish kings. Now that the Picts were crushed and their king slain, Kenneth, the son of Alpin, made himself king of the Scots, and in 844 he became king of the Picts also, ruling over practically the whole of Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. How all this happened is uncertain. According to an old story, the Scots invited the Pictish chiefs to a banquet, and when the guests were dazed with wine loosened the supports of their seats and slaughtered them as they rolled helpless on the ground. But this reads like the invention of an imaginative chronicler who had to explain how the chieftain of a small tribe was able to seize the throne of the powerful Pictish kingdom. It may be that Kenneth's father, Alpin, had married a Pictish princess, and thus by the Pictish law of succession had given his son a claim to the crown. That is no more than a hypothesis ; the exact truth will never be known.

## CHAPTER V

### THE KINGS OF ALBAN

SO Kenneth the Scot lived in the palace of the Pictish kings at Forteviot, on the banks of the Earn, near the southern limits of his kingdom. Seven years after he came to the throne he built a church at Dunkeld, and transferred thither the relics of St Columba. The Abbot of Dunkeld now became the head of the Columban Church in Scotland, with the title of Bishop of Fortrenn—the name of the province in which the royal palaces were situated. For sixteen years Kenneth ruled the kingdom, now curbing the Picts of the north, who hated an alien king, now striving to repulse the Danes, now sweeping southward into Lothian and burning the English towns. He died in 860, and was succeeded by his brother Donald, who reigned for four years. In his reign an important change was made in the laws which regulated the succession. In the ancient Pictish kingdom, as we have seen, the succession was through the female; the son of a Pictish princess, even though his father was a Northumbrian prince, could and did succeed to the Pictish throne. But at an assembly held at Forteviot it was decided that from that time when a king ascended the throne his eldest male relative should be appointed tanist, or heir, after the fashion of the ancient Dalriadic kingdom. For two centuries the succession was decided in this way. But though this law prevented the troublous times that were so frequent under the Stewarts when a child succeeded to the throne, the tanist too often was over-anxious to enter into his heritage and got the crown by rebellion and murder.

According to this plan, when Donald died he was succeeded by his nephew Constantine, a tall, fair-haired king, whose

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reign was one of uninterrupted warfare. Two years after his accession a great host of Northmen came from Ireland and laid the kingdom waste. In the third year they were repulsed by Constantine, and for the next few years their fury was directed chiefly against the Britons of Strathclyde. Dumbarton, the capital of Strathclyde, was destroyed by the invaders, and in the following year a great fleet from the Danish settlements in Ireland sailed up the Clyde, and returned with multitudes of captives.

In 875 Constantine's kingdom was again threatened, and an army had to be mustered for its defence. A battle was fought at Dollar, on the southern boundary of Fortrenn, but Constantine's force was cut to pieces, and for a whole year the invaders worked their will upon his realm. Two years later, in 877, Constantine himself was slain, on the beach at Inverdovat,<sup>1</sup> while attempting to repulse an invasion of the Norwegians. He was succeeded by his brother Aedh, who after a reign of one year was slain in battle by Cirim, the son of Dungal, one of his subjects.

The history of the next twelve years is somewhat obscure. According to two of the oldest chronicles, Aedh was succeeded by Eochod, the son of Run, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, who had married a daughter of Kenneth mac Alpin. The later chronicles know nothing of this Eochod, but make Cirim succeed Aedh, while of the two early chronicles we have mentioned the older admits that some historians say that Cirim, the foster-son of Eochod, reigned at this time, while the other makes Cirim succeed Eochod. All admit that Cirim ruled for a space of not less than eleven years; only two mention Eochod. And who was this Cirim? Was he the son of Donald, the brother of Kenneth I, as some of the later chronicles seem to hint, or was he simply an adventurer, a 'son of fortune'? Eochod, whose claim was valid according to the old Pictish law, may have ruled over the northern Picts, while Cirim from his palaces at Forteviot and Scone controlled the men of Fortrenn; or Eochod may have been expelled from

<sup>1</sup> Now the parish of Forgan, in north-east Fife.

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the kingdom by Ceric. In Ceric's reign the holders of Church lands were exempted from payments and service to the king or local chieftain. He seems to have ruled vigorously, and to have kept the Northmen at bay. He invaded Strathclyde and Northumbria, but a rebellion broke out in his own kingdom, and, marching against Dundurn, a hill-fort overlooking the upper reaches of the Earn, he was struck down while leading an attack on the stronghold.

In 889 Donald II, the son of Constantine, came to the throne. In his reign the Orkneys and Shetlands, the Hebrides, and Caithness became dependent provinces of the great empire of Harold Harfagr, King of Norway, who entrusted the government of them to different jarls. Almost six centuries were to pass before the last of these captures was regained by the king of Scotland. The kingdom of Alban, as the country of the Picts and Scots now began to be called, was attacked again and again by the Norwegians, but Donald was a ruler who, according to the old chronicler, held psalms and shrines as of little worth and delighted in hard blows. For eleven years he strove to beat back the invaders from his borders, but in the year 900 he met his father's fate ; he was slain at Dunnottar, "upon the brink of the wave," while leading his men against a host of Norsemen.

The story of almost all these kings is the same—a few years of continual fighting followed by a violent death. No memorial of them remains save a few notes on their defeats and victories in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, or a vague conventional panegyric in the *Prophecies of St Berchan*. They are but the shadows of ghosts, like the dim forms in the mirror that was held before the terrified eyes of Macbeth. On only one of them does the memory linger—on Constantine, the son of Aedh, "the man of treacherous passion," the world-weary king who "died in religion."

### CONSTANTINE II

Constantine ascended the throne in 900, and, like the previous kings, he had to defend his realm against the Norse-

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men. In 903 a host of them sacked Dunkeld and ravaged the whole of Alban, but in the following year they were cut to pieces in Strathearn. Two years afterward, on a mound near the royal palace at Scone, the King and Bishop Cellach vowed that they would observe the laws and ordinances of the faith equally with the Scots. Cellach was Bishop of St Andrews, and the part which he played in this assembly shows that the church at St Andrews had become the metropolitan church of Alban. But war and defeat were fated to be the lot of Constantine. A few years later a great host of Danes sailed over from Ireland and ravaged Northumbria, at that time under the rule of Aldred. Aldred appealed for help to Constantine, who marched south with an army, joined forces with the Northumbrians, and encountered the Norsemen at Tynemoor. "By influence of what sin I know not," wails the English chronicler, "the heathen king was victorious." When victory seemed within their grasp, Ronald, the Norse leader, made an attack on the rear of the allies, and their ranks were broken. Constantine fled northward, and Aldred escaped only with his life ; his territories fell into the hands of the invaders.

In 926 died Sitric, the king of the Danes who had settled in northern England, whereupon King Athelstan of England seized the opportunity and drove his two sons, Godfrey and Olaf, from the realm. Godfrey fled to the Scottish Court, where, according to an old writer, King Constantine entertained his followers

With fruits on slender trees,  
With ale, with music, with fellowship,  
With corn, with milk, with active kine.

But King Athelstan demanded that the fugitive should be returned to him, and reluctantly Constantine complied. He went to Dacre, and there, according to the English chroniclers, yielded himself and his kingdom to Athelstan. But while preparations were being made to entertain the Scottish King and his train Godfrey escaped.

These events point to a change in the policy of Constantine, a change which doubtless accounts for the description of him

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given by the English chroniclers—"the old malignant," "a man of treacherous passion." He no longer took the side of the English against the Norsemen ; he married his daughter to Sitric's eldest son, Olaf, who, as we have seen, had been driven from Northumbria, broke the agreement he had made with Athelstan, and seems to have urged both Britons and Norsemen to make war upon the English King. This change of front did not pass unmarked by Athelstan ; in 934 he crossed the Cheviots, routed the Britons of Strathclyde and the Scots, and laid waste the country as far as Dunnottar, while his fleet plundered the whole eastern coast.

Constantine was forced to yield and to give his son as hostage to the English King ; but he seems to have brooded over his humiliation, and to have plotted with the neighbouring kings to overthrow the power of Athelstan.

In 937 his son-in-law Olaf, who was now king of the Norse settlements in Ireland, with Olaf, the son of Godfrey, and a great host, appeared in the Solway. They were joined by a fleet under the command of Constantine himself, and on landing effected a junction with an army of the Strathclyde Britons, led by Owin, their king. Athelstan and his brother Edward hurried northward to meet them. The battle took place at Brunnanburgh, or Birrenswark, where over eight centuries before Agricola's legionaries had rained their sling-bolts upon a British stronghold. From the first glimmer of dawn till late in the evening the struggle went on, for both sides fought with desperate courage. Time and again the English rushed upon the wall of shields, to fall pierced by the spears of linden-wood ; volley after volley of arrows fell upon the ranks of the Scots and Norsemen, till their line wavered and broke, and the invaders fled, some northward over the moors, some to the ships, leaving behind them on the darkened field five under-kings and seven earls. "So there also the aged Constantine came north to his country by flight, hoary warrior," sings the old English poet, exultantly. "He had no need to boast, the grizzly-haired man, of the bill clashing, the old malignant, nor Olaf the more, with their remnants of armies. . . . They left

## THE KINGS OF ALBAN

behind them to share the carrion the dusky-coated, the swart raven, of horny beak ; and the grey-coated, the white-tailed eagle : to enjoy the meat the greedy war-hawk, and the grey beast, wolf in the weald.”<sup>1</sup>

But Constantine was now an old man. Twice had his armies been shattered by the English, the second time “with greater slaughter of folk than was ever yet made in this island by the sword,” and now that his policy had been foiled and his bodily strength had decayed he gave the care of his realm to Malcolm, the son of Donald II, and retired to a monastery at St Andrews. A few stones still mark the site of the church where the old King, who for over forty years had guarded his beleaguered kingdom, now as abbot ruled over a handful of monks.

Till his death in 940 Athelstan had peace in his realm, but when his brother Edmund ascended the throne the Norsemen swarmed over from their settlements in Ireland, and first Olaf, the son of Godfrey, and on his death Olaf, the son-in-law of Constantine, ruled as Earl of Northumbria. It was plain that so long as the Norsemen were on good terms with the Scots and the Britons of Strathclyde they could do much as they pleased with Northumbria ; the Britons allowed the invaders to march through their territory, and should any reprisal be attempted by the English both Briton and Norseman could count upon the support of the King of the Scots. Edmund determined to destroy this league. In 944 he marched northward and drove Olaf, Constantine’s son-in-law, from Northumbria. In the following year he crossed into Strathclyde and laid it waste ; then, offering as a bribe to Malcolm the overlordship of the British kingdom, he induced the Scottish King to promise that he would help him both on land and sea. In this way a great province, extending as far south as the Ribble, was added to the territory of the kings of Alban.

But in the next year Edmund was murdered, and the

<sup>1</sup> Extract from the translation of “The Battle of Brunnanburgh,” in Alan O. Anderson’s *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers*.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

whole island was once more plunged into confusion. The new king, Edred, straightway marched into Northumbria, and, after receiving the submission of the Northumbrians and the Scots, marched southward again. News of this came to the old Abbot of the Culdees at St Andrews. He begged Malcolm to give him back his kingdom for a week, and when the strange request was granted he changed his "religious clothing" for a helmet and a shirt of mail, mounted his horse, and once more, as in the days of his strength, led a foray into England. Northumbria was laid waste as far as the Tees, and Olaf, Constantine's son-in-law, was restored to the kingdom from which Edmund had driven him. When the week had passed the old warrior returned to "the monastery on the brink of the waves," where five years later, in 952, he died. Two years after Malcolm was slain at Dunnottar by the people of the Mearns.

During the reign of Malcolm's successor, Indulf, the son of Constantine II, the Norsemen renewed their attacks on the country. An expedition descended on Buchan, but was routed by the Scots. In 962 another fleet had anchored off the Scottish coast, and, according to the story told in Fordun, the men had dispersed in bands to plunder the country, when they were surprised by the King at the head of a small force. He fell on the invaders, slew many, and drove the others to their ships; but he had rashly flung off some of his armour that he might pursue more rapidly, and was slain by an arrow shot from one of the vessels. In his time the English evacuated Edinburgh, and it passed into the possession of the Scots.

On the death of Indulf there was a struggle for the throne between his son Culein and Dubh, the son of Malcolm, the rightful successor according to the law of tanistry. For over four years Dubh had the mastery, and on one occasion at least defeated Culein in battle, but he was driven from the southern part of his kingdom, and in 967 he was slain near Forres. According to John of Fordun, it was his custom to journey over moors and through forests with only a small bodyguard; but his guards, since they were never molested

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in these solitudes, became careless, and one night when they were either asleep or amusing themselves a band of conspirators entered the royal bedchamber, carried off the King, slew him, and hid the body under the bridge of Kinloss. The old chroniclers note with wonder that the sun did not shine until the body was discovered.

Dubh's successor, Culein, reigned for about the same length of time, and met with much the same end. In 971 he and his brother were slain in battle by the Britons of Strathclyde. He was succeeded by Kenneth II, the son of Malcolm, who immediately ravaged Strathclyde and Northumbria. In 973, according to the picturesque story of an English chronicler, Kenneth was one of the eight vassal-kings who rowed Edgar of England in his state barge on the river Dee. According to another historian, Kenneth was conducted by two northern earls into the presence of King Edgar, and on doing homage to him received the province of Lothian. But as the early Scottish historians, usually so eager to chronicle any addition to the realm, are silent concerning this transaction its authenticity must be considered doubtful.

## THE PROBLEM OF SCOTLAND'S VASSALAGE

The story of the eight vassal-kings and the degrading ceremony through which they had to go raises the question of the Scottish dependence on England. It is many times asserted in the English chronicles that the Scottish kings paid homage to the more powerful southern monarchs. On this matter the ancient Scottish chroniclers preserve an absolute silence. If the Scottish kings were vassals of the kings of England the Scottish chroniclers would be tempted to conceal the fact; on the other hand, the fact that the English writers were not disinterested and that in many cases they wrote long after the event deprives their statements of weight. Further, admitting that the Scottish kings did do homage, one has yet to find out for what the homage was paid; there is nothing in the English chronicles to prevent one concluding that Kenneth did homage only for Strathclyde and Lothian. Here

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we may leave the matter for the present ; not till two centuries later did the question become a burning one.

Meantime the power of the Norsemen was increasing. Sigurd, the Norwegian Jarl of Orkney, made himself master of Caithness, Ross, Sutherland, and Moray, and in the year 987 paid tribute to the King of Norway.

Eight years later Kenneth was treacherously slain by the Countess of Angus, whose son he had put to death. Fordun gives an account of his death which, unfortunately, like so many of Fordun's romantic tales, must be set down as mere fable. According to this story, the Countess devised a cunning engine and then enticed the King into the house where it stood. The King's attention was attracted by the figure of a boy ; he asked the Countess what it was, and was told that if he touched the head of the statue " a marvellous and pleasant jest " would come of it. He touched it, but the head was the lever of the machine, and it released a flight of arrows which instantly slew him.

Kenneth II was succeeded by Constantine the Bald, the son of Culein, who reigned for a year and a half and was slain in battle by his own people in 997. With the death of Constantine the line of Aedh, son of Kenneth mac Alpin, seems to have become extinct. Kenneth, the son of Dubh, was the next king, but his reign was short, and on his death his son Grig succeeded him. The civil strife which had so often broken out between the houses of Constantine and Aedh, the two sons of Kenneth I, now that the line of Aedh was extinct still continued between the senior and junior branches of the line of Constantine. By the law of tanistry Malcolm, the son of Kenneth II, the younger brother of Dubh, should have succeeded to the throne on the death of his cousin Kenneth III. He took up arms against King Grig, and in 1005 slew him in battle at Monzievaird, near the river Earn.

Malcolm II proved to be a vigorous ruler, " the warrior of a strong people," who " reddened red spears " and made his name feared among both the Norsemen and the English. In 1006 he descended on Northumbria, swept it " with slaughter

## THE KINGS OF ALBAN

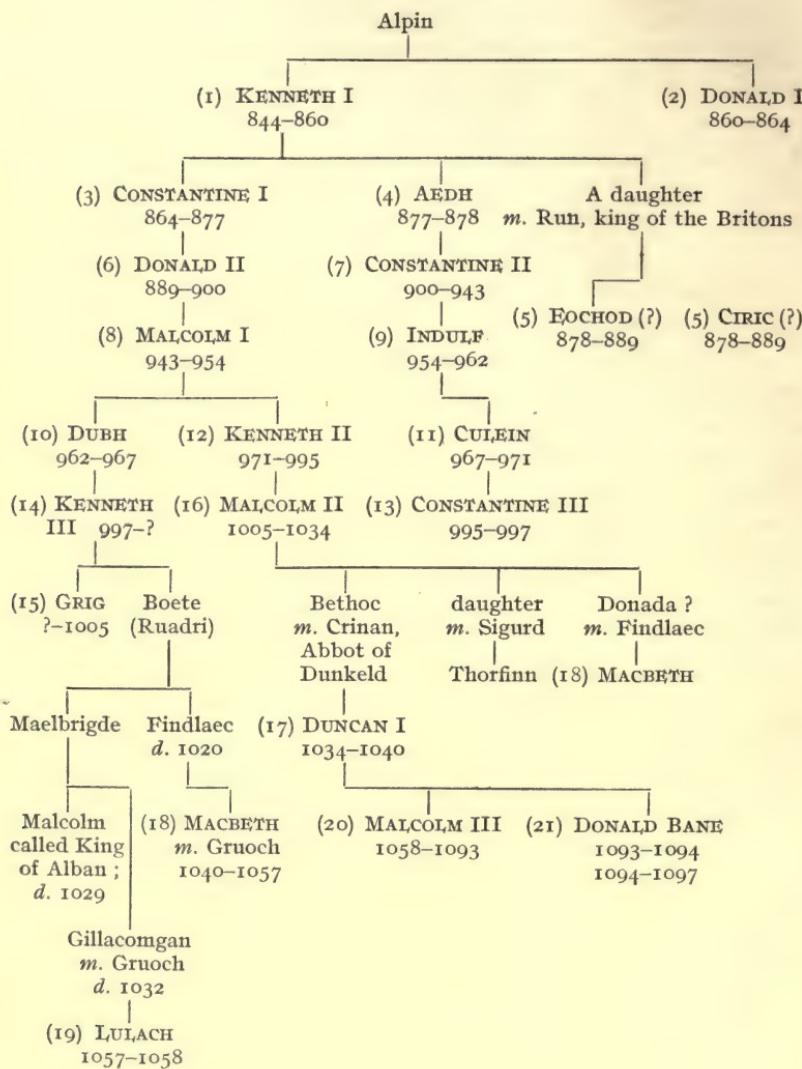
and fire," and advanced to the walls of Durham. For the only time in his life Malcolm met with a serious reverse. Utred, the son of the aged Earl of Northumbria, fell upon the besiegers, and defeated them with great slaughter. Malcolm escaped with difficulty, and Utred celebrated his victory by setting up the heads of the slain on stakes round the walls of Durham. Four years later Malcolm was more fortunate ; he met a force of the Norsemen by night near the banks of the Spey and routed them. In gratitude for his victory he founded the monastery of Mortlach, near the scene of the battle.

In 1014 a great battle which was not without influence on the fortunes of Scotland took place at Clontarf, in Ireland. There the Irish under King Brian Boroimha, helped by a body of warriors from Scotland, encountered a great host of Danes and Norwegians, including Sigurd, the Jarl of Orkney and master of a great part of northern Scotland. King Brian was killed, but the Northmen were utterly routed, and the body of Sigurd was found among the slain. As a result of this the Norse power in Scotland was weakened. Malcolm conferred Caithness and Sutherland upon Sigurd's son Thorfinn, who a few years before had married his daughter, while Findlaec, another son-in-law of the King, became Mormaer, or Earl, of the great province of Moray.

## THE BATTLE OF CARHAM

But a greater stroke of fortune was to befall King Malcolm. For thirty nights in the year 1018 a comet blazed in the sky ; a month later Malcolm crossed the Tweed with a great host, including Owin, King of Strathclyde, and met the Northumbrians under their Earl, Adulf Cudel, at Carham. A fierce battle was fought, which resulted in one of the greatest victories ever gained by a Scottish king. Unfortunately there was no Barbour to sing it, and all we know of it is that the men of northern England almost wholly perished, that the aged Bishop of Lindisfarne died of grief a few days after the terrible news came to him, and that on the evening of the battle Malcolm vowed to build churches and loaded his clergy

## THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND, 844-1097



## THE KINGS OF ALBAN

with gifts. Soon after the battle Earl Adulf surrendered Lothian to the Scottish King. In the same year Owin, the last of the semi-independent kings of Strathclyde, died, and Malcolm entrusted the guardianship of the province to his grandson Duncan, the son of his daughter Bethoc and Crinan, the lay Abbot of Dunkeld.

The year 1018 is therefore a landmark in Scottish history. From that time the south-eastern portion of the kingdom extended to the river Tweed, while the south-west was linked more closely to the rest of the country than it had been before. About the same time, too, the name Alban began to fall into disuse, and the country to get the name of Scotland, which hitherto had been applied only to Ireland.

### MACBETH

Fifteen years afterward King Cnut advanced into Scotland and received the submission of the Scottish King. "But that he held for only a little time," remarks the English chronicler. In the following year, 1034, King Malcolm died at Glamis, and was succeeded by his grandson Duncan. Duncan's reign passed without event, save for an unsuccessful invasion of England, until the crowning tragedy of 1040. Almost every one knows that Shakespeare's account of the murder is not true to history. The oldest chroniclers make no mention of Banquo or Macduff, and though they give us the name of Macbeth's wife, they say nothing to make one believe that she had a share in bringing about the death of the King.

Who, then, were the real actors in the tragedy? First of all there was Duncan, not the aged king of Shakespeare's tragedy, but a man "of immature age," probably not more than thirty-three years old. He had married a cousin of Siward, the Earl of Northumbria, and had two sons, Malcolm and Donald Bane. Then there was Thorfinn, also a grandson of Malcolm II, the Norse ruler of the Orkneys, Caithness, and Sutherland. Then what of Macbeth? Who was he, and why did he attempt to gain the throne? Like Duncan and Thorfinn, he was a grandson of Malcolm II; his father,

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Findlaec, Mormaer of Moray, had married a younger daughter of that king. But this does not seem to have been his strongest claim to the throne ; he appears also to have been a descendant of Kenneth, the father of King Grig, and therefore the senior representative of the senior royal line, with a better right to the royal title than Duncan himself. (See genealogical table, p. 46.)

In August 1040 Thorfinn, probably as the result of an agreement with Macbeth, invaded Moray. He was met at Torfness, a few miles west of Elgin, by Duncan, but the King of Scots was defeated and fled from the field. Duncan reached Bothnagowan (now Pitgaveny), and there he was slain by Macbeth, but what was the manner of his death no man knows. His sons fled to England, and Macbeth became king.

Macbeth's reign does not seem to have been the debauch of bloodshed that we are led to conceive it from Shakespeare's pages. One chronicler celebrates his liberality and says " Pleasant was the youth to me." If he showed remorse for his crime it was by going to Rome and scattering money among the poor. Religious houses received generous grants from him. In 1045 a battle took place at Dunkeld, in which Crinan, Duncan's father, was slain, but not till nine years later was the peace of the kingdom seriously disturbed. In 1054 Siward, Earl of Northumbria, took up arms on Malcolm's behalf and invaded Scotland by sea and land and routed the forces of Macbeth. As a result of this victory Malcolm gained possession of Lothian and Strathclyde, but Macbeth was still master of the north of Scotland. In 1057, however, Malcolm forced his way northward to the Dee, and there, at Lumphanan, a battle was fought in which Macbeth was slain. But the hopes of the supporters of his house were not yet dead. Lulach, his stepson, also a descendant of Kenneth, was set on the coronation-stone at Scone. Lulach's reign, however, lasted only seven months ; in March 1058 he was killed in battle by Malcolm at Eassie. With the death of Lulach began the reign of Malcolm III, a reign that was to see the beginning of a great change in the national life.

## CHAPTER VI

### LIFE IN ANCIENT SCOTLAND

LITTLE is known of the history of the Church in Scotland during the two centuries that followed the reign of Kenneth mac Alpin. For the portraits of living men in the pages of Bede or Adamnan we have the empty names of the annalist, and what can be deduced from ruined churches and sculptured stones adds but little to these fragments of knowledge. It seems to have been a history of increasing weakness, caused equally by attacks from without and internal decay. The Norwegian settlements in the Hebrides cut Iona off from the mainland, and though from the time of Kenneth all the kings of Scotland save Constantine II were buried in Iona, the authority of the Abbot did not extend beyond his own monastery, and he was subject to the Coarb of Columcille, as the head of the Columban Church in Ireland was now called. Dunkeld in 850 became the metropolitan church of Alban, but a few years later this dignity passed to the church at Abernethy, only to be conferred, about the beginning of the tenth century, upon the church at St Andrews. Changes were taking place within the Church. In some of the clergy the ancient zeal was burning low, others were stimulated by the laxity they saw around them to a greater strictness of conduct. To this latter class the Culdees seem originally to have belonged. Their beliefs did not differ from those of the rest of the Celtic Church ; they were men who in a special way devoted themselves to the service of God. At first they may have lived as hermits ; later they grouped themselves into small communities, and gave their whole time to the service of the Church. Unlike

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

monks, they could hold private property; unlike secular canons, whom they resembled in most respects, they did not share one refectory and one dormitory, but lived in separate cells about their church. It was in such a community at St Andrews that Constantine II spent the last five years of his life. But, like the friars a few centuries later, the Culdees after a time acquiesced in those abuses against which the very existence of their order was a protest.

In many cases in the tenth and eleventh centuries the holders of Church lands and the recipients of Church revenues were not clerics at all. In the ancient Columban monasteries the rank of abbot had been in a certain degree hereditary; when an abbot died his successor had to belong to the same family, which was usually a branch of the royal house. The result was that often either the lay branch of the family usurped the land and revenues, or when an abbot died his next of kin took the title and the revenues, but did not take the priestly vows. Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, for example, married the daughter of Malcolm II and was slain in battle; his title of Abbot implies only that he held the lands which once belonged to the abbey church. Nor were the marriages of clerics regarded as unlawful. The clergy were not supposed to marry, but if they did marry the marriage was recognized as valid. Not till 1139 were such marriages made absolutely illegal by the Church. Greedy and idle as the Scottish clergy had become, they yet seem to have been free from the blackest stain on the pre-Reformation Church.

We may go to St Andrews, the seat of the Bishop of Scotland, for a fair example of the churches of the time. In eleventh-century St Andrews there were two churches, one dedicated to St Andrew, the other, much smaller, belonging to the Culdees. The revenues of the larger church were divided among the bishop, a hospitaller, and five canons. The canons, however, were laymen, who did nothing for the church beyond receiving additional guests when the *hospitium* was full—it held only six—and taking care of the sick. Even these duties were done by proxy, for the canons hired a chaplain and two

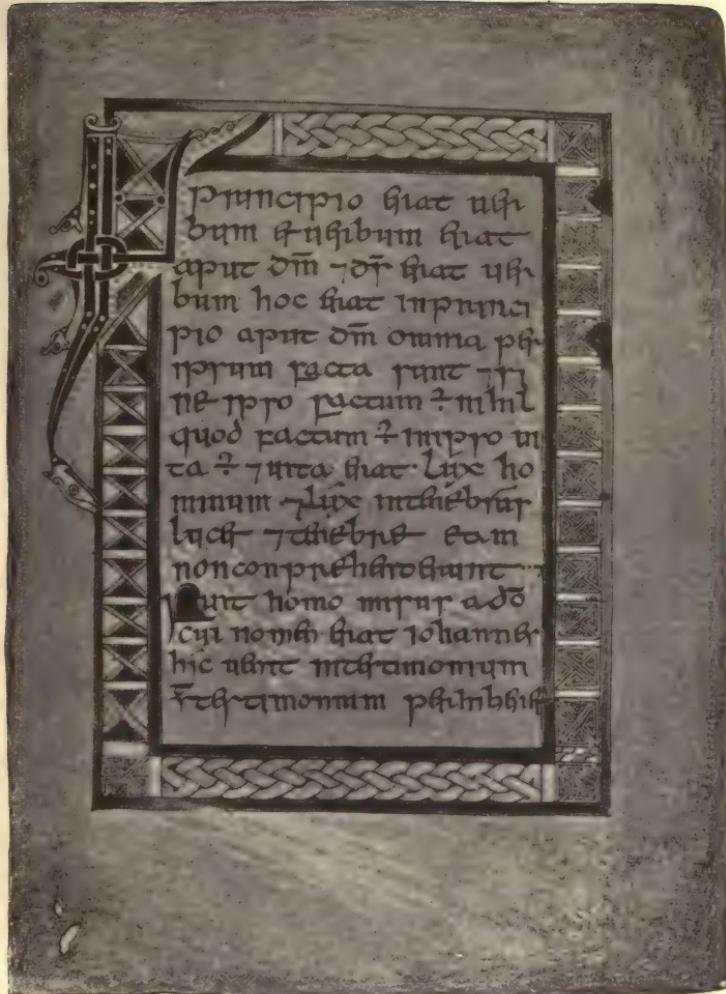


PLATE VII. A PAGE REPRODUCED FROM THE  
"BOOK OF DEER"



## LIFE IN ANCIENT SCOTLAND

brethren to attend to the sick and to strangers. These three were not allowed to eat or drink with the canons, but in return for their labours they got a tenth part of what the canons received, and the leavings from their table. Community of property was unknown among the canons, and on the death of any one of them his property went, not to the Church, but to his wife and children. Mass was not celebrated save when the king or bishop happened to visit the church, which they did but seldom.

Nor does the description of the Culdee community differ much from this picture of sloth and avarice. There were thirteen Culdees at this time, living "after their own conceit and the tradition of men, rather than according to the statutes of the holy fathers." Vacancies in the community were filled from only one or two families, so that most of the brethren seem to have been related to one another. Some of them were married, though when they became Culdees their wives were not allowed within the precincts of the monastery, lest any scandal should arise. The brethren retained their private property, though there were certain things which were held in common. Their service they said after their own fashion, in a corner of the little church. It must have been a homely, comfortable life, and we know that a rich member of the community was ready to give of his abundance to a poor colleague, especially if he happened to be a cousin or other relative; but it is a far cry from these drowsy brethren to the fiery-hearted missionaries of the sixth and seventh centuries, with their scorn of ease and safety.

### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Of the organization of society and the modes of life in this period we have only a few glimpses. In the tenth century Alban was divided into seven provinces: Atholl, Argyll, Strathearn and Menteith, Fife and Gowrie, Angus and the Mearns, Buchan and Mar, and Moray and Ross. Over each of these provinces was set a mormaer, or earl, who was regarded, not as the owner of the province, but as a royal official, repre-

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

senting the king, meting out justice, and, as toisech, or captain, leading the men of the province to battle. The succession to the position of mormaer was decided by the law of tanistry. The province was subdivided among tribes, each ruled over by a chieftain, to whom the title of thane was given later. Part of the tribal holding of land was the demesne of the chief and was cultivated by his serfs ; part was held by free tenants ; the remainder was the common property of the tribe. Land was not held of the king by written charter, as under the feudal system, and the burdens upon it differed from the conditions of tenure which later came into force. Tenants were expected to follow the king or their superior on foreign service or on expeditions at home, to pay to him cain, a yearly portion of corn or cattle, and four times a year to afford him food and lodging for the night, should he require it, or in lieu of this hand over to him a contribution in kind. The same taxes were originally levied on Church lands, but toward the end of the ninth century Ceric freed the Church from these burdens.

Such was the organization of society in ancient Alban, an organization presenting features which seem to suggest that at one time the social unit was the tribe, holding land in common, and electing from a certain family a king or chief to act as judge in peace and as leader in war. But the system was probably always imperfect. A powerful noble such as the Mormaer of Moray would defy the royal authority and take to himself the title of king. The province of Angus and the Mearns seems to have been in a state of chronic rebellion, and no fewer than three kings were slain there. Many a king, too, and many a mormaer perished because the tanist was too eager to enter into his inheritance.

Of the customs and modes of thought of the ordinary man, the warrior, the herdsman, the farmer, we know next to nothing. The work of no ancient Scottish poet remains to reflect the fierce life of that forgotten age ; no philosopher-king like Alfred has left us the record of his battles, the tales of the strangers at his gates, or his meditations on the world



PLATE VIII. THE CROSIER OF ST FILIAN



## LIFE IN ANCIENT SCOTLAND

of his day. Our only scribes are cloistered monks. Only from those curiously carved slabs of stone fashioned about the tenth and eleventh centuries can we gather one or two facts regarding the outward appearance of the men of that time. The ecclesiastics wore long, richly embroidered robes and loose, short boots, carried their books in satchels, and bore crosiers with heads of a peculiar shape. The churchmen had long before adopted the Roman tonsure, and, of course, had clean-shaven faces. Laymen wore their hair long, with pointed beards or with moustaches. Their dress consisted of tight-fitting breeches and a plaid loosely wrapped round the body, or else a closely fitting jerkin with sleeves, girt round the waist by a belt. On horseback cloaks and peaked hoods were worn, or a kilt-like dress with a plaid flung over the shoulders. Spurs were unknown; riders sat on peaked saddles without stirrups. The manes and tails of riding-horses were docked, and the snaffle-bridles terminated in cheek-rings. Two-wheeled carts were sometimes used, drawn by two horses fastened to a central pole.

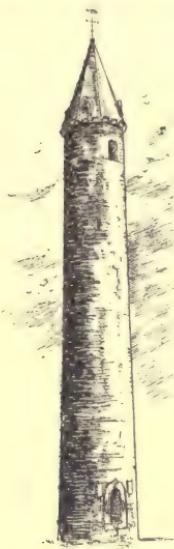
Of the furnishing of the houses of the time we learn nothing from this source, save that arm-chairs were not unknown, and that the Celtic carpenter sometimes adorned them with carvings of animals' heads. We know more about the implements of war. Bows, swords, and spears were the principal weapons, the swords being ponderous, with long, two-edged, broad blades, straight guards, and blunt points, while the spears had large lozenge-shaped heads. Horsemen seem sometimes to have used bows, but while the cross-bow was used in hunting, only the longbow is seen in representations of warfare. The shields were circular, probably of leather or bronze, with a boss in the centre.

### ART OF THE PERIOD

Architecture, painting, sculpture, and the more delicate kinds of metal-work were all monopolized by the Church. Yet if one looks for impressive architectural remains one will

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

be disappointed ; before the eleventh century nothing which can be compared with the contemporary Romanesque churches of Continental Europe, or even with the pre-Norman churches of England, was built north of the Tweed.

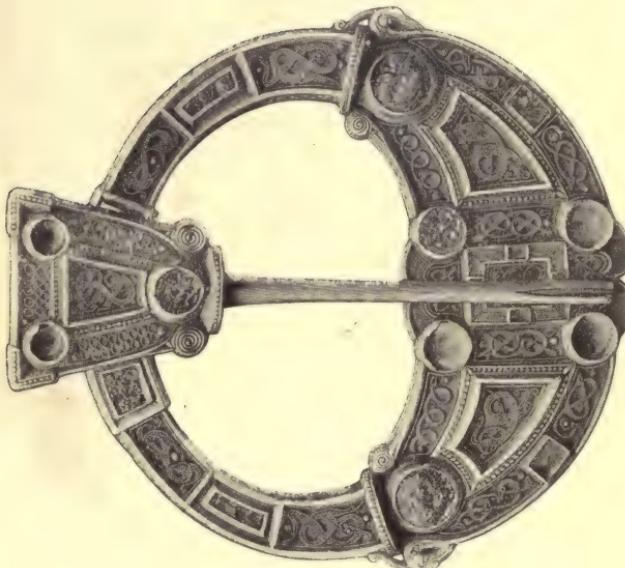
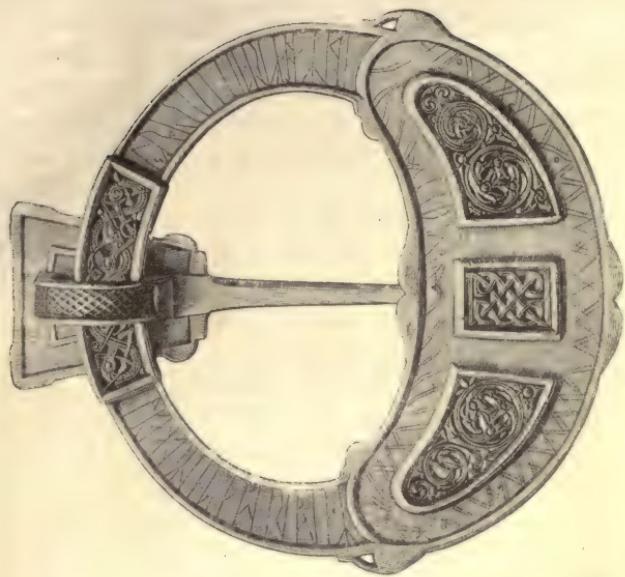


THE ROUND TOWER,  
BRECHIN

The wooden churches of Columba's time were replaced by small structures of stone, sometimes built without mortar, without a chancel, lit by one window above the altar, and entered by a low doorway in the western wall. Later on a small chancel was added, but further than this the builders did not go. There was no chancel arch ; the windows were mere quadrilateral perforations ; no carved stone-work adorned the doorway. Nor could the lack of grace be atoned for by the dignity of great size in a church barely thirty feet long. More impressive are the round towers of Brechin and Abernethy, which were probably built about the close of the tenth century as places where the monks could take refuge and hide their treasures should an onset of the Norsemen be threatened.

One might expect that a people whose achievements in architecture were so poor would have little to show in other branches of art. But the exact contrary is the case. The monks who worshipped in these unpretentious, cell-like churches produced manuscripts of the Gospels or the Psalms written in the most delicate hand, the initial letters, borders, and sometimes whole pages being a maze of interlacing lines. The elements of these decorations are quite simple—dots, double spirals, frets, or the intertwined bodies of men or imaginary animals—and they have been employed in other countries besides Scotland and Ireland ; but in the art of no other people does one get the same calculated riot of intricate forms, the same exuberance of decoration fashioned with the same delicacy and sureness of touch. One great fault

## PLATE IX. THE HUNTERSTON BROOCH

*Front and back views*



## LIFE IN ANCIENT SCOTLAND

this work has: like Saracenic art, it lacks human interest. The personality of the artist is never expressed. Men and animal forms are introduced, but they are deliberately conventionalized, and thus these illuminations, elaborated as they are with tireless care, never become more than decorations.

The more precious manuscripts, and the bronze and iron bells reputed to have been used by the early saints of the Scottish Church, were enclosed in cases of gold or silver, embossed or adorned with filigree work after the intricate patterns found in the manuscripts, and enriched further with enamels and precious stones. The same combination of austerity and elaboration, the same delicate workmanship, are shown in the beautiful crosier of St Fillan, once almost lost to the country, and in such wonderful pieces of metal-work as the Hunterston brooch.

But if one complains that for all its beauty such ornament is never more than ornament, if one says that the same kind of thing was done, and done better, in Ireland, one cannot pass a like judgment on the work of the tenth- and eleventh-century Scottish sculptors. In many places in eastern Scotland erect slabs have been found, bearing on one side a cross of peculiar shape, decorated with those intricate designs of which the Celtic artist was so fond, and carved on the other side with representations of men and animals, as well as with the strange symbols which are found on earlier monuments. In western Scotland the crosses are not carved on rectangular slabs, but stand free, and, though covered with the same kind of ornament, are without the symbols and figures found on those of the eastern districts. Beautiful as the decorative work is, one looks with more interest on the uncouth figures, for they reflect something of the life and thought of the time. Here is a party of huntsmen pursuing a stag, a man with outstretched arms standing in the midst of a group of strange beasts, a centaur, an elephant, a bear, a four-legged monster devouring a man, a fish, a tree with two tiny human figures at the foot and two great serpents towering above them,

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

horsemen and foot-soldiers fighting. All these representations, except possibly the last, have some religious signification. The fish is a symbol of Christ, the centaur of the double nature of man ; the elephant, the bear, and other animals typify virtues and vices, while the hunt represents the pursuit of the human soul by the Divine love. Some of the figures illustrate Old Testament stories : the four-legged monster is the whale which swallowed Jonah ; the man surrounded by strange beasts is Daniel in the den of lions, and his outstretched hands show the attitude assumed in prayer among the Scottish Christians. The tree is the Tree of Knowledge, the two tiny figures are Adam and Eve ; and the artist, putting symmetry of design before orthodoxy, has added a second serpent.

We must, then, regard these sculptures as sermons in stones, and from them we may judge the nature of the teaching given by the monks, a teaching in which story and parable, the fascination of the unknown, as in the description of wonderful animals, the fascination of the familiar, as in the picture of the hunted deer, were all used to add force to the preacher's appeal. It is evident, too, that the Christian art of Scotland was beginning to be influenced by the Christian art of the Continent. In illuminated manuscripts in Italy, on carved sarcophagi in France, we can see the same figures, arranged in the same conventional way—Daniel with outstretched arms standing among lions, Jonah disappearing into the jaws of a four-legged whale, the centaur and the other strange animals. But though the subjects and the conventional arrangements of the figures have been borrowed, the method of treatment shows not the slightest trace of Continental influence. The Celtic artist is still curiously sophisticated, still afraid to depart from tradition and to put down what he sees. So these sculptures are not so valuable to the historian as they might have been. They give tantalizing hints ; they do not enable him to reconstruct with sufficient precision the vanished past. But to emphasize the lack of realism in Celtic art is to criticize the Celt for failing to



[PLATE X. THE NIGG CROSS  
*Front and back views*



## LIFE IN ANCIENT SCOTLAND

accomplish what he did not attempt. His defects, after all, are the defects of his qualities. Had he been a great realist the world would know a little more about an obscure period in Scottish history, but it might never have known that remote, delicate, passionless beauty of which he, and only he, held the secret.

## CHAPTER VII

### QUEEN MARGARET

**I**N the reign of Malcolm III began a series of changes which touched every side of the national life and after a century left Scotland with a new language, a new race of rulers, new manners, and new modes of worship. For these changes the King may have been in some degree responsible. The fourteen years he had spent at the Court of Edward the Confessor must have taught him the English language and may have removed some of his Celtic intolerance of English customs. But in the main he seems to have differed little from his predecessors. He was no statesman, like his famous son David, but a warrior, who had fought his way to the throne and was fated to die on the field of battle. No splendid appointments marked his palace-fort at Dunfermline ; he was surrounded by a scanty retinue of Celtic officials and soldiers, far different from the glittering train of courtiers who followed an English prince.

Of the first eight years of Malcolm's reign we know nothing ; then on the eve of the Norman Conquest he springs into the light. In the summer of 1066 he gave protection to Tostig, the rebellious brother of King Harold. Within a few months followed the battle of Hastings, and southern England lay at the feet of the Conqueror. Northern England prepared to resist, and an appeal was sent to the King of Scotland. But the rumour of William's approach was enough. York opened its gates to him ; King Malcolm promised to take no part in the struggle, and many of the northern nobles fled to Scotland. Among the latter came the weak-kneed representative of the old Saxon dynasty, Edgar Atheling, the nephew of Edward

## QUEEN MARGARET

the Confessor, with his mother, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina.

According to the romantic story found in some of the old chronicles, the fugitives had been making for Hungary, the country where they had been born, when by stress of weather they were driven into the Firth of Forth. They came to anchor in a bay to which the name of St Margaret's Hope was afterward given. Meantime the news of the arrival of a strange ship was brought to the palace at Dunfermline, and Malcolm dispatched messengers to bring him more news. But they, being only simple folk, were astonished when they saw the great English galley, and returned to the Court without attempting to gain speech with the strangers. The King next sent a party of his greatest lords, who were rowed out to the ship and asked courteously why the strangers had come. Their curiosity was satisfied and they hastened back to the Court, where they gave the King a glowing description of the beauty and pleasant speech of one of the ladies. The result was that the King himself rode forth, and escorted the fugitives to his palace among the woods, where they were treated as honoured guests. Malcolm speedily fell in love with the Princess Margaret, the lady whose gracious ways had gained the admiration of his envoys, but for a long time the Princess refused to hear him, as she had resolved to be a nun. At length she gave way, moved by the prayers of her brother, who wished the support of the Scottish king, and about two years after her arrival she married Malcolm.

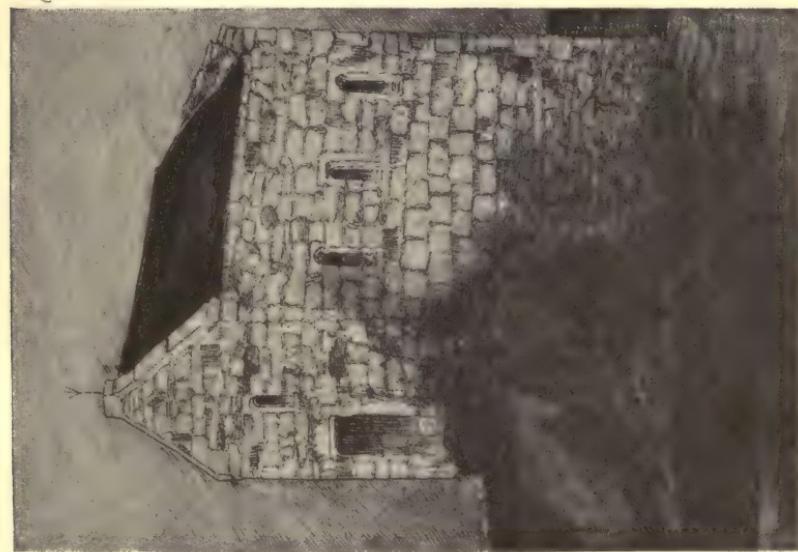
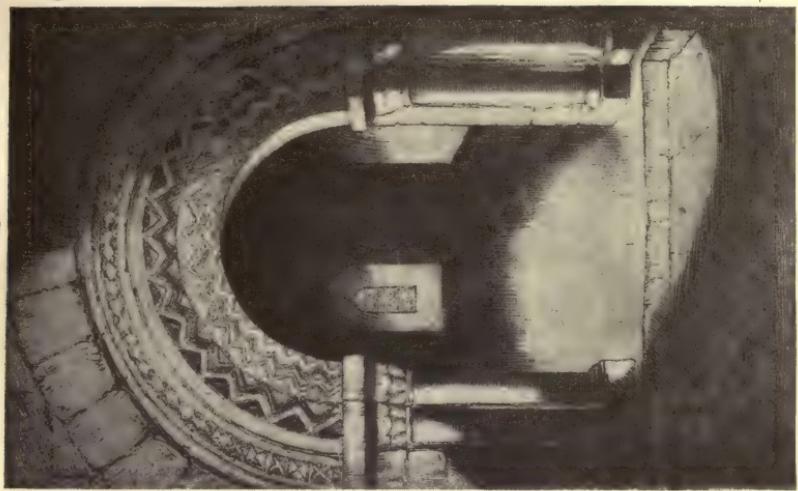
This marriage had important results. The alliance with the ancient dynasty of England pledged Malcolm to a policy of unrelenting hostility toward the new Norman kings. What was of even greater moment, the Queen used all her influence to modify the condition of the Scottish Church, and thus began that social revolution which resulted in the disappearance of Celtic civilization from the Lowlands. Queen Margaret's character we can judge from the biography left by her confessor. The panegyrics of the good Bishop Turgot

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

grow wearisome, but reading between the lines one can see that to a keen and subtle intellect she joined great force of character. She was relentless both to herself and to those dearest to her, not sparing the rod with her children, fasting till she caused herself severe bodily hurt, reproving her confessor if he were slow to reprove her. Malcolm, it is evident, both loved and feared her. Under her influence the fierce warrior-king, who was to harry England five times before his death, often prayed far into the night, moaning and weeping bitterly. Often in her company he would wash the feet of the poor, or with his own hands give them meat and drink. To repeat the beautiful story told by Turgot : " Because of this love, he, although he was ignorant of letters, would often handle or look at the books which she was accustomed to read or use at her prayers, and when she told him that she preferred any one of them, he preferred it too, and time and again would kiss and embrace it. Sometimes he would even call a goldsmith and order him to adorn the book with gold and gems, and would present it sumptuously adorned to the Queen, as a proof of his devotion."

Margaret found that the Church of her husband's people differed in many respects from the Church she had known in Hungary and in England. Nominally the Scottish Church had been in communion with the Roman Catholic Church as far back as the beginning of the eighth century ; really it was a law to itself. The clerics in many cases knew no other language than Gaelic, and used Gaelic in the services of the Church. Easter they now held at the same time as the other Churches, but they departed from the custom of the rest of Christendom in refusing to celebrate Mass on Easter Day. By including Sundays in their computation of the forty days of Lent they shortened Lent to thirty-six days in the eyes of the faithful. It is characteristic of the mediaeval mind in general and of Queen Margaret in particular that these differences in details of ceremonial seemed to trouble the Queen far more than the state of moral decay into which the Church had undoubtedly fallen.

PLATE XI. ST MARGARET'S CHAPEL, AND INTERIOR





## QUEEN MARGARET

### CHURCH REFORMS

At Margaret's instance the Scottish clergy were summoned to a conference, where the chief points at issue were debated. As the clerics had evidently small Latin and less English, and as the Queen knew no Gaelic, the King had to act both as president and interpreter, "ready to say and do whatever the Queen might say and order," adds Turgot significantly. Under the circumstances it was impossible that the Queen should not prevail, though one must also admit that she pleaded her cause eloquently. The clergy promised to observe Lent and Easter after the fashion of the rest of the Church, to keep their flocks from working on Sunday, to read the services in Latin, and to forbid marriage within the prohibited degrees. Of the alienation of Church lands and the increase in the number of lay abbots or lay canons not a word was said. Perhaps the fact that Malcolm's grandfather was a lay abbot accounts for the Queen's silence.

But though some of the changes on which Margaret set her heart seem trivial enough, their total effect was by no means insignificant. The Gaelic language, the peculiarities of the Celtic ritual, began to disappear from the services of the Church. In the royal chapels English clerics ministered at the altar; the Queen's confessor was an Englishman; probably in other churches English canons displaced the Celtic priests. The appointments of the churches and the churches themselves became more ornate. "The Queen's chamber," her biographer tells us, "was like the workshop of some divine artificer. There were always to be seen the robes of choristers, cowls, stoles, altar-cloths, with other priestly vestments and church ornaments." To the new church at Dunfermline she presented altar vessels of solid gold, to the church at St Andrews a great crucifix, adorned with gold, silver, and gems. Probably nothing remains of the church she founded at Dunfermline, but the little oratory in Edinburgh Castle, with its apse, chancel arch, and round-headed doorway and windows, shows that it was in her reign

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that the austere and sombre beauty of Norman architecture first became known in Scotland.

### MARGARET'S SOCIAL INFLUENCE

Although the Scottish Church felt her influence most, other departments of the national life were affected as well. For all her fastings and self-humiliation, Queen Margaret had no intention of dispensing with courtly pomp and ceremony ; on the contrary, she waged war against the old free-and-easy customs of the Scottish Court. The King was now surrounded by a brilliant retinue ; his palace was hung with variously coloured cloths and shone with gold and silver ; the dishes on the royal table were now all of gold and silver, or at least gilt. One can imagine how the King's old companions would chafe under the new state and decorum, with what feelings they would regard the Queen's English favourites and servants, and how little they would like to hear the sounds of an alien tongue at the Scottish Court. For all her piety, for all her almsgiving, one cannot but suspect that the innovating Queen was none too popular with the Scottish people.

The relations of Scotland with other countries were affected by her coming. The increase in foreign trade, especially in the amount of merchandise imported into the kingdom, was the direct result of her attempts to raise the standard of living. Fugitives from England always got a warm welcome from the niece of the Confessor, and at the Scottish Court many a scheme for breaking the Norman domination in England was concocted. Even had he been unwilling, Malcolm would have been forced into a policy of hostility to England ; as it was, he was only too glad to make raid after raid into the northern counties. Strange wars of liberation they were, in which the people whom he came to rescue suffered more than the Normans.

### WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR IN SCOTLAND

In 1070 Malcolm harried Northumberland ; two years later William retaliated by invading Scotland with a fleet and an

## QUEEN MARGARET

army. He effected little, but he succeeded in advancing as far north as Abernethy, where he met Malcolm, who gave him hostages, including his own son Duncan, and, as the English chroniclers say, "became his man." What this meant is not clear. If Malcolm did homage to William one has still to find out what he did homage for. At any rate, his vow did not hinder him from invading England again in 1079. One would have thought that the Conqueror had left little to plunder, but the King of Scots advanced as far as the Tyne, slaying and harrying.

In all his ravages hitherto Malcolm had spared the church of St Andrew at Hexham. But it so chanced now that some of his messengers had been robbed near the church, and the King, assuming that the clergy were guilty, swore that he would utterly destroy both church and town. He marched along the river-bank to Hexham, but night came down before he could cross; however, he commanded his terrible Galwegian vassals to make their way over the stream early the next day and sack the place. The prayers of the priests, the sight of the sacred relics, could not turn the King from his purpose, and the wretched inhabitants awaited the dawn with terror. Morning came, clear and bright; but soon the sun became dimmed, for a dense mist, rolling up from the west, covered the whole of the river. The Galwegians plunged into the mist, but they forded the river at the wrong place and wandered off into the moors of Cumberland. The King waited to hear the clamour from the town, but it never came, neither did his savage followers rejoin him, and when the mist lifted he discovered that the river was in flood. For three days he waited for the waters to subside; then remorse and fear seized him and he led his army northward.

As a result of this invasion William in the following year dispatched his son Robert into Scotland. The expedition was a failure, but a memorial of it still remains in the shape of the grim blackened keep of Newcastle, erected by Count Robert to check the inroads of the Scots. After that eleven

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

years passed without trouble, but the arrival of Edgar Atheling at the Scottish Court in 1091 was the signal for a fresh outbreak of warfare.

Edgar had little of his sister's unbending spirit. Some years before he had left the Scottish Court and made his peace with King William. William's eldest son, Robert, had granted him estates in Normandy, but after the accession of William Rufus and the outbreak of strife among the King and his brothers Edgar had been deprived of his French estates. William Rufus was absent in France and it was a likely time to strike, so Malcolm led his forces as far as Durham, laying waste the country as he went. News of the invasion was brought to William, and a few months later the usual counter-stroke was attempted. But it was the season of the equinoctial gales and nearly all his ships were shattered, while of the army which he led overland many perished miserably. King Malcolm advanced into Lothian to meet him, but Robert of Normandy and the versatile Edgar succeeded in reconciling the two kings.

William was not the man to be so easily baffled, however. In the following year he again marched northward, seized and fortified Carlisle, and garrisoned it with his vassals. Thus at one stroke the whole of Cumbria south of Carlisle was lost to Scotland. The old Scottish King must have been furious. Early in 1093, however, encouraging news reached Scotland. William had been stricken at Gloucester with a sickness that promised to be mortal, and in his fear of death had vowed to amend his ways and to restore the captured territory to Malcolm. But William recovered and broke his numerous vows. Then at his request Malcolm journeyed to Gloucester, only to be refused admittance to William when he arrived. Enraged at the insult and at the trick which had been played upon him, Malcolm hurried back to Scotland, raised an army, and despite the prayers of the Queen, who had long been lying ill, he invaded the north of England. The expedition ended in disaster, for Malcolm was slain by treachery before he had penetrated far into the enemy's territory. According

## QUEEN MARGARET

to one old story, he was besieging the castle of Alnwick when an English knight rode into the camp, bearing on his lance a bunch of keys, and announced that he had come to betray the castle to the King. The stratagem succeeded. When Malcolm advanced to take the keys the traitor transfixed him with his lance. Confusion fell on the leaderless army; many were slain, many were drowned in the rivers swollen by the autumnal floods; and, to add to the list of disasters, the King's eldest son died of a wound when the Scottish border was reached.

### DEATH OF MARGARET

Meantime, while the broken remnants of the Scottish army were toiling wearily northward, Queen Margaret was lying in Edinburgh Castle, stricken with mortal sickness. As the malady gained upon her she ordered choristers to stand about her bed chanting psalms and kept her gaze fixed upon a golden crucifix that contained a fragment of the true Cross. Suddenly the clash of armour was heard without, the door swung open, and the chant ceased abruptly. An agony of fear seized the Queen, for before her stood, not her husband, but her son Edgar, in broken and blood-stained armour. Eagerly she besought him to tell her what had happened to his father and brother.

"They are well," answered the Prince quietly.

But the Queen would not be deceived. "I know, my son, I know!" she cried. "I adjure thee by this holy Cross, by our ties of blood, to tell me the truth."

Reluctantly Edgar told the melancholy story. When it was done the Queen stretched her hands to heaven, crying: "I give praise and thanks to Thee, Almighty God, Who hast decreed that I should suffer such agonies at the hour of my passing, and hast willed, because I have suffered them, to cleanse me from certain stains of sin." It was an utterance worthy of the Queen who had remoulded the religious life of Scotland. A few moments afterward she breathed her last.

It seemed that all that Margaret had striven for was to be

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

lost. Now that the strong hand of Malcolm and the tireless brain of his Queen were at rest the bitter resentment which had been concealed during the past twenty years came at once to the surface. No sooner did the news of Malcolm's death reach Scotland than Donald Bane, the King's younger brother, put himself at the head of an army and besieged Edinburgh Castle. But it chanced that a dense mist covered the shores of the Forth, and, seeing their opportunity, the priests and courtiers bore the dead body of the Queen through a postern-gate, made the perilous descent of the Castle Rock, and ferried the body over the misty river to Dunfermline. The English courtiers were driven out of Scotland, Edgar Atheling, who had become reconciled to the English monarch, gave shelter to the family of Margaret, and Donald Bane became king. According to the old Scottish law of succession, he was the lawful sovereign, but the very fact that he was the leader of a Celtic reaction, the representative of an alien race and civilization, made him a dangerous enemy to Rufus, who now began to take a suspicious interest in the rights of King Malcolm's sons. Trouble threatened, too, on the borders of the kingdom. About the time of Malcolm's death Magnus of Norway led a great expedition against the Orkneys and the Western Isles, and succeeded in tightening his hold over his vassals there.

Now it happened that at the English Court dwelt Duncan, the son of King Malcolm by his first wife, Ingibjorg. As far back as 1072 he had been surrendered to William I as a hostage, and though he had long since been released, he had preferred to stay in England. On hearing of the death of his father he appealed to William Rufus, who encouraged him to make the attempt on the kingdom, and gave him command of an army of English and Normans. But William gave nothing for nothing. Before his departure Duncan was forced to swear fealty to the English King.

Duncan entered Scotland in the early summer of 1094, and succeeded in driving his uncle from the throne, but six months later he was treacherously killed. Donald again ascended the

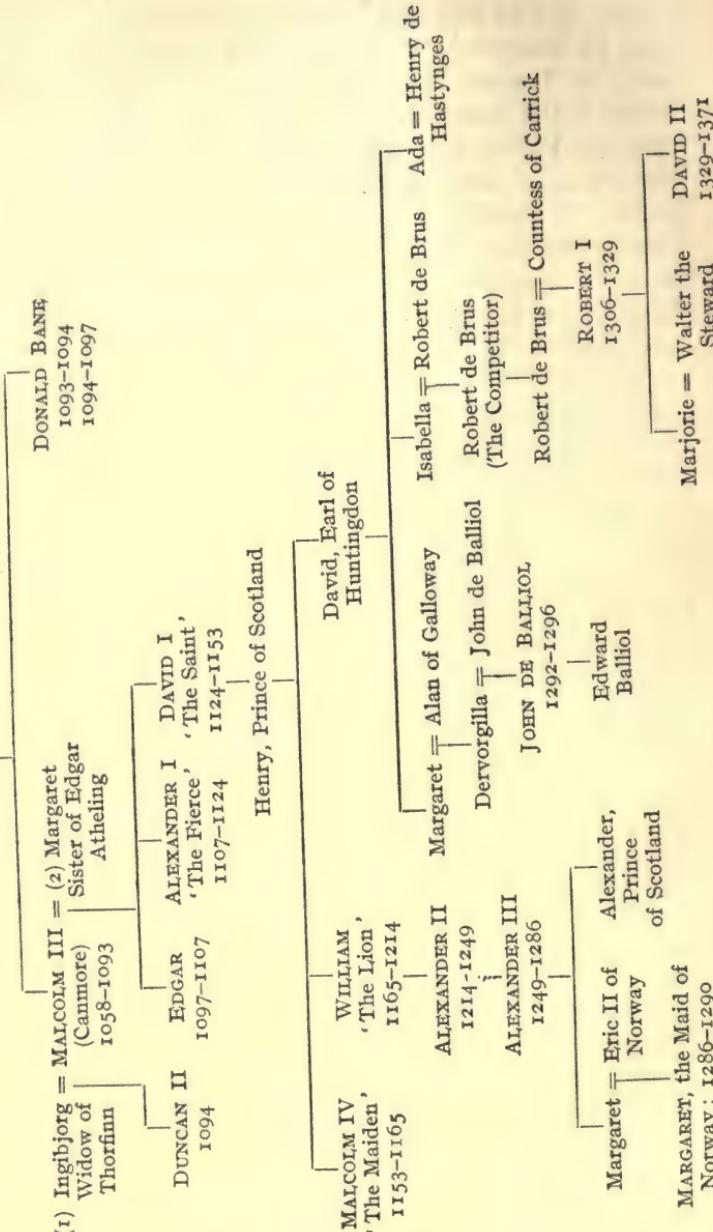
## QUEEN MARGARET

throne, but he had still to reckon with William Rufus and the sons of Margaret. "By an act of remarkable compassion, such as became so great a man," says an English scribe naively, the English King urged Edgar Atheling to raise an army and place his nephew Edgar on the Scottish throne. A great host of Norman and English adventurers marched northward. A Scottish army met them, but the three Scottish champions were slain by three English knights, and the Scots retired. Donald Bane was deposed, and in the autumn of 1097 Edgar became king. The cause of the dead Queen had prevailed.

## THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND, 1034-1371

68

DUNCAN I (Succeeded by MACBETH, 1040-1057, and LULACH, 1057-1058)  
1034-1040



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE SONS OF MARGARET

THE next half-century, during which three sons of Margaret reigned in succession, witnessed the completion of the change which Margaret had begun. The three kings were half English by birth, they had been educated by an English mother and English ecclesiastics, each of them had spent part of his youth in England, and one of them owed his throne to English support. It was not to be expected, therefore, that they should sympathize overmuch with old customs or old ways of thought, nor that they should be popular with their Celtic subjects. But changes had been taking place which weakened the opposition of the Celts. The descendants of the original English settlers in Lothian had been reinforced, in the years immediately after the Norman Conquest, by fugitives from northern England; fugitives of higher rank had obtained places about the Court or grants of land; the Norman adventurers who had lent their help to Edgar in some cases displaced the Celtic chiefs who had resisted him. Thus in Fife and Angus Celtic bondmen and farmers often found themselves under alien lords, and in consequence adopted English or Norman names and began to use the English language. The English clergy whom Margaret had introduced, though they were comparatively few in number, must have helped to bring in new customs and an alien tongue.

But the problem which confronted the half-English Edgar was difficult enough. The changes which were taking place were not the symptoms of a general race displacement. The English and Norman settlers north of the Forth were

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

comparatively few, and North and South were still practically two separate countries. The perplexities of the young King were increased by a second descent of Magnus of Norway upon the Western Isles. Edgar, "a man sweet and lovable," made no attempt to win back the lost territory, and in 1098 ceded the Hebrides to the Norwegian King. The marriage of Henry of England to his sister Matilda marked a change in the fortunes of his family. His brother David now became one of the courtiers who attended upon the Queen, and among the Norman nobles of Henry's Court doubtless acquired those theories of government which he afterward applied to Scotland.

Beyond presenting a camel to an Irish king, Edgar seems to have accomplished nothing of note. The problem of welding together the two peoples he evidently regarded as insoluble, for when in 1107 he found himself smitten with a mortal sickness he decreed that his brother Alexander, while he took the title of King of Scots, should rule over northern Scotland only, and that his youngest brother, David, should govern Cumbria and Lothian south of the Lammermoors. It was done as he decreed, and from 1107 to 1124 Scotland was divided into two kingdoms; only the accident of Alexander dying childless prevented the separation from being permanent.

### ALEXANDER I

The character of Alexander presents that curious mixture, which we also see in his greater brother David, of piety and a vigour that amounted almost to ferocity. "He was a lettered and godly man," says one of the old chroniclers, "very humble and amiable toward the clerics and regulars, but terrible beyond measure to the rest of his subjects." Early in his reign the people of the northern part of his kingdom rose against him and tried to surprise him in his palace at Invergowrie, but hearing that the King had been warned of their approach the rebels retired. Alexander's vengeance was swift and terrible. Without waiting to summon his vassals, he

## THE SONS OF MARGARET

sallied out at the head of a small band of retainers and followed fiercely on his enemies. Over the bleak moorlands and the wild passes of the northern mountains rode the small body of Norman horsemen, till the King found himself on the southern border of the province of Ross. His foes seemed to have succeeded in evading him. They were still in sight, but between them and their pursuers stretched an arm of the sea. In this unknown country, where grim mountains rose behind an apparently impassable firth, where endless moorlands stretched between him and the nearest friendly stronghold, he might have been excused had he retreated. But he had no thought of retreat ; he dashed into the water at the head of his knights, forded it in safety, and fell upon his astonished foes on the farther shore. Norman lance and chain-mail prevailed against Celtic sword and buckler ; the insurgents were utterly routed, and Alexander returned in triumph, to found a monastery at Scone as a memorial of his victory.

The building of this monastery was but one of many events that showed Alexander's interest in the religious life of the country. Early in his reign the ancient bishopric of Dunkeld was revived and a new diocese, Moray, established. Later in his life he signified his devotion to the Church in a curious way. Into the church of St Andrews, perhaps that chapel of St Regulus which has outlasted the great cathedral, he led his Arab charger, with its foot-cloth of velvet and rich trappings. It bore a costly suit of Turkish armour and the King's silver shield and spear. Horse and armour were brought to the altar and there offered to the Church, in presence of all the nobles of the realm. The silver spear was afterward transformed by the canons into a crucifix.

But Alexander's activity in reforming the Church soon led him into difficulties. For all his English ways he had no intention of becoming subject to an alien lord, or of allowing Scottish bishops to become the suffragans of either York or Canterbury. On the other hand, the English clerics whom he promoted to high rank in the Scottish Church gave him either

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

feeble support or no support at all against the pretensions of the southern archbishops. Each archbishop, again, claimed to be supreme over the Scottish Church, and Alexander seems to have made some attempt to play the one off against the other. The trouble showed itself in the time of Turgot, the biographer of Queen Margaret, whom Alexander on his accession had appointed Bishop of St Andrews. For two years the consecration of Turgot was delayed because of the dispute between York and Canterbury, and when at last the Archbishop of York did consecrate him no demand for subjection was made. Turgot's tenure of office was disturbed by frequent quarrels with the King, which became so bitter that he returned to England, where in 1115 he died. For five years no bishop was appointed ; then in 1120 Alexander sent an embassy to the Archbishop of Canterbury to ask that one of his monks might take charge of the vacant bishopric. One Edmer, "fittingly adorned with holy customs, and altogether worthy of the episcopal offices," was accordingly sent north. Three days after his arrival he was elected Bishop of St Andrews. The very next day trouble began. Edmer demanded that he should be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but when he laid his request before Alexander the King turned on his heel and left him.

This was the beginning of a curious duel between the far-seeing King and the timid, ambitious monk, who was reluctant to lose the high honour that had fallen upon him. An interim bishop was intruded upon the diocese for a month, and succeeded in making off with the better part of the revenues, whereupon Edmer repented of his obstinacy and agreed to take the pastoral staff, not from the hands of an archbishop, but from the altar. Meantime the Archbishop of York had become alarmed at the prospect of a Scottish bishop not being consecrated at all, or, what was worse, being consecrated by his rival of Canterbury. He urged the English king to intervene ; but advice from a foreign monarch simply aroused Alexander's resentment and made him treat Edmer with less consideration than before.

## THE SONS OF MARGARET

The unfortunate monk now asked leave to return to Canterbury and lay his case before the Archbishop. To this request Alexander replied that never in his life would he consent that a Scottish bishop should be subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and when the distracted Edmer virtually charged Alexander with enticing him from Canterbury on false pretences, "the King," to quote Edmer's own words, "was very wroth, and swore that he could not enter into new pleas every day in this matter." With his revenue dwindling and his authority spurned, Edmer was at his wits' end. He asked the bishop of the new see of Glasgow, a man of a more unbending temper, for advice, and got it in remarkably vigorous language : " If thou wishest, as a son of peace, to live in peace, seek it elsewhere ; here, so long as this King reigns, there will be no communion between peace and thee. We know the man. He wishes in his kingdom to be all things alone, and will not endure that any authority have the least power in any matter, without his control." Following this advice, Edmer resigned the insignia of his office and fled to Canterbury.

Now Pope Calixtus intervened and urged the bishops of Scotland, especially the steadfast John of Glasgow, and the King to recognize the supremacy of the Archbishop of York. But Alexander would not surrender a fraction of his independence even for the Pope, and the Scottish bishops, even if they had been willing to own the supremacy of an alien cleric, had the example of Edmer before them. Even Edmer began to repent of the haste with which he had divested himself of his high office. He discovered that if one were once a bishop one must always be a bishop, and sent a letter to his Excellence, Beatitude, and Sanctity the illustrious King of Scotland denying all that he had hitherto affirmed and humbly begging to be taken back. He returned to Scotland, but his death in 1123 and the election of Robert, Prior of Scone, in his place reopened the question.

If one sympathizes with the timorous cleric whose loyalty to the mother Church of Canterbury and naive eagerness for

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

dignities and great revenues had to contend with his fear of the King, "who was inflamed against him and knew not why," one must also pay a tribute to the coolness, firmness, and foresight of Alexander. His squabble with Edmer may seem trivial and unworthy ; in reality he was securing his own independence, and, in the long run, the independence of the Scottish Church and the Scottish nation.

### DAVID I

In 1124 Alexander died. He was succeeded by his brother David, the youngest of the sons of Malcolm and Margaret and by far the greatest of the early Scottish kings. Ambition and piety, gentleness and determination, sagacity which at times amounted to cunning, helped to form a character of singular complexity. "A king and knight by day, a monk by night," is the description of him given by an old historian. His youth had been spent in England ; after the marriage of his sister he became one of the retinue of King Henry. While he lived at the English Court an event took place which made a deep impression on his mind. Late one night he had been summoned to the Queen's chamber. When he entered a strange sight met his eyes. The room was crowded with lepers, and in the midst of them knelt the Queen, clad in a coarse linen garment, washing the feet of the hideous crew. For a time astonishment kept him silent, but when the Queen began to kiss the feet which she had cleansed he cried : "What dost thou, O my lady ? Truly if the King knew this he would never deign to kiss with his lips thy mouth, polluted with the corruption of lepers' feet." At this the Queen smiled and said : "Who knows not that the feet of the eternal King are to be preferred to a mortal king's lips ?" Then she urged him to help her in her loathsome task, but the young prince grew cold with horror and fled back to his gay companions.

David's stay at the English Court influenced him in other ways. Of the three sons of Margaret who sat upon the Scottish throne he was least Scots and the most Norman. His friends were naturally not the Gaelic-speaking mormaers of the north

## THE SONS OF MARGARET

or west, but the French-speaking Norman knights whom he had met at Henry's Court, and when he married his wife was an English heiress, the widow of a Norman baron. As a result of this marriage he gained the earldom of Northampton and the Honour of Huntingdon and became one of the most powerful vassals of the English King.

When he ascended the throne he was a man in the prime of life, with no mean experience of king-craft, for during the previous seventeen years he had governed southern Scotland with success. He had already shown his devotion to the Church by re-establishing the diocese of Glasgow, over which he placed the contumacious Bishop John, and by founding the two Border monasteries of Selkirk and Jedburgh. In his reign the process of transformation which had begun with the arrival of Queen Margaret in Scotland was carried on to something like completion. One is apt, of course, to attribute to the influence of a great monarch social changes which were due to a multitude of causes. One tends, besides, to conclude that because a monarch has remoulded the social structure of his country he was necessarily a philosopher-king, putting his theories of statecraft into practice, when in reality he may simply have been imitating a neighbouring prince. This must be kept in mind when one is estimating the character and achievement of David. He did not invent feudalism, and Scotland would have been feudalized even if he had never reigned ; but under his rule changes were wrought within a few years which without him might have needed generations for their accomplishment.

In spite of his hostility to Celtic institutions, he was troubled little by insurrections in the semi-barbaric north and west. It is true that he had to fight two battles with Malcolm, a natural son of Alexander, before he was firmly settled on the throne ; that in 1130 Angus, the Mormaer of Moray, a grandson of King Lulach, penetrated as far as the Sidlaws with four thousand Highlanders ; and that a few years later his realm was disturbed by the antics of a certain Bishop of Man, who claimed to be a son of the fallen Angus. On the other hand,

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the Galwegians and northern Scots formed part of his army when he invaded England in 1138.

### GROWTH OF NORMAN INFLUENCE

What, then, were the changes which David introduced? The wording of his charters shows one of them. While Edgar and Alexander addressed their charters "to all our subjects, Scots and English," David addressed his "to all our subjects, French, English, Scots, and Galwegian," or sometimes simply "to all our subjects, French and English." In other words, the Norman subjects of the King were growing rapidly in numbers and influence. Vast tracts of country, especially in the south, were granted to them, and their strongholds, great mounds of earth crowned with wooden towers and surrounded by a palisade and ditches, rose above many a forest and many a fertile valley. Robert de Brus, the ancestor of the great Scottish king, was a typical example of the new Norman nobility. He already possessed estates in England, but early in the reign of David he was granted the valley of the Annan, and later he gained the sole right of hunting in the country there. Any one who wandered from the path that led through de Brus's woods was to be heavily fined. Such nobles were Scotsmen only in the sense that they held property in Scotland and had done homage to the Scottish king. When war broke out between the two countries neither side could rely on them; de Brus, for example, renounced his allegiance to King David before the Battle of the Standard.

The great northern provinces, however, Moray, Angus, and the rest, were still in the hands of Celtic nobles. They were not regarded as the owners of their provinces, but as judges and leaders of their people; they did not succeed according to the rule of primogeniture, but by the law of tanistry; they held the land, not on the strength of a charter given by the king, but by immemorial custom. David did not displace the great Celtic nobles, but he regarded them as feudal vassals, who had to render the ordinary feudal services. It is significant that the title of count or earl should have begun to

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displace the ancient Celtic style of mormaer, and that the Celtic earls of Fife and Angus should have been granted charters for land which they already possessed.

Such changes probably affected the mass of the people but little. The Norman baron may have treated trespassers after game with undue strictness, there may have been conflicts between his foreign retainers and the people of the neighbouring village, the system of trial by battle may have proved unpopular ; but the Celtic peasant had been forced to pay cain and conveth to his former lord, and under another name he paid them still ; he had been expected to go to battle at his lord's bidding, though it had not been so nominated in any charter, and to battle he continued to go ; if he had been a slave he remained a slave, for even the good King David, following the example of his mother, gave slaves to the Church at Dunfermline. Sometimes the peasant would adopt a Norman name, although probably at this time Norman-French was the language only of the Court, and Gaelic was still spoken over the whole of Scotland, except in Lothian.

## DAVID AND THE CHURCH

Another sign of the changes that were taking place was the appearance of the Norman church, with its apse, arcaded walls, and round-headed windows, such as one sees to-day at Leuchars and Dalmeny. And though Queen Margaret had reformed the ceremonies of the Church, it was David who perfected its organization. Between 1124 and 1150 he founded five bishoprics—Ross, Caithness, Dunblane, Aberdeen, and Brechin ; so that, excluding Galloway, the bishop of which was a suffragan of York, and Orkney, which at this time belonged to Norway, Scotland was divided into nine dioceses. Nor was that all ; he founded eight abbeys, including such famous houses as Holyrood, Melrose, Cambuskenneth, and Dryburgh. The clergy of these foundations were in most cases English or Norman ; in the services of the Church they used Latin, the language also of the books which they read and the meagre

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chronicles which they composed. The fantastic Celtic ornament was no longer seen on illuminated missal and memorial stone, on the bishop's crosier or the vessels of the altar ; every cathedral, every monastery, had become the home of an alien culture. The Culdees, the degenerate representatives of the old Celtic clergy, were forced to conform to the new conditions, and for the most part became canons regular.

But David was not content with reorganizing the Church ; he endowed it with immense revenues. Charter after charter remains to bear witness to his munificence. He grants a rood of land in one town, the tolls from ships in another, the skins of animals slaughtered by the king's officials in a certain district, and exemption from tolls and taxes everywhere. Thus David I is mainly responsible for the vast wealth and power of the mediaeval Scottish Church. Those who think only of the corruption of the Church on the eve of the Reformation may doubt the wisdom of his policy ; it must not be forgotten, however, that the Scottish clerics consistently used their power to support the sovereign in his dealings with a turbulent nobility and to guard the nation against foreign aggression. John of Glasgow was but the first of a long line of ecclesiastics who went their own way in spite of outside interference, even when the interference came from the Pope.

### RISE OF THE BURGHS

It is in the reign of David I that we first hear of the Scottish burghs. Undoubtedly towns, with some sort of government and a traditional body of laws, had existed long before his time. Centuries before groups of wooden huts must have clustered about the monastery or the king's palace, or about some harbour on the eastern coast. But David was the first Scottish monarch who expressly recognized the existence of these communal centres. In his grants to the Church he mentions his burghs of Haddington, Perth, Dunfermline, Stirling, Edinburgh, and Elgin. He extended his protection to a Hanse or confederation of the northern burghs, which



PLATE XII. (a) THE NAVE OF DUNFERMLINE ABBEY  
(b) DALMENY CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH



## THE SONS OF MARGARET

probably included the towns of Aberdeen, Inverness, and Elgin, and in his reign the burgh of St Andrews was established. Further, the laws of the 'Four Burghs,' Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, and Berwick, were codified at this time.

Foreign affairs, like home affairs, David managed with success—success that was due more to his skill as a diplomat than to his military capacity, for he suffered one disastrous defeat and once he almost fell into the hands of the enemy. His policy was governed by the principle that the southern border of Scotland should be, not the Tweed, but the Humber. It is true that he interfered to support the cause of the Empress Matilda and her son Henry against Stephen, but Northumbria was always the price of his support.

### DAVID INVADES ENGLAND

In 1135 Henry I of England died, leaving a daughter to succeed him. Her claim was disputed by Count Stephen, who seized the crown. But eight years before King David, along with the clergy and nobles of England, had vowed that they would be faithful to Henry's daughter, the Empress Matilda. David made haste to fulfil his vow. In midwinter he burst into northern England, pillaged the countryside, and captured the great Border fortresses, including Carlisle and Newcastle. At this distance of time it is difficult to realize the terror caused by this invasion and by the raids and forays which followed in the next three years. David was no doubt a chivalrous gentleman, courteous to the lowliest of his subjects, but it was beyond his power, or the power of any other general, to keep strict discipline in the heterogeneous armies which he commanded. The Norman knights and their retainers, the English-speaking yeomen of Lothian and the Borders, must have found it hard to keep the peace with the Scots from beyond the Forth, jealous of any invasion of their prerogative, the half-Norse warriors from Lorn and the Isles, and especially with the wild Galwegians. More than once the King, fearful lest their followers might desert, had to give way to the wishes of the Celtic chieftains. But of all his warriors the Galwegians

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were dreaded most. Lightly clad, armed only with a leatheren buckler and a javelin, they did not hesitate to fling themselves upon the lances of the mail-clad Norman knights. It was their boast that they had sides of iron, breasts of bronze, and minds empty of fear. And as they were heedless of pain and death for themselves, so they did not care how they inflicted them on others. "They spared no rank, no age, neither sex, no condition," says a monk who witnessed their ravages. Children were brained or spitted upon spears, old men butchered, priests slain upon the altar, and women driven off like cattle to a life worse than death.

Meantime news of the invasion had reached Stephen. He hastened northward with a great army, and early in February 1136 occupied Durham. There King David came to meet him, and eventually it was arranged that all the fortresses except Carlisle should be given back to Stephen, and that Prince Henry, David's son, should do homage to the King of England. For almost two years there was peace between the two kings. Then at the end of 1137 ambassadors arrived from Scotland asking for the surrender of Northumbria to Prince Henry. The demand was, of course, refused, and David invaded England and besieged the Border castles. As before, the ravages of the Galwegians caused widespread terror. But help was at hand. News came to the Scots that Stephen was marching to meet them, and they retired over the Border. Stephen followed them, but they had vanished among the Border hills, and he was forced to return without doing anything. His departure was the signal for a fresh invasion by a great host gathered from all parts of Scotland, commanded by the King himself, his nephew, William Fitz-Duncan, and Prince Henry. For almost five months northern England lay helpless before the invaders. Language seems to fail the monkish chroniclers as they attempt to describe the terrors of this awful time. It was an "indescribable invasion" by an "execrable army, more savage than any race of heathen." "Wherever the Scots arrived," says one, "all was full of horror and full of savagery. There was the screaming of

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women, the wailing of old men ; groans of the dying, despair of the living." After an obstinate defence Norham was captured ; in June William Fitz-Duncan routed a body of English horsemen at Clitheroe, and at the end of July the main body of the Scots had crossed the Tees.

Meanwhile Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, had summoned the northern barons to the city. A lofty spirit animated the decrepit old man, so frail that he had to be borne about in a litter. The barons agreed to support him, and, after a short interval spent in gathering their vassals together, returned to York with their forces. The English army advanced northward to Thirsk, where it halted while Robert de Brus and Bernard de Balliol were sent forward to treat with the King of Scots. Neither de Brus's appeal to the King not to side with the alien Scots against his own friends and kin, the English and Normans, nor his promise of Northumbria for Prince Henry could turn David from his purpose. Then, seeing that he had spoken in vain, de Brus, with de Balliol, renounced his allegiance and rode back to the English host.

### BATTLE OF THE STANDARD

On the 21st of August the English scouts galloped into Thirsk with the news that the Scots had crossed the Tees and were harrying the country. The English army at once got ready ; marching rapidly, it passed Northallerton, and early on the morning of the 22nd drew up on a plain about two miles north of the town. The Scots were in sight ; but dissensions had arisen in their ranks. The King and his Norman nobles, knowing that they would be opposed by cavalry and archers, wished the van of the army to be composed of mail-clad horsemen and the spearmen and archers of the Lothians. The Galwegians insisted that they should begin the attack, and they were supported by Malise of Strathearn, one of the Celtic earls. Afraid of what might happen if he ruffled the supersensitive Celtic temperament, David allowed the Galwegians to have their way. This decision proved his undoing.

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The very size of the Scottish army, the diverse races of which it was composed, and their mutual jealousies diminished its efficiency as a fighting machine. In marked contrast to the disorderly masses of the Scots stood the firm battle-array of the English army, with a line of dismounted knights strengthened by spearmen and archers in front, and the main body grouped in a dense mass round their 'standard,' which consisted of the mast of a ship, from which hung a silver pyx and the sacred banners of the northern saints.

With a yell the wild Galwegians rushed forward and, disdaining the terrible rain of arrows, flung themselves on the English. For a time the spearmen gave way; but the leathern bucklers of the Galwegians were a scant defence against the unending volleys of arrows, and their light spears broke like reeds against the chain-mail and massive iron helmets of the English knights. The first line was re-formed; in the same reckless manner, with a valour that amounted almost to insanity, the Highlanders and Islesmen flung themselves on the wall of shields; but the defenders of the Standard stood firm, and time and again the Scots were beaten back, leaving the English front strewn with dead and dying men. And now the frantic courage of the Scots began to die away, and when the cry arose that one of their chieftains was killed the whole mass reeled backward in confusion. It seemed as if the day was lost; but Prince Henry, shouting to his knights to follow him, dashed against the opposite wing and scattered it, as the old chronicler says, "like a spider's web." Far beyond the Standard he clove a path, and, falling upon the guards of the horses, in the extreme rear of the enemy's army, put them to flight. But the success was only temporary. An Englishman raised aloft the head of one of the killed and shouted that the King of Scots was slain. Instantly the cry was taken up; a panic spread through the undisciplined host of Highlanders and Galwegians, and they rushed wildly from the field. The King leaped from his horse and called to his nobles to follow him into the fight, but nothing could stay the flight of the Celtic hordes; the battle was lost.

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Overruled by his knights, the King mounted his horse once more, and at the head of a dense column of steel-clad horsemen rode slowly back over the moors to Carlisle. Time and again the pursuers dashed themselves upon the Scottish chivalry ; time and again the warriors who fought under the golden dragon drove them back. At length Carlisle was reached, and there the King was joined a few days later by Prince Henry and a remnant of his band. The rest of the host fared worse ; of those who escaped from the battle many were drowned in the Tees, many stragglers were cut to pieces by the infuriated inhabitants, who had a long score to pay off, many fell by the hand of their own countrymen, for bitter quarrels broke out among the sullen, starving fugitives.

But, strangely enough, this disastrous defeat did not hinder the ultimate success of David's policy. Later in the year the castle of Carham was captured ; it was plain that the Scots had only been repulsed, not destroyed. In the autumn Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, a legate from Pope Innocent II, strove to make peace between the two kings. Though he fell on his face before David, his prayers failed to move the ambitious ruler, and Stephen was equally obdurate. But he had gained the ear of the English Queen, who was a niece of the King of Scots, and she so wrought upon her husband that in the following year Stephen granted all Northumbria, with the exception of Bamborough and Newcastle, to Prince Henry.

Although the peace between the two Kings did not endure for long, although two years later David, after joining forces with Matilda, was almost captured at Winchester, Northumbria remained in the possession of the King of Scots for the remainder of his life. At Carlisle in 1149 he knighted the young Henry of Anjou, afterward Henry II, who promised that if he became King of England he would confirm David in the possession of Northumbria. David had played a difficult game with no little ingenuity and skill. He had gained as much from defeat as other men gain from victory ; whether Henry or Stephen prevailed he was sure of Northumbria. So

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far as human foresight could tell, Scotland was to be a great kingdom, stretching to the Humber, and when David died he would be succeeded by a monarch as able as himself, the handsome, gallant Prince Henry. But all the subtlety of the aged King went for nothing ; in 1152 Prince Henry died, leaving a delicate boy of ten as heir to the Scottish throne. The King was fully aware of the danger in which the country stood, for he knew that his own end was approaching, so he ordered one of the northern earls to conduct his grandson Malcolm round Scotland and proclaim him heir to the crown, while he himself persuaded the men of Northumbria to swear allegiance to Malcolm's younger brother. But as he lay on his deathbed at Carlisle, gazing upon the golden crucifix and listening to the chant of the priests, he must have known that his precautions were in vain. On the 24th of May, 1153, he died. His body was carried to Dunfermline, and laid in the abbey church there, beside the tomb of his mother and of his brothers.

## CHAPTER IX

### WILLIAM THE LION

**A** YOUNG king, delicate and unwarlike, had not his troubles to seek in the twelfth century, and much of David's work was undone in the reign of Malcolm IV. Northumbria did not long remain in the hands of the Scottish King. The King of England was now the able and far-seeing Henry II, a man who would be little likely to rest content so long as the northern part of his dominions was in alien possession. In 1157 he summoned Malcolm to Chester and either cajoled or threatened him into resigning Northumbria. The youthful ruler seemed to be absolutely under the control of the ambitious and masterful Henry. Two years later, when Henry attempted to wrest Toulouse from the Count of St Giles, Malcolm accompanied him to France, was knighted by him at Périgueux, and fought by his side at the unsuccessful siege of Toulouse. But the English leanings of their King were distasteful to the northern Scots. On his return from France in 1160 he was besieged in the town of Perth by the six great Celtic earls, but he succeeded in driving them off. Later in the year he invaded Galloway no fewer than three times, and obtained the submission of the Galwegian Earl Fergus, who became a monk in Holyrood Abbey.

#### THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE ISLES

Meantime events of great moment had been happening on the western fringe of the kingdom. At the beginning of the twelfth century the whole of the Western Isles, Galloway, and the west coast of Scotland beyond the Firth of Clyde were ruled over by the King of the Isles, a Norse potentate, who

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paid tribute to the King of Norway. In the reign of David I Fergus of Galloway ousted the Norsemen from his dominions, but their power was shaken still more by the ambition of the Celtic chieftain Sumerled, who drove them out of Argyll. But Sumerled's ambition did not rest there. In 1153, with the sons of Malcolm MacHeth, a descendant of King Lulach, he led an army eastward, and caused widespread terror and confusion in the realm. In the same year Olaf, the Norse King of the Isles, was murdered. He was succeeded by his son Godred, but the new ruler, by his tyrannous conduct, succeeded in alienating the Norwegian chiefs. One of these appealed to Sumerled, who willingly permitted his son Dubhgal to be acknowledged as King of the Isles. Godred, however, heard of what had happened, and early in 1156 sailed from Man with a fleet. He was met by Sumerled with eighty ships, and a fierce battle took place by night on the wintry seas. The dawn revealed shattered and sinking ships, their decks cumbered with dying men. Neither side had won. A conference took place between the leaders, and it was agreed that the Isles should be divided. Godred was to retain the Outer Hebrides ; the southern islands were to become part of the territories of Sumerled.

A heavy blow had been struck at the Norse dominion in Scotland, but Sumerled was as dangerous a neighbour as Olaf or Godred. In 1164 he descended upon Renfrew and advanced to Glasgow, burning, slaying, and plundering. The townsfolk were panic-stricken. All the clerics save one had fled, when the Bishop of Glasgow entered the town, rallied the inhabitants, and led them against the invaders. The Islesmen could not resist the onset of the gallant Bishop and his handful of men ; their leader was slain, and they fled in terror to their ships. But though Sumerled was dead, his descendants for centuries sorely troubled the kings of Scotland.

### WILLIAM THE LION

At the end of the year 1165 Malcolm the Maiden, as he was called, died, and was succeeded by his brother William. No

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two princes could have been more different than the devout, ascetic, unworldly Malcolm and his restless, ambitious brother. William was passionately fond of knightly feats and all the pomp of chivalry ; he followed after light loves, to the perplexity of his counsellors, and steadfastly refused to marry till late in life ; he made his own clergy do as he pleased, lived through interdicts and excommunications, and defied four successive Popes. His relations with England were governed solely by the desire to get back the territory with which Malcolm had so lightly parted ; but William's ambition was more disastrous to the kingdom than his brother's lack of it, and during his reign Scotland was humiliated as it had never been before.

During the first eight years of his reign William's relations with Henry of England were friendly enough. He accompanied Henry to Normandy, was present at his Court more than once, and when Henry, with inexplicable lack of foresight, caused his son to be crowned William and his nobles vowed fealty to the young King. The outbreak of war between Henry and his son gave William his opportunity ; he offered the old King his support at the price of Northumbria. Henry proudly refused, whereupon an embassy was dispatched to the young King, who closed with William's offer. In 1173 war broke out on the Borders ; a Scottish invasion of Northumbria was followed by the burning of Berwick at the hands of an English army. In the following year England was invaded by a larger force ; the Border castles were assailed, and while the King with a handful of troops kept watch over the castle of Alnwick, the bulk of his army had scattered far and wide, pillaging and burning.

Suddenly the tables were turned. The nobles of Yorkshire hearing of the ravages of the Scots, hastily gathered a body of about four hundred cavalry and marched to Newcastle. There terrifying rumours reached them ; the Scots were said to be eighty thousand strong, and the more cautious of the knights wished to stay in Newcastle " rather than be devoured like a loaf of bread by an endless host of barbarians." The

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bolder spirits had their way. At the first glimmer of dawn the little party clattered through the narrow streets of the town and took the road to the north. The morning was misty, and after they had ridden for five hours the more timorous began to grow uneasy, for they could only guess whither they were going. But the resolute de Balliol refused to turn back. "Let him go back who will," he cried to those who advised caution, "but I will go on even if no one follow." They continued their advance, when suddenly the mist cleared and they saw before them the walls and towers of a great castle. It was the castle of Alnwick. Between them and the castle walls was a body of about sixty knights, playing and taking their ease as if unconscious of danger. They were Scots, and among them was King William.

### WILLIAM CAPTURED

William had, indeed, seen the men-at-arms approach, but he paid no heed to them, because he thought they were only some of his own followers returning from a foray. But as the horsemen drew nearer he marked the unfamiliar banners of the knights, and knew when it was too late that the enemy "had already dared what he could not have suspected they would dare." He showed a knightly courage, however. Shaking his lance in the air, he shouted: "Now it will appear who knows how to be a knight!" and hurled himself at his foes. His men followed him, and for a time bore back their assailants, but one of the English soldiers stabbed the King's horse and brought him to the ground. William was soon captured, stripped of his armour, and led a prisoner to Newcastle. From Newcastle he was conveyed to Normandy, and there, in the castle of Falaise, he promised to do homage to King Henry for his whole kingdom, and give him the castles of Edinburgh, Berwick, and Roxburgh in return for his freedom. An assembly at York a year later completed the humiliation of Scotland. There the King, his younger brother, David, and all the barons, knights, and prelates of the realm did homage to Henry. William's subjects had further

## WILLIAM THE LION

to vow that they would remain faithful to Henry even if their own king deserted him, and the great nobles had to send their sons to England as pledges of their fidelity. For fifteen years Scotland was virtually a province of England; to such a pass had the ambition of William brought his country.

This humiliation which William had suffered was not likely to increase his authority among his more turbulent subjects. The trouble, as usual, came from the north and from Galloway. As soon as the news that the King had been taken spread through the army the two Galwegian leaders, Utred and Gilbert, his brother, led their men homeward. In the time of Malcolm castles filled with Norman or English-speaking soldiers and commanded by royal officials had been erected to bridle their territory; now they expelled the castellans, slew their troops, and razed their castles to the ground. Soon, however, the brothers quarrelled about the lordship of the province, and Malcolm, the son of Gilbert, instigated by his father, captured Utred and maltreated him in such a barbarous fashion that he died. Two years later Gilbert made his peace with William and Henry; the payment of a thousand pieces of silver secured the forgiveness of his crimes.

In 1185 there was trouble again. On the death of Gilbert his nephew Roland, the son of the murdered Utred, occupied the province, which was claimed by Duncan, son of Gilbert, a hostage at the Court of Henry. The King of Scots was commanded by Henry to bring Roland to his Court, but the contumacious Roland blocked the roads into his territory with trunks of trees and refused to come. Finally he was persuaded, and Henry granted him half of the province. The King of Scots, against the wish of his overlord, let him have the other half, and to the day of his death Roland remained one of the most faithful supporters whom William possessed. Henceforth Galloway gave little trouble to the Scottish King.

### CELTIC RISING

The trouble in the north, that home of lost causes and uncrowned kings, was more difficult to quell. For a time the

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hopes of Celtic Scotland were fixed, not, as before, on one of the descendants of Lulach, but on Donald Ban MacWilliam, a son of William Fitz-Duncan, the victor of Clitheroe, and a grandson of Duncan II, who ruled Scotland for a summer. The rebellions in support of Donald were not so much expressions of belief in the justice of his claim as of bitter hostility to the new order of things. Probably, too, he was supported by some of the Celtic earls, fearful of losing their ancient privileges. In 1179 William advanced against the rebel into the province of Ross, and returned after building two castles. But this expedition was of little profit ; two years later Donald was wasting the country far and wide, burning and slaying. He had gained Ross and Moray and threatened to conquer the whole of Scotland. William saw that the time for action had come. He led an army into Moray, occupied Inverness, and ordered his men to scour the surrounding country. Even now his position was precarious, for many of his nobles were ready to turn traitor, but by chance Roland of Galloway and his men came upon Donald at the moor of Mam Garvia. The Highlanders far outnumbered their opponents, but the Galwegians rushed to the attack with their usual impetuosity and Donald was slain with five hundred of his men.

### THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHURCHES

The early part of William's reign saw a revival of that dispute about the position of the Scottish Church which had caused so much trouble in the reign of Alexander I. But William, as might have been expected, went much farther than Alexander. Not only did he maintain that the English bishops had no part in the Scottish Church ; he insisted that vacant bishoprics should always be filled by his nominees, even in preference to prelates consecrated by the Pope. What he meant to gain by this policy it is difficult at this time of day to discover. He does not seem to have been attempting, like Henry II, to break the secular power of the Church. He did not explain why he disliked the offending cleric, yet he was ready to risk his soul in order to have his way.

## WILLIAM THE LION

The trouble began at a Council held at Northampton in 1176, when Henry of England demanded that the Scottish clerics should profess subjection to the Church of England. The demand was met by an indignant refusal. In reply the Archbishop of York displayed some sealed documents which, he asserted, proved his supremacy. Bishop Joscelin of Glasgow answered proudly that his Church was the special daughter of the Roman Church, and not subject to any archbishop or bishop. But now the Archbishop of Canterbury plunged into the fray, asserting that the Scottish Church was subject to his jurisdiction, not to that of Roger of York, and rather than be outmatched by his rival he persuaded the King to allow the Scottish clergy to go home. They straightway sent an embassy to Pope Alexander begging that they might be taken under his immediate protection. The Pope did not give a final decision, but forbade the Scottish bishops to obey the Archbishop of York till he had considered the whole question.

While the independence of the Scottish Church was hanging in the balance, when everything depended on the goodwill of the Pope, the King must offend Alexander. In 1179 Richard, Bishop of St Andrews, had died, and the canons had elected John Scott to be his successor. For some reason unknown the appointment did not please the King, who placed his own chaplain, Hugh, in the vacant bishopric. John went to Rome in the following year and complained to the Pope, who dispatched him back to Scotland with the legate Alexius. The legate deposed Hugh, and John was consecrated by the Scottish bishops in Edinburgh Castle. But the King cared nothing for papal legates ; he forbade John to remain in the country, and encouraged Hugh to retain the episcopal staff and ring. The legate again deposed Hugh, but the only result was a violent outburst of passion on the part of the King. "Never," he declared, "so long as I live, shall I and Bishop John dwell at the same time in the realm of Scotland." John and his uncle, the Bishop of Aberdeen, fled to Normandy, where they besought King

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Henry to bring his contumacious vassal to reason. In 1181 the Pope commanded the clergy to obey John, and threatened to excommunicate the King, while Henry summoned William to Normandy and argued with him. As a result a compromise was agreed upon : John was to resign St Andrews, and in return be appointed Chancellor of Scotland and have his choice of any other diocese. The veto of the Pope destroyed this scheme, and William would offer nothing more.

The English clergy now intervened. The Bishop of Durham and the Archbishop of York threatened to interdict the clergy of Scotland if they refused to submit to John. Intervention from such a quarter could effect little beyond stirring up national prejudice. Only a few clergy dared to offer submission to John, and the vengeance of the King was swift and sure ; he seized upon their wealth and drove both them and their kinsmen into exile. To this there could be only one reply : the Archbishop of York excommunicated the King, and the Bishop of Durham the whole of his people.

But the long reign of Alexander III had come to an end. In the autumn of 1181 Lucius III became Pope, and a few weeks later died that indomitable opponent of the independence of the Scottish Church, Roger of York. William seized the opportunity ; he sent an embassy headed by Bishop Joscelin to the new Pope to beg absolution and to ask that John might be deposed. The ambassadors returned early in the following year, bearing letters of absolution and a "rose of fine gold right pleasant," set upon a wand of gold. It was the famous Golden Rose, sent by the Pope to a sovereign who had specially distinguished himself by his zeal for the Church. William must have looked strangely as the envoys laid the gift before him. The envoys were followed by two papal legates, but as the arrangement which they suggested fell through they decided that the Bishops must go to Rome in person and plead their cause before the Pope. At last, in 1183, the controversy seemed to be settled ; both Bishops resigned their benefices to the Pope, who granted St Andrews to Hugh and Dunkeld to John. But the death of Lucius in 92

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1185 and the accession of Urban III roused the slumbering ambition of John ; he complained to the new Pope, who summoned John and his rival to Rome. John set out for the third time, but Hugh paid no attention to the summons, and was excommunicated.

Urban had died and had been succeeded by Gregory VIII, and Gregory had made way for Clement III before, in the early months of 1188, John returned to Scotland. Henry again intervened, commanding the King of Scotland to appoint John Bishop of St Andrews now that Hugh was deposed. This William refused to do. He, indeed, received John into his favour, but only after he had promised to give up his claim to St Andrews. Later in the year the Pope published his decision regarding the position of the Scottish Church. He declared that it owed subjection only to the Apostolic See, and that none save the Pope himself or his legate could pronounce a sentence of interdict or excommunication upon the kingdom of Scotland. Thus, after many a weary struggle, did the Scottish Church gain its independence.

The long controversy between Bishop John and Bishop Hugh came to a sudden and tragic end. Hugh had journeyed to Rome to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication. His prayer was granted, but he was fated never to return to Scotland, for a pestilence was raging in the city and, along with "cardinals, richer men, and an innumerable multitude of the people," perished Hugh and almost all his household. At last it seemed that John's chance had come. The Pope wrote to King Henry and the clergy of Scotland declaring him Bishop of St Andrews ; but King William took his own way and appointed his Chancellor, Roger, to the vacant see. John was present when the election took place ; he had in his possession a letter from the Pope supporting his claims, but he prudently said nothing, and remained Bishop of Dunkeld to the end of his days.

Whatever William's objections to the unfortunate Bishop John may have been, he at least established the royal

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supremacy over the Scottish Church. The Scottish clergy learned that they had less to fear from an Italian Pope than from a Scottish king ; they had to be subjects of the king first and servants of the Pope afterward. Whether William's policy was moulded by the foresight of a statesman or the obstinacy of a despot does not matter ; the fact remains that it was justified by the results ; in Scotland the pre-Reformation Church, whatever its faults, certainly possessed the virtues of patriotism and loyalty.

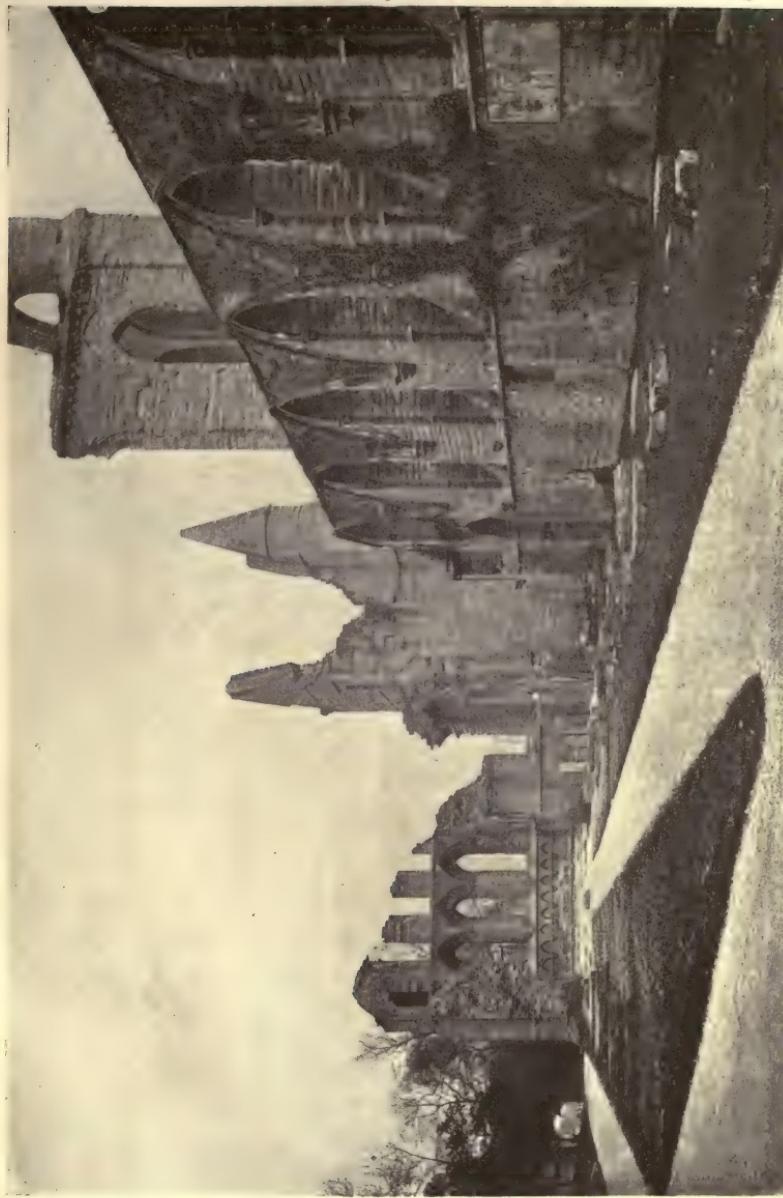
With the death of Henry II in 1189 the years of William's humiliation came to an end. The Third Crusade was afoot and the warlike Richard was ready to make any sacrifice to join it. He had declared that he would sell London itself if only he could find any one ready to bid high enough ; he certainly did sell his supremacy over Scotland. In return for ten thousand marks he released William from his allegiance to England and restored the Border fortresses.

Again William was king of an independent kingdom, again the old ambitions began to stir within him ; but with age caution had come, and he no longer sought to gain what he wished at the point of the sword. He was present in the cathedral of Winchester in 1194 when the crown was placed upon King Richard's head ; he was present two days later when Richard bestowed Northumbria on one of his nobles. William saw what he had coveted for a lifetime slipping from his fingers ; he immediately offered fifteen thousand marks for the province. Much as Richard wanted the money, he had no desire to give up the command of the northern frontier to a foreign king ; he would go no farther than offer the province without the castles, and William returned sorrowfully homeward.

### TROUBLE IN THE NORTH

Trouble in the north distracted the King for the next two or three years. In 1196 he led an army into Moray to drive out Harold, Earl of Orkney, who had occupied the province. Roderic and Torfinn, Harold's sons, opposed the royal troops,

PLATE XIII. THE NAVE AND CHOIR OF ABBROATH ABBEY.





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but they were defeated and Roderic slain. Harold himself fled to his ships, meaning to sail for Orkney, but a great gale arose and prevented his departure. He now resolved to try what fair words would do. He surrendered to King William, and promised that if the King returned within a few months he would deliver up not only his son Torfinn, but all the King's enemies.

In the autumn the King returned to Moray and awaited the arrival of Harold. Late one evening the Earl appeared at the royal lodging. With him, however, he brought neither the fierce Torfinn nor the hostile chieftains, but two little boys, his grandchildren. The King refused to accept the children as substitutes for the captive warriors he had expected and demanded an explanation. "I have allowed your enemies to go away," answered Harold naively, "knowing that if I had given them up to you they would not have escaped your hands. My son, moreover, I could not bring with me, because there is no other heir in that land."

This excuse, needless to say, was not accepted by the angry King; instead, Harold was clapped into Edinburgh Castle until Torfinn should be forthcoming. Eventually Torfinn was surrendered, and thereupon Harold was released, but the King and he again quarrelled, and his territories in Caithness were given to Ronald, King of the Isles, the son of the famous Sumerled.

## WILLIAM AND JOHN

The death of King Richard in 1199 caused William to renew his claims to Northumbria. But though King John entertained him with conferences and solemn deliverances, he had no intention of letting the old man have his way; on the contrary, he was anxious to push his frontier northward. In 1209 he demanded that William should surrender three of the Border fortresses, and led an army as far north as the Tweed to enforce his request. Age and sickness had broken the spirit of William; the King who had rushed upon the English spears at Alnwick and who had defied four successive Popes

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had become a timid old man, ready to submit to any slight rather than risk a battle. He led an army southward, only to make a humiliating peace with John before a blow had been struck. His two daughters and the sons of his great nobles were to become hostages at the English Court, and he promised to pay John fifteen thousand marks.

The peace was unpopular, for the feeble old King had given away almost all that he had gained from Richard. When his son Alexander was knighted it was John who girt him with the belt of knighthood ; John was permitted to arrange the young prince's marriage just as if Alexander were his own vassal ; when John's enemies, very properly, plotted against him William gave him timely warning of their schemes.

It seemed that the reign of the King was to close in sorrow and humiliation. A great pestilence broke out in the land, and hard on the pestilence followed war, for in 1211 Gothred, the son of Donald Ban MacWilliam, invaded the north of Scotland and tried to break the power of the King who boasted that he was a Norman rather than a Scot. William led his armies against Gothred, but in the trackless mountains of Ross the Highlanders easily evaded the slow-moving bodies of mail-clad knights, and William had to content himself with building two castles. No sooner was William back in the Lowlands than Gothred burst from his hiding-place and captured one of the castles. In his perplexity William appealed to John, who in the following year dispatched a body of Brabantine cavalry to his aid. The Highlanders were routed, and shortly afterward Gothred was given up by some of his own men and taken in chains to Kincardine, where he was hanged.

It was evident now that the days of the old King were numbered. In the autumn of 1214 he had journeyed into Moray to arrange a peace with Earl John of Caithness, the son of the guileful Harold. But as winter approached he was stricken with a deadly sickness, and died in his castle at Stirling. His body was borne to the stately Abbey of

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Arbroath, which he had founded thirty-six years before, and buried in front of the high altar. To-day the visitor to the roofless church, still beautiful in its decay, is shown a heap of mouldering bones. Let him look well at them as they lie in the dingy sacristy and muse on the vanity of kingly splendour, for they are the bones of William the Lion.

## CHAPTER X

### THE GOLDEN AGE

**I**N the troubled times of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when Scotland was fighting for her very life against an alien king or bowed under the oppression of her own nobles, men looked upon the reigns of Alexander II and Alexander III, the 'Kings of Peace,' as a sort of Golden Age. The oldest Scottish song in existence is a lament for these vanished days :

When Alexander our King was dead,  
That Scotland led in love and le,  
Away was sons<sup>1</sup> of ale and bread,  
Of wine and wax, of gamen and glee :  
Our gold was changèd into lead.

Both kings were vigorous rulers, untiring in their efforts to administer justice and bring the whole kingdom under their control, jealous of foreign interference, but slow to provoke war.

Yet the early years of Alexander II's reign were far from untroubled. Hardly had he been placed upon the Stone of Destiny at Scone when Donald, a son of Donald Ban MacWilliam, invaded Moray. It was the last time that the line of Duncan II troubled the kings of Scotland. Donald and his companions were slain, and their conqueror, Macintagart, brought their heads to Alexander, who in recompense made him a knight.

Meantime it had been faring ill with John of England. His barons had risen in rebellion, and they appealed to the King of Scotland for help. The old ambition which had lured his father to his ruin flamed up within the breast of the young Alexander. He besieged the Border fortress of Norham, and

<sup>1</sup> Abundance.

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made the barons of Yorkshire do homage to him at Melrose. John was furious. He marched north, burning farms and towns as he went, and in the early days of 1216 captured Berwick, where, in the words of the old monk of Melrose, his men behaved "like satellites of the devil." To the red-haired King of Scots he sent the taunting message, "So shall we hunt the red fox-cub from his lairs," and, advancing into Scotland, burned Haddington and Dunbar. But ill news from England forced him to return, bitter at heart. Before he left the town of Berwick on his southward journey he ordered it to be burned, and with his own hand fired the house in which he had lodged.

But the young King was nothing daunted. Ere the winter had passed he was again in England, despoiling the country round Carlisle. He gave orders that no religious houses were to be touched, but the bands of marauding Scots did not always share the scruples of their leader; at Homcultram, for instance, they not only, "in their vile and criminal frenzy," stripped the monastery of its sacred vessels, but even entered the hospital and took the clothes from the bed of a dying monk. "But such a crime did not pass unavenged," says the pious old chronicler of Melrose, for when they were returning with their plunder they were drowned in the river Eden. "A vengeance worthy of God," he adds complacently.

### ALEXANDER MARCHES THROUGH ENGLAND

After midsummer King Alexander, hearing that Louis, the Dauphin of France, had landed in the south of England, gathered his army together and marched as far as Dover. There he did homage to Louis, and then began his perilous journey back to Scotland. John had ordered all the bridges across the Trent to be broken down and all the boats to be sunk; his armies were posted between the Scots and Scotland; it seemed that his foes were delivered into his hands, when, in the autumn of the year, he died. But Alexander gained nothing from his interference in English affairs. On the death

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of John, Cardinal Gualo, the papal legate, intervened, placed Henry III on the English throne, and excommunicated the King of Scots and his people. Alexander, seeing that the English barons had changed sides and that Louis had made his peace with the boy-king, prudently followed the Dauphin's example. The sentence of excommunication was removed soon afterward from the King and the laity. But Gualo had determined to break the independent spirit of the Scottish clergy. Kneeling barefoot in February snows before English priors, the payment of heavy fines, journeys to England, or even to Rome, were their lot before they could receive absolution.

### THE REBELLIOUS WEST AND NORTH

The marriage of King Alexander to the Princess Johanna, the sister of Henry III, in 1221, removed all immediate danger of a war with England. In his own country, however, Alexander found enough scope for his warlike activity. Though the head of the last MacWilliam now rotted over the gate of one of his castles, the state of the western coasts of Scotland caused him much anxiety. They were ruled over by descendants of Sumerled, who owed a double allegiance—to the King of Norway for their island possessions, and to the King of Scotland for their territories on the mainland; but both Haco and Alexander found them contumacious subjects. In the autumn of 1221 the King, at the head of his war galleys, sailed down the Clyde, intending to invade Argyll, but he was driven back by a tempest. In the following summer, however, he repeated the attempt. The news of his coming spread terror among the men of Argyll; some fled, others sought to avert his wrath by gifts of money. When he returned he left the semblance of tranquillity behind him. A few weeks afterward he was at Jedburgh, preparing to visit the King of England, when messengers came from the north with a story of terror. Adam, the Bishop of Caithness, a man who had spent the greater part of his life in the quiet abbey of Melrose, had striven in vain to make his people pay tithes.

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They "remained steadfast in their original error," to quote the monk of Melrose, and answered his exhortations with threats which he either disregarded or did not understand. He soon learned their meaning. On a Sunday in September three hundred men beset the house, slew two of his monks before his eyes, then stripped and beat him savagely and stoned him. Some of his servants rushed to the Earl of Caithness, whose castle was close at hand, but the Earl bore no great love to the innovating prelate and answered coldly : "If the Bishop is afraid let him come to me." The wretches finished their cruel work by binding the Bishop hand and foot, flinging him into his own kitchen, and firing his house over his head.

The King was enraged. Summoning his army, he hurried into Caithness and captured Earl John. The Earl, though he satisfied the King that he had taken no part in the murder, was heavily fined, stripped of part of his lands, and forced to help in bringing the criminals to justice. It was a wild, bizarre crime, and it met with a wild punishment ; the murderers were mangled and racked with tortures before they were allowed to die. But people still pointed to the Earl of Caithness as the author of the crime ; they shook their heads when in the following year the King allowed him to buy back his estates, and when nine years after the death of the Bishop the same fate befell him and he was burned alive in his own house the pious regarded it as the vengeance of God.

Under the sway of Alan, Lord of Galloway, a Celt who seems to have adopted Norman ways, the Celtic south-west had long been quiet, but in 1234 the Lord of Galloway died, leaving three daughters and one illegitimate son. Following feudal law, the King divided the province among the three daughters of Alan, each of whom had married a great Norman noble. The Galwegians, however, had no desire to see their land divided according to alien custom and ruled by alien lords ; they refused to own any other than Thomas, the natural son of Alan, as their chief, destroyed the castles within the province, and laid waste the country far and wide. But the King had been biding his time. One Sunday in the

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summer of the following year he led his men into the moors of Galloway. All day long they marched without seeing an enemy or any sign of human habitation, save here and there a heap of charred timbers, for the Galwegians had destroyed even their own houses, and were now lurking among the mountains, waiting their opportunity. As evening was coming on the King decided that as soon as he reached a suitable place he would order his men to halt and encamp for the night. Soon they came to a broad, level meadow where the grass seemed greener and the June flowers brighter than elsewhere. The wearied soldiers halted, tents were pitched, and the white smoke of the camp-fires began to rise. Suddenly a rustle among the woods and the singing of arrows through the air told the King that he had walked into a trap. The trumpets rang out, the knights rushed to their horses and led their men against the ever thickening mass of Galwegians. But their peril was far greater than they imagined, for the fair green meadow-land that surrounded the camp was in reality a treacherous marsh. Horseman and spearman plunged and struggled, while the light-footed Galwegians, who knew every inch of the ground, rushed upon their helpless foes, hacking and stabbing furiously. The King and his men seemed to be in a desperate plight, when an uproar arose in the Galwegians' rear. Macintagart, the wily Earl of Ross, had led his Highlanders across the marshes, had crept unespied round their flank, and was now attacking them hotly. His action saved the royal army. The Galwegians took to flight, followed closely by the King's men, and the silence of the short summer night was broken by the fierce yell of the pursuer and the groans of the dying.

But Alexander was no vindictive tyrant. When morning came he sent out his heralds to proclaim that whoever submitted to him would be pardoned. Many Galwegians, with ropes round their necks, hastened to the camp to take advantage of the King's clemency. Thomas, however, the leader of the rebels, did not appear. He fled to Ireland, whence he soon returned with a host of Irishmen. His first act on landing in

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Scotland was to break up his ships, lest his allies should think of flight. But the expedition thus heroically begun had no very heroic ending. The Earl of Dunbar and some friendly clerics persuaded the rebel that he could not hope for success, and he surrendered to the King, who with his usual moderation kept him for a short time in Edinburgh Castle and then gave him his liberty. But his cause was lost ; the Norman de Quency, de Balliol, and Albemarle now ruled in the place of the old Celtic lords.

### ALEXANDER AND ENGLAND

Hardly had the affairs of Galloway been settled when the relations between Scotland and England began to grow strained. For years the diplomatists of both countries had been labouring to compose the difficulties caused by the war between Alexander and King John, and not till the autumn of 1237 did they succeed. King Alexander gave up the century-old claim to the northern counties that had been the cause of so much pillage and bloodshed, and in return was granted estates of the annual value of £200 in Northumberland and Cumberland, under the proviso that these lands should contain no castle. But in spite of this arrangement jealousy and suspicion increased. The death of Alexander's Queen, Johanna, Henry III's sister, in the following year weakened the tie which bound the two monarchs together. To make matters worse, King Alexander chose for his second wife, not an English princess, but Marie de Coucy, the daughter of a powerful French count. Henry complained that the Scots were building castles on the Borders and receiving English fugitives, while Alexander had to wait five years till he was granted possession of his English estates. The two countries were trembling on the brink of war when an event happened which made both Kings lead their armies to the Borders.

It so chanced that in the year 1242 a tournament was held at Haddington. Among the knights who made trial of their skill were the young Earl of Atholl, a son of Thomas of Galloway, and Walter Bisset, an accomplished soldier, but crafty and

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vindictive. At the jousting Bisset was flung from his horse by young Earl Patrick. That very night the barn in which the Earl lodged was burned to the ground, and he and two of his companions perished. Suspicion fastened upon Walter Bisset and his kinsfolk. The Earl of Dunbar and other powerful friends of the slaughtered Earl sought to slay Bisset at once, but he fled to the King and protested his innocence. His enemies urged the King to put him to death, and when Bisset pleaded for a trial and declared himself ready to prove his innocence by the ordeal of battle they answered that a trial was unnecessary, as his guilt was apparent. The King compromised by banishing Bisset and his kinsfolk. After he had pronounced sentence, however, he heard that the enemies of the accused man were planning to waylay him and put him to death. He therefore kept Bisset under a strong guard for three months, in castles unknown to his enemies, and at the end of that time allowed him to escape. But Alexander's kindness met with an ill return. Walter Bisset journeyed, not to the Holy Land, as he had promised, but to the Court of King Henry. There he complained that Alexander had condemned him unjustly, through fear of his nobles, and that in any case the Scottish King should not have acted without consulting King Henry, his feudal superior.

This gave Henry the opportunity for which he had been waiting. He presented Bisset with a manor and revived the old demand for the homage of the King of Scotland. Alexander's proud answer that he held not a particle of Scottish land from the King of England, and, what was more, neither wished nor ought so to hold it, stung Henry to fury, and in the autumn of 1244, after elaborate preparations, he led a great army northward for the invasion of Scotland. War seemed inevitable. Alexander, with a strong force, had advanced to the Pentland Hills, ready to drive back the English from the fertile plains of Lothian. But the English nobles and clerics were eager for peace; the Welsh frontier, too, was ablaze; so when an embassy arrived with proposals of peace from Alexander the English King was persuaded to

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accept the terms. Scotland and England were to become faithful allies, and Prince Alexander of Scotland was to marry the daughter of the English King.

### DEATH OF ALEXANDER

Moray and Galloway had been pacified, a peace made with England that was to endure unbroken for another fifty years, but Alexander felt that much remained for him to do. He often looked anxiously to the western borders of his realm, where the Norse galleys still swept the seas; he must have heard of the great expedition of 1230, when for a whole year King Haco and his warriors worked their will on the western islands. He had tried diplomacy: in 1242 he sent two bishops to Haco to ask how much money he would take for the Western Isles. "I do not know that I am so much in want of silver," answered the Norse King to the bishops, "that I need to sell lands for it." When embassy after embassy had been sent to the Court of Norway with no better result Alexander resolved on a change of tactics. He summoned John of Argyll to his presence and asked him to give up those islands which he held of the King of Norway. John refused, and though the King let him depart in peace, he recognized that if the Isles were to be won back at all it must be by the sword. So in the summer of 1249 he assembled a fleet and sailed round the western shores of Scotland till he came to the little island of Kerrera. There, according to the story told by the old Norse chronicler, as he lay asleep in his ship one night he dreamed a dream. He thought that three men stood before him, one of middle age, clad in royal robes, the second young and slender, the fairest of all men, the third old and tall and terrible. The third apparition asked the King his purpose, and when Alexander said that he had come to subdue the Isles, bade him turn back. The King awoke, and told the dream to his nobles, who urged him to return, but he refused to listen to them. Whether the story of the dream be true or not, it is certain that the King was stricken suddenly with a mortal sickness, and was carried over to the

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island of Kerrera, where on the 8th of July he died. He had ruled his country well. "While he lived," says John of Fordun, "he was a most gentle prince toward his people, a father to the monks, the comforter of the needy, the helper of the fatherless, the pitiful hearer and most righteous judge of the widow and all who had a grievance."

### ALEXANDER III

"Woe unto the kingdom where the king is a child," says the same chronicler when he turns to the reign of Alexander III. He had good cause for his lament. The young King was barely eight years old when the body of his father was laid in the abbey church at Melrose. The temptation was too much for the great barons. For the first time we witness that melancholy scene which was later to become only too familiar—two factions of Scottish nobles, one of them in alliance with England, struggling for the possession of a helpless king. The leader of one faction was Alan Durward, the Justiciar of Scotland, who had married an illegitimate daughter of Alexander II and was suspected of having designs on the throne. He was supported by the powerful Earl of Dunbar and by the de Bruses. The foremost figure on the other side was Walter de Comyn, the Earl of Menteith, who numbered in his party John de Balliol and Robert de Ros, besides many a powerful baron of his own house. Within a week of the King's death the quarrel broke out. Alan Durward wished the coronation to be postponed till the boy-king had been knighted, but was not able to prevail against the Earl of Menteith.

Never again was a Scottish coronation to be performed after the same fashion, for a few years later the Stone of Destiny became the spoil of the conqueror, and the next king to be crowned was crowned, with maimed rites, by a woman. As one reads the pages of the old chronicler one can picture the scene: the broad meadows stretching to the brown waters of the Tay; to the south the Hill of Kinnoul, to the north the faint blue line of the Grampians. From the

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grey monastery church set in the midst of the meadows wound a line of glittering figures—the Bishop of St Andrews and other prelates, the Earl of Fife, who was to place the crown on the King's head, with Walter de Comyn and Malise of Strathearn and many another baron or knight whose name has been forgotten. The procession halted before a great stone cross, ancient even in those days, that stood in the graveyard at the eastern end of the church. There was placed the famous Stone of Destiny, on which for centuries the Kings of Scotland had been crowned, covered for the occasion with a cloth of rich silk interwoven with threads of gold. On this the boy-king was seated, while the crown was placed on his head and the Bishop of St Andrews consecrated him. Not till the time of David II was a king anointed ; this omission supplied an argument for the supremacy of the English kings over the Scottish which they were not slow to use. When the sacring was finished the nobles advanced and, kneeling before the King, spread their mantles at his feet. Last of all a Highland bard rushed forward, fell on his knees, and recited the King's pedigree in Gaelic, beginning with the King who had died five days before and ending with Iber, the first Scot, who " was the son of Gaithel Glas, son of Neoilus, whilom King of Athens ; and was begotten of Scota, daughter of the Pharaoh Chenthres, King of Egypt."

### ALEXANDER'S MARRIAGE

But the pageantry of the coronation was as nothing beside the gorgeous ceremonial which took place two years later. The nobles of Scotland reminded Henry III of the promise which he had made to the dead King about the marriage of Princess Margaret. Henry, on his side, was eager to bring about an alliance which would give him no slight influence in Scottish affairs, and in the autumn of 1251 began to make preparations for the wedding. As early as October he had issued orders for seven thousand hens, sixteen hundred partridges, thirteen hundred hares, four hundred rabbits, and three hundred swine for the feasting, besides scores of cranes,

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peacocks, and swans. For the next two months the royal tailors had to toil night and day over the quaint garments of samite, cloth of gold, vair, squirrel, deerskin, and miniver which the King required for himself or for his knights. All through the month of December lines of straining pack-horses and trains of creaking wagons must have wound along the roads which led to York, while the narrow streets of the ancient city must have been thronged with a motley crowd, for a thousand knights with their retainers were to be present at the festival, country folk were flocking in from all sides to see the pageants, and doubtless many a beggar, mindful of the five hundred ells of cloth and the hundred and sixty-five pairs of boots which the King had promised to the poor, was crying for alms at the street-corners. To find lodging for this multitude was no easy task ; and when the King of Scots, with his mother and a retinue of sixty knights, arrived in the city it was judged wise that the hot-tempered Scottish retainers should be lodged in a street by themselves. This, however, did not prevent a brawl breaking out, in which one man was slain and others maimed for life.

On Christmas Eve the boy-king watched his arms in some dim chapel. On Christmas Day, while the bells clanged from the Minster tower, King Henry bound the gilded spurs to the feet of the King of Scots. Very early on the following morning, before the sightseers had thronged the streets, the two Kings and their retinues, lighted through the darkness by flaring torches, made their way to the Minster. There Alexander, a child of ten, was married to Margaret, a child of eight. It must have been a strange and gorgeous spectacle—the great cathedral with the dim shapes of its ponderous Norman pillars looming out of the darkness ; the twinkling points of flame on the altar, lighting up the figures of the little King and Queen and sparkling on the rich, fantastic robes of prelates and knights.

Among the throng one figure deserved more than a passing glance ; it was that of a boy of twelve, dressed in a tabard of cloth of gold, embroidered with the three leopards of

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England and furred with miniver. The boy was none other than Prince Edward, the deadliest foe that Scotland was ever to have.

When the ceremony was over Alexander did homage to the English King—probably only for his estates in England, perhaps also for Lothian. Henry tried to persuade him to include the whole of his country, but the young King either possessed wisdom beyond his years, or, what is more probable, had been coached by wary advisers. He had come to England to be married, he said, not to attempt an answer to a difficult question about which he had not yet consulted his chief men. Henry abandoned his attempt, for along with his kingly ambition seems to have mingled not a little affection for the young prince. The rest of Alexander's stay at York was one unbroken round of revelry. The eating and drinking were on an heroic scale. A hundred and thirty-two barrels of King Henry's wine disappeared ; at a banquet given by the Archbishop to the two Kings more than sixty cows were consumed, in what an old chronicler calls "one first and universal course" ; a thousand mullets and ten thousand "haddoc" are two of the items in the royal accounts. "If I should expound more fully the abounding diversity of the banquets," says the monkish chronicler, "the variety of changed robes, the pleasure of the applauders of jesters, the great numbers of those who sat at table together, the extravagant narrative would arouse derision." It was with no little relief that the Archbishop of York bade the King and Queen of Scotland farewell, for their visit had cost him four thousand marks, "sown in a barren shore, which he never afterward reaped."

### HENRY III'S INTRIGUES

The years that followed brought no more pageantry and feasting for the young King and Queen. They were confined closely in Edinburgh Castle, "a dreary and solitary place, wholly lacking wholesome air or verdure," as the Queen complained, while the triumphant party of Walter de Comyn ruled the country at its pleasure. It is hard to disentangle

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the motives of the actors in the next stage of the struggle ; to say how much Comyn and his friends were animated by patriotism and how much by ambition ; to decide whether Henry was moved solely by anxiety as to the plight of his daughter or whether he was casting a covetous eye on the kingdom of Scotland. Henry made friends with Durward, who had fled from Scotland in 1251, and thus won over to his side the enemies of the Comyn faction. Three years later he dispatched a secret embassy to Scotland, and in the late summer of 1255 he marched to Wark, on the Scottish border. Meantime his friends in Scotland had been busy. Earl Patrick of Dunbar seized Edinburgh Castle by a stratagem ; shortly afterward the Earl of Gloucester and John Maunsel, two of Henry's envoys, made their way into the fortress, followed by a band of armed men, and the young King and Queen were seized and carried off to Roxburgh. After Henry had assured the Scottish nobles that he had no intention of harming the kingdom of Scotland, but that his sole purpose was to see his daughter and son-in-law, "after the great desire of his heart," Alexander and his Queen were conducted to Wark. The result of the meeting of the two Kings was soon apparent. Alexander, instigated by Henry, dismissed Walter de Comyn and his friends from his council, and put in their places Alan Durward, Patrick of Dunbar, and others of the Anglophilic party. John de Balliol, one of the followers of Comyn, made his peace only by paying a large sum of money, and the lands of Robert de Ros and of Gamelin, the Bishop-elect of St Andrews, were plundered.

But the triumph of the English party was of short duration. Two years later the Queen-Dowager, with her brother John of Acre, returned to Scotland and took the side of the Comyns. Bishop Gamelin, enraged at the plunder of his diocese, made his way to Rome and persuaded the Pope to excommunicate his enemies. The sentence gave Comyn and his associates the opportunity for which they were looking. Professing to be anxious for the spiritual welfare of the King, left "in the hands of excommunicate persons," they seized him again.

## THE GOLDEN AGE

Durward and many of his followers were forced to flee to England, while King Henry, enraged at the overthrow of his plans and anxious for the safety of his daughter, ordered his northern barons to prepare for war. Scotland was in grave danger, for though Alexander had hurried to Melrose at the rumour of invasion, he had only a handful of men with him. Had the English barons struck at once they would have had the country at their mercy ; as it was, they allowed themselves to be occupied with negotiations till the rest of the Scottish army had assembled and invasion was impossible without heavy loss. Happily both sides were willing to make concessions. Durward was admitted to Alexander's council, and Henry promised to support the Scottish nobles "so long as they conducted the affairs of State according to God and justice." The English King had finally abandoned his attempts to interfere with the government of Scotland. But the change meant nothing to Alexander. He had been the puppet of King Henry before ; he was now the puppet of a clique of nobles. His deliverance came suddenly. A few days later Walter de Comyn died—poisoned by his Countess, some said—and Alexander, now a youth of seventeen, became King in fact as well as in name.

### A NORSE INVASION

The young King had little to fear from England. The difficulties which King Henry was beginning to experience in governing his own realm would have kept him from meddling with that of his son-in-law, had he been so inclined. But a grave danger threatened Scotland from another quarter. In the summer of 1262 messengers from the Western Isles had arrived at the Court of King Haco of Norway with tales of Scottish raids on Skye, and of Alexander's boast that if only he lived long enough he would tear the Isles from the Norwegian Empire. Haco knew that the Isles were slipping from his grasp, and that many of his vassals served two masters, paying tribute both to him and to the King of Scotland ; so, although he was an old man, with forty-six years of kingship

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

behind him, he resolved to do something that would secure the Norse dominion over Man and the Hebrides. In the following summer he sailed from Bergen at the head of a splendid fleet.

Valkyrie lanterns  
To bulwarks made fast  
Smote the bright heavens  
With gleam of red gold ;  
The host of the King  
As it skimmed o'er the main  
Was like unto lightning  
That springs from the sea.

So sang an old Norse bard. But, as both Scot and Norseman declared, an evil fate seemed to threaten the expedition. When the fleet lay off the Orkneys the sky grew dark with eclipse, and magic storms, raised by Scottish wizards, brought to nothing the plans of the war-worn King. Past Cape Wrath the great fleet swept, a hundred and twenty ships in all, the King's stout oaken galley, with its gilded dragon prow and rows of glittering shields, leading the van. Through many a strait and sound, past the bare, splintered peaks of Skye and Mull it made its way, till it came to anchor off the Isle of Arran.

Meantime the King of Scotland had been preparing to deal with an invader. Levies were mustered, garrisons put in the towns on the south-west coast. But the prospect of victory was none too bright. While the Scottish knights were well armed and well mounted on Spanish horses, the Scottish infantry, if we are to believe the Norse chronicler, were poorly equipped with weapons, and seemed more skilful in throwing stones than in manipulating bows and arrows. On the other hand, Alexander saw that the Norsemen were in more perilous plight than they thought. A great expedition must be well provisioned if it is not to go to pieces; and, besides, it was already about the middle of August. His plan, therefore, was to spin out negotiations till the prospect of starvation or the fear of the autumnal gales forced Haco to return.

As he had planned so it happened. Embassy after embassy passed between the two Kings, but nothing was

## THE GOLDEN AGE

accomplished, and when the end of September came with threatening skies and a rising wind, Haco saw that he had been fooled. He made an end of all truces. Half of his force he dispatched from the Cumbraes, where he had now taken up his station, to Loch Long. The Norsemen beached their galleys on the shores of the loch, dragged them overland to Loch Lomond, and, bursting on the province of Lennox, wasted it with fire and sword. And now the policy of the King of Scots began to be justified. When the marauders returned to the coast a great storm burst upon them and destroyed ten of their ships. The division which had remained by the Cumbraes fared no better ; on the first night of October a great wind swept up from the west and drove three or four of the vessels on shore near the village of Largs. The darkness and the stinging showers of hailstones added to the confusion made by the roar of the wind and the buffeting of the seas. The King's own ship narrowly escaped being rammed ; as it was, the golden beaks on her prow were wrenched away. So terrible was the storm that the panic-stricken crews whispered that the Scottish King was a wizard who had caused a magic gale to blow at his bidding. Next day the storm had abated somewhat. A few bodies of Scots appeared and fired volleys of arrows at the labouring ships, but they fled when the Norse boats put to shore. Early on the morning of the 3rd of October Haco himself landed, with about nine hundred men, and an attempt was made to get the cargo from one of the ships which had drifted ashore.

### THE BATTLE OF LARGS

The task was almost accomplished when a great host came in sight ; Alexander himself was advancing to drive back the invaders at the head of his mail-clad chivalry and an ill-armed rabble of foot. The old Norwegian King wished to stay and bide the issue with his men, but his followers forced him to return to his ship. Two hundred Norsemen occupied a hillock a little from the shore ; the other seven hundred remained on the shingle. Defeat was certain unless the little force could

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

get reinforcements. Reinforcements there were in plenty in the threescore ships battling with the storm, but between the nine hundred and their comrades lay a stretch of boiling surf. The tempest was fighting for the King of Scotland. The two hundred were forced from the hillock down to the shore, and there an obstinate battle took place, the Norsemen fighting madly, not for victory, but for life. With the surf behind them and the overwhelming masses of the Scots in front they were in a desperate plight ; but as night was falling they charged wildly up the hill and drove back their enemies ; then, seizing their opportunity, they leaped on board their boats and pulled out to the fleet.

In this manner ended the battle of Largs, regarded by some historians as a Scottish triumph worthy to rank with Bannockburn. In one sense it was a Norwegian victory ; the Scots had attempted to destroy a Norwegian landing-party, they had been repulsed with heavy loss, and the Norsemen had succeeded in returning to their ships. Few vessels had been lost ; when the plundering squadron returned from Loch Long a few days later Haco found himself still commanding more than a hundred ships, while the loss of men was trifling. In another sense it was a crushing defeat. The ships had suffered cruelly, provisions were running short, the wild weather had prevented the landing of a force large enough to be effective, and if such had landed would probably have barred its retreat. In short, the King of Scots had put Haco in such a position that, whether he won or lost battles, the expedition was doomed to be a failure. But this was not understood at the time ; as Haco sailed northward he portioned out the Isles among his vassal chiefs, and forebodings of a speedy and terrible return must have filled the mind of many a Scotsman as he saw the armada disappear, almost unharmed, into the northern mists.

### THE ISLES WON FOR SCOTLAND

On a day in January in the following year two messengers came to Alexander, one to announce that his Queen had borne him a son, the other that Haco, exhausted with the rigours of

## THE GOLDEN AGE

the campaign, had fallen ill at Kirkwall and died. A few months later the King of Man, formerly one of King Haco's vassals, did homage to Alexander. Ambassadors were sent to Norway to gain from King Magnus an acknowledgment of Alexander's right to rule the Isles. In the summer of 1266 the negotiations came to a happy conclusion ; in return for a payment of four thousand marks and an annual tribute of a hundred pounds the Kings of Scotland were to be allowed to hold dominion over Man and the Hebrides.

The passage of the years seemed to bring only increased prosperity to Scotland and to her King. Alexander, unlike Henry of England, was strong enough to control his ambitious nobles, he never tired of journeying about the land to administer justice, and he was sincerely interested in the welfare of his people. All danger of war seemed to have passed away ; his relations with his father-in-law were always cordial, some of his greatest barons had fought for Henry against Earl Simon, and when Henry was a captive in the hands of his barons Alexander had used his influence to secure his release. The accession of Edward I in 1272 placed on the throne of England one whom Alexander regarded more as a brother than a friend, one to whom he could reveal his innermost thoughts. Alexander was present at Edward's coronation in 1274 ; and an additional proof of the intimacy between the two monarchs is shown by one or two blackened slips of parchment, letters sent, "with a thousand greetings," by Alexander's children to their "very dear uncle," the King of England. The old hostility between Scotland and Norway also had come to an end, and in 1281 Alexander's daughter Margaret married King Eric of Norway.

At the beginning of 1283 Alexander could look back on a generation of almost unbroken peace. He had prospered in all his doings ; his daughter had married a powerful prince ; he was respected abroad and loved at home. He was not an old man, only forty-four, and he knew that even if he died the realm would not fall into confusion as it had done on the death of his father, for Prince Alexander, his son, had

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attained manhood. Scotland had never seemed more secure. How was even the wisest to know that the Golden Age was almost at an end ?

### END OF THE GOLDEN AGE

One staggering stroke followed another. In the spring of 1283 the Queen of Norway died, leaving behind her a daughter scarcely a year old ; hardly a year later the Prince of Scotland, Alexander's last surviving child, also passed away. The Queen had died about nine years before, so that Alexander, though not an old man, had now outlived all his family. In his loneliness he turned to King Edward of England for comfort, and a worn slip of parchment, defaced, blackened, and almost illegible, bears witness to that sorrow six centuries old. It is a letter to Edward thanking him for a long course of benefits and for his sympathy, which had helped him much in these sufferings caused by the death of his dear son, sufferings which were hardly to be borne and which he still felt. " Much good may yet be in store for us," the letter concludes, " and death only can dissolve our league of amity."

To his grief for his children was added concern for the succession. A week after the death of Prince Alexander the Scottish Parliament had declared the infant daughter of the Queen of Norway heir to the throne ; but as even then the fortunes of the kingdom were staked on one frail life Alexander decided to marry again, and in the autumn of the following year Joleta of Dreux became his wife. But " who can control his fate ? " The most crushing blow of all, a blow the effects of which were felt for centuries, had yet to be delivered. On the 19th of March, 1286, Alexander was holding a council of his nobles in Edinburgh Castle. A wild gale was raging, a tempest as terrible as that which had scattered the Norwegian galleys twenty-three years before. The wind howled round the turrets of the castle, rain and snow battered at the windows, and men looked in terror at the rack streaming over the darkened sky and talked of omens and enchantments. Only the King seemed to be unaffected by the gloom around him.

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Long after it was remembered that when sitting at dinner he had asked a squire if he thought that the Day of Judgment had come.

When the dinner was over he told his nobles that he must depart at once for Kinghorn, where his Queen was living. They pleaded with him to stay, but a spell seemed to be upon him, and, laughing at their prayers, he rode off through the driving sleet to Queensferry. There the ferryman tried to stop him, for it was now quite dark ; but the King mocked at his fears. "Are you afraid to die with me ?" he asked. "Far be that from me, sire," answered the man ; "it well becomes me to face my doom like a brave man with your father's son." The boat, with the King and his three squires on board, pushed out into the racing, swirling waters of the Firth, and, after a desperate struggle with the waves, the harbour of Inverkeithing was gained. There the master of the saltworks met the travellers and asked whither they were going in such weather and so great darkness. When the King told him, he declared that the narrow path which wound along the cliffs was unsafe at such an hour of the night and offered to give him shelter till the morning. But the King was 'fey' ; he laughed, and asked for two guides. These were obtained, and the little party rode off again into the storm. Two miles farther on they missed the path ; they could only slacken the reins and trust to their horses. A few minutes later the squires found themselves once more on the beaten track and looked round for the King. He had disappeared. Again and again they shouted ; the roar of the storm was the only answer. Alexander had fallen from his horse, and somewhere about the cliffs he lay dead, with a broken neck. The Golden Age had come to an end.

Cryst, borne in to Vyrgynyté,  
Succoure Scotland and remedē  
That stad is in perplexyté.

## CHAPTER XI

### SCOTLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE bells which tolled for Alexander in the grey abbey church of Dunfermline sounded the knell of much besides. The old order was passing, the years of peace had come to an end ; within a short time the country was to be plunged into a fight for existence from which she emerged victorious only at the cost of much that was precious. Before the curtain rises on this drama of treachery, bloodshed, and high adventure, let us look back on those vanished years and see what the condition of Scotland was in the reigns of Alexander II and Alexander III.

One great difficulty there is in reconstructing this period : nothing worthy of the name of literature has survived. There are, indeed, the meagre Latin chronicles of Holyrood and Melrose, which record events without much sense of their significance and sandwich an account of the burning of "one of the best barns of Cupar" because of "a candle badly fixed" between records of sieges and invasions. But if any poet, like Dunbar in the days of James IV, gave expression to the spirit of his age, described its customs and satirized its follies, his work has long since utterly perished and left not the faintest memory behind it. Even the ancient records of the kingdom have almost entirely disappeared. For our knowledge of the state of the country we have therefore to depend on the cartularies of religious houses, on a few ancient burgh charters, and on various collections of the laws attributed to David I, William, and Alexander II, collections probably made about the time of Bruce to supply the place





## THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

of the original records which Edward I had taken to England. The twelfth-century laws of the Four Burghs and the thirteenth-century laws of the Guild of Berwick give much information about life in the old Scottish towns.

We must remember that the changes of the last two centuries had affected the different parts of the country in varying degree. The Highlands had hardly changed at all from the time of Malcolm Canmore ; the Norse language and Norse customs lingered in the Outer Hebrides long after the islands had passed from the sway of the Norwegian kings ; even at the end of Alexander III's reign a Galwegian was usually tried by the laws of Galloway. There was no burgh farther north than Inverness ; and as the sheriff of Inverness was the only representative of the king's justice in the great provinces of Moray, Ross, Caithness, and Argyll, the royal laws there must have had only the force of expressions of opinion.

But the state of the eastern and southern parts of Scotland had changed much in the reigns of the two Alexanders. Corn-fields stretched where a little before there had been only wastes of whin and broom, for by a law of Alexander II every man who had more than four oxen was to take land from his lord and plough and sow it for the sustenance of himself and his family. If he had less than four oxen and so could not plough, then he was expected to " delve the earth with hands and foot." For the encouragement of the unwilling the lawgiver added : " It is richt gude to tak heed so that of thaim it be nocht verifyit that is teachit into auld tales, whar it is said for the cauld he that is sweer<sup>1</sup> and wald nocht ear<sup>2</sup> in winter, therefore in summer he sall thig<sup>3</sup> and nocht sall be given to him."

## THE CASTLE

Of the rude erections of turf in which the country folk lived—huts which could be built with the labour of a few hours—no trace, naturally, has been left, but the remains

<sup>1</sup> Unwilling.

<sup>2</sup> Plough.

<sup>3</sup> Beg.

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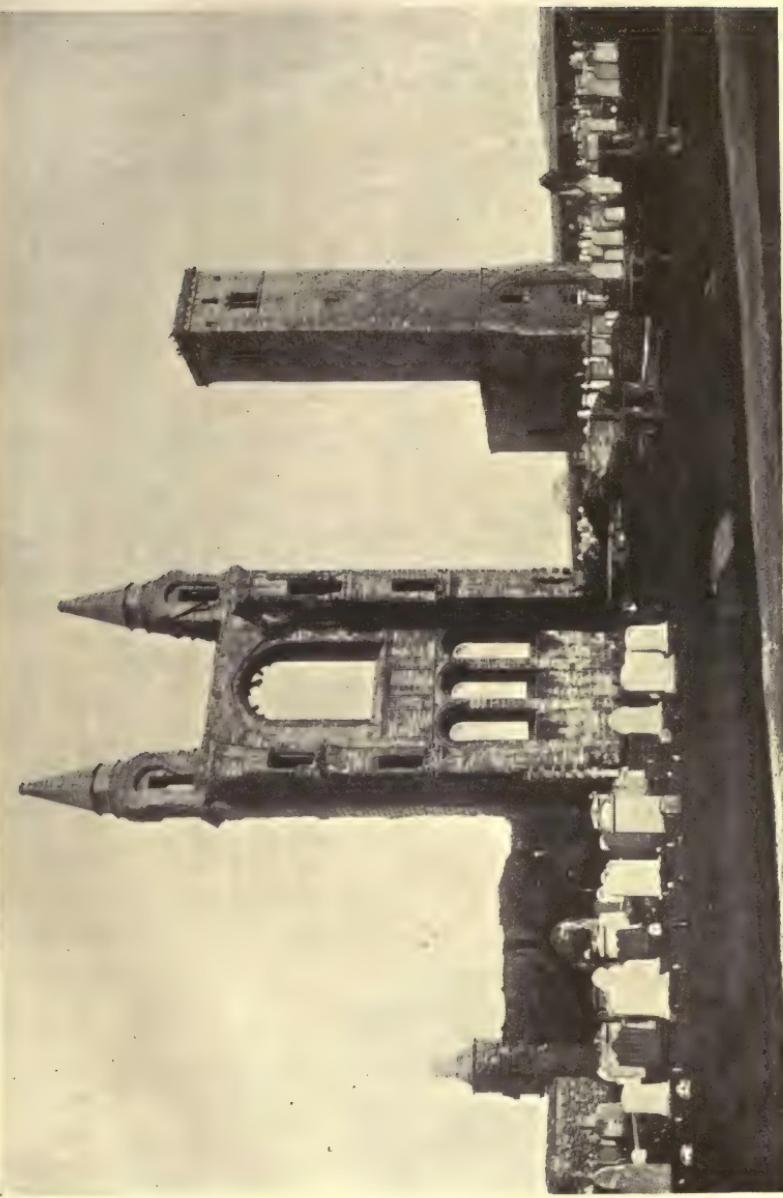
of massive walls and towers show us what the castles of Alexander's great barons were like. The mounds of earth defended by palisades had in many cases been replaced by fortresses of stone little inferior to the great strongholds of England or France. Most of these fortresses were built on low-lying ground. The first line of defence was a broad moat ; within that rose the great curtain walls, over seven feet thick and over twenty feet high, enclosing a space that was usually large enough to receive the folk of the neighbourhood and their cattle, should they flee to the castle in time of danger. Entrance to this enclosure was gained by a wide gateway, over which a portcullis was usually suspended. Within were the chapel and the penthouses in which the garrison lived. At the four corners of the castle, and sometimes at intervals along the walls, round or square towers were built, each capable of being defended separately. One of these towers, higher and stronger than the rest, was the donjon, to which the garrison retreated in time of stress, and which often held out for days after the rest of the castle was in the hands of the enemy. Such castles were all but impregnable. As the sieges of the War of Independence proved again and again, a garrison of a few dozen men could hold out for months against a great army, equipped with the feeble siege artillery of the period.

### THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

In such castles dwelt the earls and great barons of Scotland. Within their own territories they were petty monarchs. Each baron had the right of trying all offenders who dwelt on his lands, provided only that the charge was not one of the four great pleas of the Crown, and that the king's sheriff, or his representative, had been asked to attend the court. The justice of these baronial courts was somewhat rough and ready. Imprisonment found little favour. Every castle had its pit and gallows, and a humanitarian statute of the early thirteenth century shows how readily they had been used. "No man," decrees William the Lion, "ought to be hanged

PLATE XV. ST ANDREWS CATHEDRAL, AND CHAPEL OF ST REGULUS

120





## THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

for less price than for two sheep, of the which each one is worth sixteen pence."

The tenants on these feudal estates were of different grades. There was the knight, who held his land on condition of doing military service for a fixed period; freeholders of various ranks, holding their land in return for rents paid in money or in kind; and the bondmen, many of them Celts, who had to work on the private estates of their lords, and in return got protection, shelter, and a strip of ground to cultivate.

Any man could give up his freedom, but once it was lost it could not be regained, for heavy penalties were imposed on those who sheltered runaway serfs or refused to give them up to their own lords. The bondman's one chance of liberty was to escape to a town; if he lived there for a year and a day unchallenged he became a freeman. Yet the bondman's condition was not so miserable as one might imagine; save that he could not travel in search of better conditions, he was probably as well off as a Scottish farm-labourer in the early eighteenth century.

### CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

That the thirteenth century was a great building age in Scotland is shown not only by the ruins of castles, but by the remains of stately abbeys and cathedrals. Never on such an ambitious scale as the great structures of England and France—many an English parish church is larger than Dunblane Cathedral—they have suffered much at the hands of Time, and more through war and the greed or bigotry of men. Still, enough remains to show what the thirteenth-century craftsman could do. As in England, the massive Norman architecture, with its ponderous piers and small, round-headed windows, was being followed by a style of building that added grace and lightness to strength and austerity. The pointed arch appeared; lancet windows, sometimes arranged in groups to form one great window, as at Glasgow, took the place of the round-headed windows; and the carver began to introduce plant and animal forms in the capitals of columns and the

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

bosses of the groined roofs. Scottish architecture, in fact, was passing through the same series of changes as architecture in England ; the only difference was that the Scottish builders continued to employ the round arch, especially for doorways, long after it had passed out of use in England. To this period belong the cathedral of St Andrews, once the fairest and greatest cathedral in Scotland, now only the fragment of a ruin ; the choir and the wonderful crypt of Glasgow Cathedral, the only Scottish cathedral left unwrecked in the sixteenth century ; the choir and transepts of Sweetheart Abbey, built by the Lady Dervorgilla of Galloway to receive the heart of her dead husband ; the transepts of Elgin Cathedral and Dryburgh Abbey ; and the choir of Brechin Cathedral.

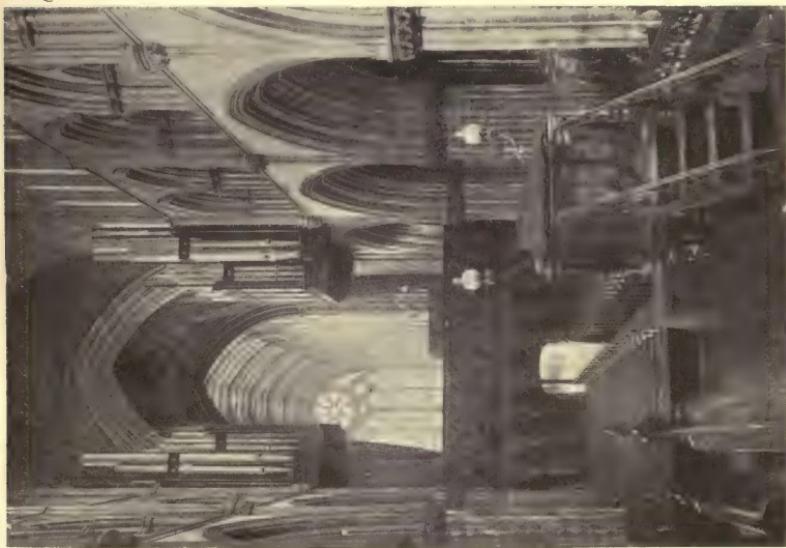
### THE BURGHS

Too little is left of these noble buildings, but still less remains of the buildings of the thirteenth-century burgh, at most only a fragment of the church and the foundations of the castle. Still, we can imagine the appearance of one of these old towns—a cluster of thatched houses built round the castle, the guild-hall and the church, the whole girdled by a palisade and a moat. Near the centre of the town was the market-place and the market cross, where goods brought from the country round or from ships had to be exposed for sale.

With a few exceptions, where the superior was a bishop or an abbot, the burghs of Scotland at this time were royal burghs, whose citizens owned no other lord than the king. No man could be a burgess unless he held a toft of at least a rood in extent ; on this he paid a rent of sevenpence a year to the king. These payments were collected by the bailie, who at first had been appointed by the king, but in the thirteenth century was elected by the burgesses. In return for this annual payment the king granted the burgh a monopoly of the trade of the district. No one in the neighbourhood of the burgh, for example, was allowed to brew ale unless he had a pit and gallows. The connexion between the brewhouse and the gallows is not obvious, till we remember that in those

PLATE XVI. GLASGOW CATHEDRAL,  
BLACKADDER'S CRYPT

CHOIR AND NAVE





## THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

days the right of hanging and beheading criminals was one of the privileges of a great baron. In addition, the burgesses were allowed to have their own courts and codes of law, and they were under the direct protection of the king.

The governor and garrison of the castle of a royal burgh were under the orders, not of the citizens, but of the sovereign. On the other hand, the governor was not supposed to interfere with the affairs of the town. If a burgess had been injured by a soldier he had to lay his case before the governor ; if a soldier had any complaint against a burgess he was required to take it before the burgh court. Probably there were sometimes disputes between the civil and the military authority. That the governor sometimes ran up debts in the town seems evident from the law declaring that the governor was to get no more than forty pence worth of goods from a burgess within forty days ; “ and gif within that term he pays it nocht, he [the burgess] sall nocht len him mair but gif it be lykand to the burgess to len it of free will.” That the cautious merchant sometimes hesitated to supply the garrison with provisions another statute bears witness. It forbade the governor to slay swine, geese, and hens until he had asked if they were for sale to the king. If the owner refused to sell them the governor might kill the animals if he found them in the street, but he was required to pay the lawful price afterward.

The affairs of the town were managed by the townsmen themselves. Every year after Michaelmas “ the good men of the town ” assembled and chose an alderman and four bailies, who were admitted to office only after they had sworn fealty to the king and burgesses, and had vowed to administer the law, not “ for wrath or hatred or dread or love of any man, but through the ordinance, doom, and counsel of the good men of the town.” Once admitted to office they became persons of great dignity. No bailie was allowed to degrade himself by selling bread or ale, and any one who slandered an alderman had to deny the slander, confess that he had lied, cry for mercy, and swear upon the Holy Sacrament that he knew no

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evil of the offended dignitary. Anything touching the welfare of the town seems to have been discussed either by the whole of the townsmen of substance, or else, as in Berwick, by a council of twenty-four true men chosen from "the better, more discreet, and more trustworthy" members of the burgh. Such assemblies met frequently to hear complaints, to regulate trade, and to deal with offences against the burgh law.

### THE GUILDS

In the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the master tradesman, he who employed workmen, began to draw apart from the humbler citizen who worked with his hands. Guilds were formed, ruled by a dean and alderman, and to these guilds all the influential citizens, all the "good men of the town," belonged. Thus it happened that in most cases the guild became practically the governing body of the burgh, and the burgh officials also held high positions in the guild. We must not make the mistake of thinking that these small communities were simple and democratic and that class prejudice is the growth of a later day. On the contrary, the burgess was jealous of the stranger, the guild-brother insisted on keeping the humbler townsman in his place, and the merchant who could buy only in small quantities did his best to prevent his wealthier rival buying on a large scale. Only a burgess was allowed to have an oven or to make or dye cloth; only a burgess could retail goods in the town; no stranger was allowed to enter into partnership with a burgess; and if a stranger wished to buy cattle for slaughter he had to wait till after nine o'clock in winter and six in summer. The economic policy of the old Scottish burgh, therefore, was one of strict protection. Other regulations dealt with the privileges of the guild-brethren. All burgesses who had property under forty shillings in value were rigorously excluded from the guild; no dyer, butcher, or shoemaker could become a member of the guild unless he gave up working at his craft with his own hands; only a guild-brother was allowed to traffic in hides, wool, and fleeces. On the other hand, the burgess was

## THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

not allowed to become inordinately wealthy, and any attempt at inflating the price of goods by purchasing and holding large quantities was looked on with disfavour. No baker was allowed to employ more than four men ; no merchant could commission his wife or more than one servant to buy wool for him ; and if a townsman hurried down to the wharf and bought more fish than he needed instead of waiting till they were exposed for sale at the market cross, he was required to sell them at cost price to any one who asked. The price of commodities such as bread and fish was fixed by the burgesses, and giving short weight or selling goods of inferior quality was severely dealt with. If, for example, an ale-wife was convicted of brewing bad ale, she had to “ give to her merciment<sup>1</sup> eight shillings, or then thole<sup>2</sup> the law of the town, that is to say, be put in the kukstule,<sup>3</sup> and the ale sall be given to the puir folk the twa part and the third part sent to the brether of the hospital.”

If a man lost his watchdog and discovered that his neighbour had killed it, he could force the offender to watch his house for a year and a day, or else compel him to make amends for any loss he had suffered through the death of his dog.

But for all their jealousy of encroachment on their privileges these old burgesses were not uncharitable. If one of their number was stricken with leprosy he was banished to the spital outside the burgh walls, but not till a collection of twenty shillings had been made to feed and clothe him.

The guild watched carefully over its members. When they fell ill, grew old, or became poor the guild relieved them. If a brother died in such poverty that he left nothing to pay for his burial or masses for his soul the guild saw that he was “ laid honestly in earth,” and all the brethren, whatever their degree, had to attend the funeral. If the poor brother had left a daughter, “ of lovable conversation and good fame,” who for lack of a dowry found it difficult to get a husband, the guild undertook “ to purvey her of a man.”

<sup>1</sup> As a fine.

<sup>2</sup> Suffer.

<sup>3</sup> Cucking-stool.

# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

## THE HOUSE OF THE PERIOD

The house of the average citizen seems to have been well enough furnished, and he enjoyed a certain degree of comfort. A law stating what goods could not be bequeathed away from the family specifies, among other things, the best feather bed, the board, with its trestles and cloth, the bench, form, stool, chest, and barrel. The table furnishings seem to have been cups, wooden bowls and platters, and spoons. The housewife used for her cooking a kettle, pots and pans of brass, a gridiron, a roasting-iron, and a girdle or flat metal plate. In cooking, these were suspended from a hook in the chimney over a fire of wood or peat. Many a household, in addition, possessed its brewing-vats and brewed its own ale. That every city was a garden city in those days, that agriculture was one of the chief pursuits, even of townspeople, is shown by the inclusion of the citizen's spade, shearing-hook, plough-wain, and cart among the goods which he could not bequeath to strangers. To many of the houses stables were attached, for a regulation of the guild required every member who possessed goods worth more than ten pounds to purchase a "seemly horse" at a price of not less than forty shillings.

## THE LIFE OF THE BURGH

As one pores over these old statutes, *Assise Regis Willelmi*, *Leges Quatuor Burgum*, and the rest, written in quaint Latin and translated into quainter Scots, the mists of oblivion lift for a moment, and one sees a Scottish town as it was seven centuries ago. At the town-gate a group of hideous lepers stretch out their hands and cry for alms, like Cressida in Henryson's weird and terrible poem. Along the narrow streets of the burgh a fisherman is toiling with laden baskets, hurrying to be in time for the market, a herdsman is leisurely driving his master's pigs toward the fields, the town beadle passes along ringing his bell and announcing that a fair is shortly to be held, during which strangers will be permitted to trade within the burgh. Each strange merchant, announces

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the bellman, who sets up a covered booth must pay a half-penny to the town ; he who has no cover to his booth need pay only a farthing. No one may be captured during the time of the fair save traitors and notorious malefactors, but no one is to break the peace of the fair, even though he only lifts his hand to strike. Two or three labourers saunter into a house ; the wand over the doorway shows that ale can be obtained within. A horseman spurs along the street ; he is the sheriff's messenger, come to announce to the magistrates that one of the citizens has been charged with stealing cattle from a neighbouring baron, and that the accused, with those friends who are ready to swear to his innocence, must appear before the sheriff within forty days. But most of the townspeople are in the market-place, for there the corn, fish, cattle, wood, and peat brought into the burgh must be displayed, that the king's officer may be able to assess the amount of toll payable to the Crown, and also that no merchant may take an unfair advantage of his neighbour. As buyers and sellers are intent on their haggling, few notice the keen-eyed bailies moving quietly about and examining those weights and measures which seem to be defective. Above the hum of the traffickers the blare of a trumpet may occasionally be heard from the castle, or the clash of spears, while from the parish church hard by is borne the chant of the white-robed priests.

Or suppose that night has come. Far up in the castle a light gleams ; a faint glimmer shines through the painted window of the church ; the town itself is in complete darkness. Now the challenge of a sentinel rings out through the night. Again the silence is broken by a violent knocking at a door. It is the watchstaff, come to arouse a citizen and command him to take his turn of watching the town. Well wrapped up against the chill night air, and girt with his two weapons, the drowsy burgess goes out into the silent streets. He hears hurried footsteps and shouts out a challenge, for no one except a great dignitary is allowed to be out at night without sufficient cause. The wayfarer halts and explains that his

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neighbour is dying and that he is hastening to fetch a priest. The burgess lets him pass, for this is one of the three excuses that may be accepted, and continues his round till the dawn begins to glimmer in the east.

### THE SHERIFF- AND JUSTICE-MOOTS

Mention has already been made of the burgh courts and the private courts of the great barons, but these were not the highest courts in the realm. As in England, the king had sought to limit the power of the old hereditary judges by the appointment of sheriffs. No earl, baron, or abbot could hold a court to which the sheriff or his representative had not been summoned ; the four great pleas of the Crown, murder, rape, robbery, and arson, were outwith their jurisdiction ; and, further, they could not allow proof by ordeal unless the sheriff or his representative was present. The more important cases went before the sheriff, who once every forty days held his court, which barons, knights, and freeholders and the stewards of earls, bishops, and abbots were required to attend.

Above the sheriff-moots were the justice-moots, presided over by the royal justiciar or by the king himself. These courts dealt only with the principal pleas of the Crown, and with cases in which justice had been refused by the lower courts. They were circuit courts, and had to be attended not only by the barons, knights, and freeholders, but by the earls and great ecclesiastics in person. The long journeys to the courts must have been a considerable burden, for roads were bad in those days and inns did not exist—although persons journeying on the king's business could ask for shelter at the house of whatever lord they came to at nightfall. This privilege of demanding hospitality caused endless trouble. A poverty-stricken knight could not be expected to extend a hearty welcome to an epicurean abbot and his train of monks, or an earl with a few score hungry and arrogant followers. Food was often seized before permission had been granted ; accommodation was often denied ; in cases where a lord was

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willing to entertain the strangers his tenants often refused to send in provisions. So we find one of the kings ordering shelter to be given "through reason of charity," and forbidding "all manner of violence and wasting of herbery"<sup>1</sup> . . . so that na ill be done fra this time furth."

### COURT PROCEDURE

To our minds the procedure of these ancient courts seems strange to the verge of absurdity. No attempt was made to arrive at the truth by the examination of witnesses or by the comparison of conflicting evidence. After the charge had been read the court decided how the case was to be proved—whether it would accept the oath of one or other of the parties, supported or unsupported by the oaths of compurgators, or whether the proof was to be by ordeal. Sometimes the simple oath of the plaintiff was sufficient to secure conviction ; if a "puir man and waik" swore on the altar that some person had stolen his property the malefactor had to restore what he had taken. Usually, however, the services of a varying number of compurgators were required. These were not witnesses in the modern sense ; they were simply friends of accuser or accused who were ready to swear that they believed him to be speaking the truth. We can easily see how hardly the man would fare who had no lord or did not belong to a guild. A man who was accused of theft and could produce no one to swear to his innocence was treated as a proved thief. If a grieve and three other "leal men" accused a person of theft he had to undergo the ordeal of water ; if three "leal men of eild"<sup>2</sup> joined their testimony to that of the others the court did not trouble about ordeals, but ordered the accused to be "hastily hangit." The usual number of compurgators was twelve, though when a man was accused by the king of felony he required twenty-four, and when an earl was suspected of deliberately letting a prisoner escape the oaths of twenty-seven good men and three thanes were needed to establish his innocence.

<sup>1</sup> Hospitality.

<sup>2</sup> Trustworthy old men.

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### TRIAL BY ORDEAL

Proof by ordeal was even more curious. Three forms were in use in Scotland—the judgment of water, of hot iron, and of battle. When the first was employed the accused was flung into a pool of water ; if he sank he was innocent. He who essayed the trial of hot iron had to grasp a bar of the red-hot metal. The hand was immediately wrapped up, and after a certain space was unbound ; if the wound had festered he was held to be guilty. When the judgment of battle was appealed to the accused and his accuser had to fight out their quarrel in presence of the court. A man of high degree could engage a substitute to fight for him ; a churl or bondman had to take the field himself unless his lord intervened and provided a champion. It is not to be wondered at that even in the thirteenth century trial by ordeal was not looked on with favour. The burgh courts never used it ; its employment in the private court of earl or baron, as we have seen, was forbidden unless the king's sheriff or his representative was present ; and in any case a man who offered to produce twelve compurgators was not required to submit to the ordeal of battle.

Rough and ready though these courts were, the thirteenth-century Scot often found their procedure troublesome and preferred the " wild justice " of private revenge. Accordingly we find several laws forbidding aggrieved persons to right their own wrongs until they have sought redress in the proper quarter. A creditor who impounded the goods of a debtor without seeking permission from the sheriff and the debtor's superior was required to restore what he had taken and pay a fine of eight cows. The man who answered an insult by drawing his dagger was liable to have the weapon driven through his hand ; if he actually wounded his enemy his hand was struck off. In certain cases, however, a man was allowed to take the law into his own hands. A burgess, for example, could impound the goods of a stranger who owed him money, or of a tenant whose rent was overdue ; while if any one was caught stealing a sheep or a calf the formality of

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a trial was dispensed with—the lord of the estate confiscated his booty and “twa leal men” were commissioned to “ding<sup>1</sup> him weel” or else cut off his ear.

### THE FIRST SCOTTISH PARLIAMENTS

The assembly of great prelates, earls, barons, and high officials of State, presided over by the king, was not only the supreme court of justice, it was also the Parliament of the realm. With its consent the king made treaties with foreign Powers, granted privileges to towns, and gave lands and revenues to houses of religion. It was consulted about the settlement of the succession in 1284, and almost certainly new laws had to be discussed and ratified by it. But it was not a Parliament in the modern sense ; it was simply an assembly of the tenants-in-chief of the Crown. Though the words *clero adquiescente et populo* are added to certain charters, neither the lower clergy nor the burghs were represented. In 1230, for example, Parliament was attended by one bishop, two earls, one of whom was Justiciar of Scotland, one prior, one baron, the Justiciar of Lothian, and the High Steward. Another assembly in 1255 consisted of four bishops, four abbots, four earls, and thirteen barons, while the Parliament which decided the succession at the end of Alexander III's reign was attended by thirteen earls and twenty-four great knights and barons. But though the burghs were unrepresented in the great assembly of the realm, they sent delegates to a court of their own where new regulations were framed and difficult cases decided. After the lapse of seven centuries this burgher Parliament still survives, though with sadly diminished powers, in the shape of the Convention of Royal Burghs.

One important feature of the ancient Scottish constitution remains to be noted : only in exceptional cases was Parliament asked to grant supplies, and consequently it could not determine the policy of the king or wrest privileges from him by a refusal to give him money. A group of turbulent nobles

<sup>1</sup> Thrash.

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might force a weak king to act against his better judgment, or capture a youthful prince and rule in his name; but the Scottish Parliament as a Parliament had no recognized means of imposing its will on a reluctant king. So neither in the thirteenth century nor at any later date do we find any of those constitutional struggles so common in England. The fact of the matter is that the powers of Parliament were never defined simply because the constitutional question never arose. As the Scottish kings lived within their income and kept out of foreign wars they never needed to ask Parliament for money. The royal revenues were ample. There were the old regal dues, a survival of the Celtic system, the rents of Crown demesnes and the tofts of burgesses, the fines in the royal courts, the customs on exports and imports, and the usual feudal dues.

Nor did the king pay for the upkeep of his household. The people of the district in which the king happened to be were expected to find shelter and provisions for his retinue. Thus the frequent royal journeys were not altogether determined by zeal for the proper government of the realm. As the provisions on one royal estate became exhausted the monarch and his household rode off to another, halting frequently on the way at castles and monasteries, and working sore havoc among flocks and fish-ponds. Men complained bitterly of these exactions, little knowing how much worse was in store for them.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE DISPUTED SUCCESSION

**G**REAT as was the lamentation for Alexander, some years passed before the Scots found out what the loss of their king really meant. At first things went smoothly enough, for though a child in distant Norway was the nominal ruler, the real power had passed a few days after the death of the King into the hands of six Guardians. But in the year 1289 a figure of ill-omen appeared in the person of Edward I. Hitherto he had been known in Scotland only as one of the dead King's best friends, a Crusader, a knight ignorant of fear and a general who had never known defeat. Even to us of a later day, who know what the next few years brought forth, it seems almost incomprehensible that a man of his statesmanlike foresight, his administrative ability, his love of justice, and his kingly generosity should have earned the stinging epitaph of Fordun: "He troubled the whole world with his wickedness and roused it by his cruelty . . . he treacherously subdued unto him the Scots and their kingdom . . . he slew the people and committed other misdeeds without end." But along with that foresight went the obstinacy that made him strive to carry out a cherished plan long after it was proved to be impracticable, that generosity was accompanied by a curious tactlessness, and love of justice sometimes degenerated into a lawyer-like regard for the letter of the bond. There can be no doubt of the honesty of Edward's purpose and the sincerity of his belief that Scotland would profit by a closer connexion with England, just as there can be no doubt of his inability to understand that if a nation refused to take what was

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good for it one could not convert it to wisdom by force of arms.

### THE MAID OF NORWAY

Edward's first proposal was for a marriage between his son, the Prince of Wales, and the child-Queen of Scotland. Early in 1290 the Scottish nobles gave their consent, on condition, however, that Scotland was to remain a separate kingdom. Messengers sped to Eric of Norway, urging him to send his daughter at once, and Edward dispatched a great ship, laden with all sorts of dainties, such as walnuts, raisins, figs, gingerbread, and spices, to convey the little Maid to Scotland. The vessel returned without her and with most of its cargo rotten. In August, however, news was brought to Edward that the Maid had landed in Orkney. A few weeks later "a sorrowful rumour" spread through Scotland that the Maid was dead. Grief for the child of so many hopes was overshadowed by fear of what the future was to bring forth, for with the death of the Maid the line of William the Lion became extinct, and none knew who would be the next King of Scotland.

Trouble began almost at once. The aged Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, who more than fifty years before had been recognized by Alexander II as heir to the crown, marched on Perth with a formidable army, evidently meaning to place himself on the throne. The Bishop of St Andrews, one of the Guardians, wrote to Edward, begging him to march to the Border at once and prevent bloodshed. This was followed by a letter from the Seven Earls<sup>1</sup> who supported de Brus. They complained of the misrule of the Bishop and asked Edward to intervene on behalf of the Lord of Annandale. Edward eagerly accepted the invitation, and summoned the nobles of Scotland and any who claimed the crown to meet him at Norham on the 10th of May, 1291.

<sup>1</sup> A mysterious body which has perplexed historians. Some writers suppose that they represented the rulers of the seven original Celtic provinces of Scotland and formed a sort of Privy Council; others deny the existence of such a body. It may have been only by chance that the number of earls who supported de Brus and raided England in 1290 was seven.

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Without any effort on his part the two rival parties in Scotland had placed the destinies of their country in his hands. Edward saw the peculiar advantage of his position ; in their eagerness to gain the crown the claimants would be ready to promise anything, even to acknowledge that the King of England was their Lord Paramount. Scotland would lose nothing by the change ; it would affect only the king and the great nobles, many of whom already did homage to Edward for English estates, while England would gain the military support of the Scots in Continental wars. But it is characteristic of Edward that he had to go through the form at least of being persuaded of the justice of his claim. At his command the archives of religious houses all over England were ransacked for documents bearing on the question of the supremacy. And if he had ever really doubted he soon had evidence enough to satisfy him. Again and again the monastic chronicles recorded instances of homage done by the kings of Scotland to the kings of England. But even at the end of the thirteenth century most of these entries had only an antiquarian interest. Records of homage done four hundred years before by a Celtic prince to the representative of a vanished line of kings proved nothing, even if they were authentic. There was no doubt, however, that within comparatively recent times Scottish kings had done homage to the kings of England. What the homage was for was another question. In some cases it certainly was only for estates in England ; at the most it was probably only for the southern part of Scotland. Once, beyond all doubt, a Scottish king did do homage for the whole of his kingdom, but that exceptional case of William the Lion only proved the rule. If the English kings had been overlords of Scotland previous to the Treaty of Falaise, why did Henry II, the most astute of English monarchs, release William after he had granted what Henry already possessed ? If William had given away nothing, why were the Scots willing to pay an enormous sum to buy it back ? If, as some of Edward's advisers argued, the supremacy could not by its very nature be given away by

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Richard, by the same argument it could not be given away by William.

### THE COMPETITION FOR THE CROWN

But in their anxiety to gain the crown the claimants were as easily persuaded as Edward had been. On the appointed day the prelates and nobles of the kingdom, with the nine Competitors, met the King at Norham. The records of the monasteries were read to them, and they were asked to do homage to Edward. They asked for three weeks to consider the matter. Edward granted their request, and summoned the northern barons to the Border to assist them in making up their minds. When the period had elapsed the nine, without hesitation, acknowledged Edward's supremacy. The story told by the Scottish chroniclers of de Brus refusing to do homage was inspired by patriotism rather than by regard for veracity. The only one of the Competitors who delayed was de Balliol, and he sent humble apologies to Edward because he had been a day late. As Edward argued that one could not grant what one did not possess, his next demand was that the Scottish castles should be given to him for two months and that the notables of the kingdom should do homage to him. No opposition was made to this request, or to the appointment by Edward of two additional Guardians.

Having thus made his position secure, Edward proceeded at the beginning of August to discuss the business of the succession. The number of Competitors had now increased to twelve, but it was seen that the claims of two, Robert de Brus and John de Balliol, were far stronger than those of any other. Whether de Brus or de Balliol had the better title was not so easy of solution. Balliol was the grandson of the eldest daughter of David of Huntingdon, younger brother of William the Lion; de Brus the son of Earl David's second daughter. Balliol certainly belonged to the senior line, but he derived his claim from his mother, and was a degree farther removed from David of Huntingdon. The fact that half a century before Alexander II had recognized de Brus as heir

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complicated the problem still more. By the ordinary rules of inheritance Balliol had the better claim, but it had yet to be decided if a kingdom could be treated like a private estate. Edward would come to no immediate decision, and after ordering a hundred and four commissioners to be appointed to examine the claims of the two rivals he postponed the final settlement of the case to the summer of the following year.

With the summer appeared a new claimant in the person of Eric of Norway, with a new theory of inheritance. He argued that, as his daughter had been Queen of Scotland, on his daughter's death he ought to become King. The claim was treated with the consideration which it deserved, but a solution of the problem of the succession seemed as far off as ever, for though de Brus and Balliol brought forward additional evidence the commissioners confessed that they were unable to decide. In despair the Parliament assembled at Berwick asked Edward to settle the matter himself, and after some hesitation he pronounced in favour of Balliol. There can be no doubt that the decision was just. The statement of the Scottish chroniclers that Edward awarded the crown to Balliol because de Brus had refused to do homage is a baseless myth. Edward could well afford to be just; he had already got all that he wanted out of the Competitors.

### BALLIOL

Not a breath of popular opposition greeted the coronation of Balliol at the end of November; Edward's policy had been completely successful. If only the English King had possessed the wisdom to let well alone, if only he had refrained from reminding King John and his people in season and out of season of what was due to a feudal superior, Scotland might have settled down contentedly to be a dependency of her southern neighbour. She had much to gain by following such a course; any attempt to repudiate the supremacy of England would have for its result a life-and-death struggle to which defeat seemed the inevitable conclusion. Even if she were victorious in the end, it would be at a heavy cost—the paralysis of

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commerce and industry, of art and learning. Further, the feeling of nationality was weak. The English-speaking burgess of Edinburgh or Stirling had little in common with the baron who spent half the year on his English estates and spoke French like the nobles of Edward's Court ; he had even less in common with the Gaelic-speaking natives of Argyll and Galloway or the Norse fishermen of the Outer Isles. Men of such diversity of race, language, and custom might be loyal to an individual monarch ; to create in them a feeling of kinship seemed impossible. It is to Edward's credit that he achieved the impossible. The incredible folly of the next few years united Scotland as she had never been united before, created a hostility to England which remained the governing principle of her policy for two centuries and a half, and forced her into an enduring alliance with France, England's deadliest enemy.

In some ways Edward treated Balliol with generosity. He cancelled, for instance, a debt of £3000. But neither his generosity nor his judgment kept him from making the pacific King drink deep of the cup of humiliation. Balliol had been only a few months on the throne when he was summoned to attend the justice aire in Yorkshire. He begged to be excused, but twice in the same year he was summoned to the English law courts to answer complaints against his administration of justice. A more vexatious demand was made in the spring of 1294. When Alexander III died he had left his wine-merchant's bill unpaid. The merchant sued King John for the money in the English courts, and Balliol was commanded by Edward to plead his case at Westminster. Nor were Balliol's subjects without their grievances. Ships bound for Berwick laden with corn had been intercepted by King Edward's bailiffs, though they knew that Scotland had been stricken with famine.

### THE LEAGUE WITH FRANCE

Edward's conduct could have only one result. At this time England and France were on the brink of war. Balliol saw his opportunity, opened negotiations with King Philip, and



PLATE XVII. SEAL AND COUNTER-SEAL OF JOHN BALLIOL



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in the autumn of 1295 concluded an alliance with France. This was the beginning of a league that lasted for two hundred and sixty years. Meantime Edward had sent summons after summons to Scotland, each one more peremptory than the last, ordering Balliol to join him on his expedition to France at the head of the Scottish barons. These demands were met by King John first with excuses, then with a flat refusal. The position was serious ; on the eve of a French war Edward found himself not only without the reinforcements from Scotland which he had expected, but threatened with Balliol's active opposition. Accordingly he moderated his demands ; he would be satisfied if the Scots expelled all French and Flemish merchants from the kingdom and placed the three Border fortresses of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh in his hands. But King John, supported, if, indeed, he was not pushed on, by his nobles, refused alike to obey this command or to appear before Edward to explain his conduct. Nobles of English sympathies were expelled from the kingdom, and the burgesses of Berwick, enraged at a decree which would have destroyed their foreign trade, fell on the English merchants in the town and put many to death.

Edward grew angry. "Ah ! this foolish rogue," he exclaimed, "what folly he has wrought ! If he will not come to us we will go to him." He kept his word. In the early spring he marched north to Newcastle with a powerful army. The first act in the War of Independence took place a few days later. The Governor of Wark Castle, Sir Robert de Ros, after unsuccessfully trying to persuade his brother to agree to the surrender of the fortress, had deserted to the Scots, and a relief force, sent in answer to an urgent appeal from his brother, was cut to pieces by the traitor. This did not hinder Edward's advance. Before the end of March his main army had encamped at Wark, and only the Tweed lay between Scotland and her enemies. But as Easter was at hand the King, with characteristic piety, delayed for a few days.

The Scottish leaders saw the danger that threatened Berwick, then the wealthiest town in Scotland and called by its admirers

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a second Alexandria, and had resolved to save it by a counter-attack delivered in another quarter. Hardly had the night of Easter waned when a force commanded by seven earls dashed across the western border in the vain hope of capturing Carlisle. Withering volleys from the English archers drove them back from the bridge over the Eden, and three days later they returned to Scotland. On the same day Edward and his main army forded the Tweed at Coldstream ; Berwick was doomed.

### THE CAPTURE OF BERWICK

On the following day Edward pitched his tents within half a mile of the city. Though the town was surrounded only by a shallow ditch and a flimsy palisade, though the ablest general in Europe was in command of the besiegers, the burgesses had no fears as to the result, and a temporary success lent them further confidence. Outside the harbour a fleet of English merchant-ships had assembled. The mariners, seeing the English army display its banners, thought that the attack on the city was to be made at once, and entered the harbour with the tide. Three of the vessels went aground, and immediately the townsmen swarmed out and set them on fire. Some of the sailors were slain ; others escaped only by flinging themselves into the sea. Edward's attention was attracted by the columns of smoke rising from the burning ships, and at once he ordered the trumpets to sound and his soldiers dashed forward to the attack. Even then the confidence of the Scots was unabated ; they made derisive gestures at the charging lines and chanted a satiric ditty :

What ! weens<sup>1</sup> King Edward with long shanks  
To have won Berwick all our unthanks<sup>2</sup> ?  
    Go pike him,<sup>3</sup>  
    And when he hath it  
    Go dyke him.<sup>4</sup>

Their scorn was soon turned to terror. Before there was time to loose an arrow the English soldiers rushed across the

<sup>1</sup> Thinks. <sup>2</sup> In spite of us. <sup>3</sup> Let him build a palisade. <sup>4</sup> Let him build a ditch.

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ditch and broke down the palisade. The astonished burgesses lost heart at once. Only at the Red Hall, a building occupied by a company of Flemish merchants, was any prolonged resistance offered to the invaders. The gallant Flemings fought with desperate valour and beat back every attack, till their hall was fired and they perished in the flames. The English had not forgotten the gibes of the proud burgesses, and they fell on them savagely. Nor did they spare women and children. For a day and a half the chivalrous Edward let the wild work of slaughter continue, till he saw a woman lying dead by the side of her new-born child and in horror cried : “ *Laissez ! laissez !* ”

### THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR

A few days later envoys from the Scottish King appeared in the English camp. They bore with them Balliol’s renunciation of his allegiance on account of the “ heavy and unbearable wrongs, slights, and insults, besides the enormous losses,” inflicted by Edward on his kingdom, “ in defiance of both God and justice.” Again the seven earls delivered a counter-attack. Issuing from Jedburgh, they marched as far as the Tyne, leaving burning villages and plundered monasteries behind them to show what path they had taken ; then, returning as quickly as they had come, they divided into two parties, one of which occupied the valley of the Teviot, while the other flung itself into the powerful castle of Dunbar.

This was a serious blow to Edward, because Dunbar, situated as it was between the Lammermuirs and the sea, commanded the eastern route into Scotland, the route which he had to follow if he was to obtain provisions from his fleet. Nor had he expected the castle to be defended against him, for its lord, the Earl of March, was present in the English camp. But he lost no time. The Earl of Warenne was sent on in advance to attack the castle before the garrison was reinforced. When the Earl appeared before the walls the garrison begged for three days’ grace in which to ask Balliol on what terms they should surrender. The easygoing de Warenne granted

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their request, and an urgent appeal for help was at once sent to King John. On the morning of the 27th of April the golden banner of Scotland appeared on the heights opposite Dunbar ; banners flashed in answer on the ramparts of the castle, among derisive shouts of " Long-tailed curs, you will die ! Your tails<sup>1</sup> will be cut off ! "

De Warenne determined to attack the newcomers at once. Leaving a small force to watch the castle, he led his men forward to the edge of a small valley which divided them from the Scots. As they disappeared into the hollow, separating into small companies that they might re-form without confusion on the other side, the Scots thought that they had taken to flight, and uttered yell after yell of exultation, accompanied by a blowing of horns, " to such an extent that the terrible sound seemed to reach to the depths of hell." But silence fell upon them when they saw the English range themselves in perfect order again and advance to the attack ; fear seized them as the glittering lines drew nearer ; then, without waiting for the crash of arms, they scattered " swifter than smoke." The noblest were the first to flee. " The infantry would have stood firm," said an English chronicler bitterly, " had the knights not fought with their heels." Only the valiant Sir Patrick de Graham, scorning to diminish his honour, yielded not a foot and died with his face to the enemy. It was the one bright deed in a chronicle of shame.

### THE HUMILIATION OF SCOTLAND

Next day Edward came up with the main army, and the garrison of the castle, with the three earls who commanded it, surrendered without striking a blow. The Scots were utterly demoralized. Roxburgh Castle surrendered at the first summons, Edinburgh after a siege of eight days, while at the mere rumour of the English King's approach the garrison of Stirling deserted their almost impregnable fortress. With

<sup>1</sup> The Scots affected to believe that the English had tails. Two and a half centuries after this a masque performed before Queen Mary in Stirling Castle ended in a tumult because in one scene a company of satyrs wagged their tails vigorously before some English guests.

## THE DISPUTED SUCCESSION

an army swelled by reinforcements from Ireland and Wales Edward advanced to Perth. But King John's heart had failed him. He sent envoys in haste to Edward to beg for peace, "not after his own deserts, but because of the King's gracious mercy." Edward dispatched the Bishop of Durham, a man more renowned as a cavalry leader than as a cleric, to treat with Balliol and his nobles. His demands were unconditional surrender and the resignation of the kingdom. The wretched John consented; he renounced the alliance with France, and three days later he appeared, stripped of the trappings of kingship, in the hall of Brechin Castle, and before the warlike Bishop resigned his realm, his people, and his royal seal.

Edward now swept north to Elgin, Bishop Antony, at the head of his cavalry, always going a day's march in front; then, returning, he made for Berwick, where he had ordered a Parliament to assemble. On his way south he ordered the Stone of Destiny, on which for centuries the Scottish kings had been crowned, to be removed from the churchyard of Sccone and sent to London, where it still remains. To the Parliament of Berwick came two thousand Scottish nobles, clerics, knights, and burgesses, all the landowners, great and small, from every part of the kingdom, to do homage to Edward. Only one or two names of note were not inscribed in the record of infamy, called, from its clusters of dangling seals, 'the Ragman Roll.' Five of the Scottish bishops did not sign, and one searches in vain for the name of William Wallace. Then, after having appointed a new chancellor, treasurer, and justiciars, Edward crossed the Tweed with Balliol and the most powerful Scottish nobles, leaving behind him a nation that had ceased to be a nation.

But, after all, Scotland had won the doom which she



THE CORONATION CHAIR  
IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY,  
CONTAINING THE STONE  
OF DESTINY

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deserved. There was something far wrong with the nation which could collapse in this ignominious fashion after one campaign. The hundred years of peace, the lack of trained troops and experienced generals, the military genius of the invader, would account for the defeat, but not for the disgrace. A King who was content to "utter brave words at the bridge," but could not die, like James IV, at the head of his men; nobles who fled from the field before a blow had been struck; soldiers who deserted impregnable fortresses before ever an enemy had appeared; burgesses swollen one moment with vain confidence, the next moment blind with unreasonable terror, were unworthy opponents of a King who, with all his faults, never knew fear.

## CHAPTER XIII

### WILLIAM WALLACE

**W**HEN Edward departed for the south in the autumn of 1296 to prepare for his campaign in Flanders he left what was to all appearance a conquered country behind him. If by any chance a rebellion should break out he could count on its collapsing within a few weeks for want of a leader, for the lawful King of Scotland was not only a prisoner, but had disclaimed all intention of ever regaining his throne. Never were appearances more deceptive. Already the Scottish nobles were cherishing the comfortable doctrine that vows extorted by force might be repudiated at pleasure ; already the young Robert de Brus, the grandson of the Competitor, was calculating the chances of gaining the crown for his family now that Balliol was out of the way. It was in another quarter, however, that the chief danger lay. The common people had very quickly found out the real meaning of a military occupation, and Cressingham, the Treasurer, who was detested even by the English as "a worthless and unstable man, swollen with arrogance and wholly given over to avarice," was not likely to make it more tolerable. De Warenne, too, whom Edward had appointed Guardian of Scotland, was old and infirm and refused to dwell north of the Tweed.

In the spring of 1297 the storm burst. William Wallace, the younger son of a West-Country knight, had never vowed fealty to Edward, and in consequence had been outlawed by the English justiciars. One day he swaggered into the market-place of Lanark, heedless of the English soldiers who stared at his bright green coat and glittering sword. Very soon he

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

had a crowd round him, and one of the soldiers made a snatch at his sword. Angry words passed ; in another moment weapons had been seized and Wallace was fighting for his life. He tried to cut his way through his foes to a place of refuge, and at last succeeded in reaching the house where his mistress dwelt. The door was barred against the pursuers, but they soon sent it crashing to the ground. The lady's courage and wit did not fail her, however ; she entertained the soldiers with excuses, while Wallace slipped out by a door at the back of the house and made for the woods. His rescuer did not fare so well ; she was arrested by order of the Sheriff of Lanark and put to death.

Wallace's vengeance was not long delayed. That very night, with thirty men, he made his way to the Sheriff's lodging, burst open the door, and rushed up the narrow stairway to the Sheriff's room. "Who is that ?" cried the terror-stricken wretch. "William Wallace, whom you would slay," answered the other, taking the luckless man by the throat and hurling him to the foot of the stairs ; then, leaping down after his enemy, he plunged a sword into his body.

The rumour of this wild deed soon spread. Men recognized that Wallace was a leader of a far different stamp from the futile Balliol, and flocked by the score to join him. At this juncture de Warenne and Cressingham were summoned to a Parliament in London. Wallace at once swept down on Scone, and almost succeeded in capturing one of the English justiciars ; but the officer had been warned in time and escaped, leaving his baggage in the hands of the Scots. After this partial success Wallace, seeing that his scanty band of outlaws had swelled into a great army, abandoned the tactics of a guerrilla chief. Castles were assailed, and all over the country the English were put to the sword.

This commotion had not gone unobserved by some of the Scottish nobles and prelates. Edward, they knew, was on the point of embarking for Flanders ; now was the time to strike, if they were to strike at all. The young Robert de Brus, despite his protestations of loyalty to King Edward,

## WILLIAM WALLACE

slipped from Carlisle secretly one night and joined the Bishop of Glasgow and the Steward of Scotland, who were raising an army in the west. From the Grampians to the Solway the country was in a blaze, and to many a monastery and village of northern England came fugitives with tales of horror. Edward could hardly credit the news, and sent the Bishop of Durham into Scotland to learn if it was true. The Bishop saw enough to warrant his sending a gloomy report to Edward, who straightway ordered de Warenne to advance into Scotland with the forces of Yorkshire and put down the rebellion.

At first it looked as if the expedition were to be successful. Henry de Percy, who had been dispatched by de Warenne into the west, came upon the forces of de Brus and his friends near Irvine. The Scottish army outnumbered the English, but the Scottish leaders, fearing the superior numbers of the English cavalry, lost heart at once and surrendered to Percy. In its infamy the capitulation of Irvine surpasses the rout of Dunbar ; an army in a strong position had surrendered to the commander of an inferior force without striking a blow. Their one excuse was their belief in the inability of infantry to withstand cavalry ; but within a few weeks Wallace was to show that infantry could meet cavalry and rout them.

### THE BATTLE OF STIRLING BRIDGE

At the beginning of September Wallace, who was besieging the castle of Dundee, heard that de Warenne had at last crossed the Tweed and was marching on Stirling. He at once hastened south and took up a position on a hill overlooking Cambuskenneth Abbey, not far from a narrow wooden bridge that spanned the Forth. Over this bridge, he knew, the English must pass if they were to win northern Scotland. De Warenne reached Stirling, but on the advice of the Earl of Lennox, the Steward, and some other Scottish nobles, he delayed advancing farther for some time. Lennox and his friends had declared that Wallace was willing to surrender, and had persuaded de Warenne to send them as envoys to the Scottish camp. Only on the 10th of September, when the

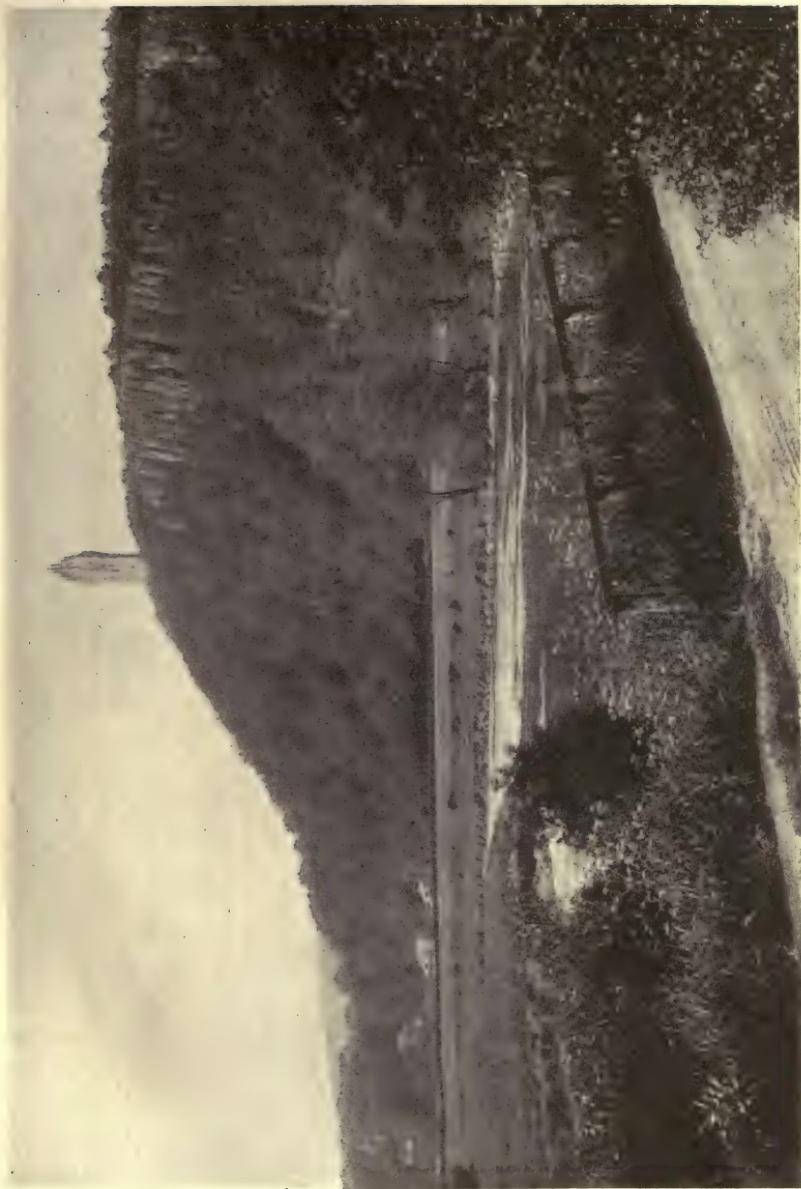
## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Scottish nobles returned to confess that they had effected nothing, and to promise that next morning they would appear in the English camp with sixty horsemen, did de Warenne begin to suspect that he had been duped. His suspicions were confirmed shortly afterward, when some of his soldiers rushed into his tent bearing with them a man bleeding from a wound in the neck, which they said had been inflicted by the Earl of Lennox. The soldiers clamoured for an immediate attack on the Scottish position. De Warenne, however, would not move, but advised them to wait till morning, when the traitor knights would have returned.

At break of day the English vanguard crossed the bridge and waited for further orders. But no orders were given, for the Earl was fast asleep in his tent, and the vanguard returned. When the morning was almost spent de Warenne appeared, but instead of giving the order to advance for which all were waiting, he proceeded to make new knights, "some of whom," says the chronicler, "perished that very day." Again the vanguard began to file across the bridge; again they were recalled as a handful of horsemen galloped into the camp. The Steward and Lennox had returned, but not with the promised squadron. Two friars were then sent to the Scottish leader to see if he would sue for peace. "Tell your comrades," was the proud answer, "that we have not come for peace, but we are ready for battle to avenge ourselves and liberate our country. Let them cross the bridge, therefore, when they please; they will find us ready even to face their barbed horses."

When the friars repeated their message the more hot-headed knights urged that the bridge should be crossed at once. The recreant Richard de Lundy, who had been the first to surrender, pointed out the folly of this course. "If we cross the bridge," he declared, "we are dead men, for we can only cross two by two, and the enemy are on our flank." He begged de Warenne to give him command of five hundred horsemen, whom he would lead across the river by a ford not far off and hurl against the enemy's rear. The Earl hesitated to divide his

PLATE XVIII. ABBEY CRAIG AND RIVER FORTH, NEAR STIRLING





## WILLIAM WALLACE

forces, and the army stood still while some of the knights shouted that the bridge must be crossed and others clamoured that to cross it meant death. The dispute was ended by the Treasurer, "a man too handsome and fat," "pompous indeed and the child of Death." "My lord Earl," he declared, "it is not expedient to protract the business further and spend our King's treasure in vain, but let us cross and do our duty as we are held bound."

The trumpets sounded and the English began to cross the bridge, with the leopard banner of England and de Warenne's standard floating at their head. As yet the Scots had crouched motionless among the bracken on the hill. Wallace was biding his time, for he knew that he held the English in the hollow of his hand. When he thought that as many as he could fight with had passed the bridge he gave the signal. At once the main part of his army flung itself furiously upon the bewildered English, while a body of spearmen rushed forward and blocked the bridge. Retreat was impossible for those who had crossed. For a moment the English standards waved above the press of armed men ; then they vanished as their bearers fell pierced by the Scottish spears. Cressingham was slain for all his unclerical helmet and breastplate, and many another perished with him. Only the gallant Sir Marmaduke de Tweng, who had charged farthest into the Scottish ranks, was able to fight his way back to the bridge at the head of a few of his men ; only one knight and a few foot-soldiers succeeded in swimming across the river to safety. Meantime those on the other side had tried in vain to join their comrades ; again and again they surged over the bridge, only to perish on the pitiless Scottish spears or to be hurled into the river by the pressure of those behind them.

As yet barely half the English troops had come into action, but the battle was over, for the survivors were now only a panic-stricken mass, ready to fly as soon as Wallace and his furious Scots should charge over the bridge. Even their leader's courage had forsaken him. After ordering the bridge to be broken down and fired, and sending de Tweng to Stirling

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Castle to hold it against the Scots, he set spurs to his horse and, despite his age and weariness, rode to Berwick almost without a halt. Few of his followers were as fortunate, for Lennox and the Steward had completed their duplicity by posting their men among the woods near some marshy ground in the rear of the English army, whence they issued to fall on the encumbered fugitives.

### WALLACE GUARDIAN OF SCOTLAND

The victory was complete. Wallace had shown that the problem of making an army composed mostly of spearmen overcome a larger force strong in cavalry and archers was not insoluble. For a few brief months he had his reward ; he was allowed to assume the office of Guardian, and governed Scotland in the name of King John. Nor was he content to remain on the defensive. Anticipating the strategy as he had anticipated the tactics of Bruce, he invaded northern England and laid it waste as far as the Tyne. But his supremacy could not be of long duration. As a supporter of Balliol he could count on no help from the party of de Brus ; on the other hand, the Comyns and other noble families who were allied to Balliol hesitated to serve under a knight of low degree. Edward, too, had made a truce with the King of France and was returning to England, and Edward was likely to prove an enemy of a different stamp from the feeble de Warenne, distracted by a multitude of counsellors.

### EDWARD'S SECOND INVASION

Edward landed in England in the spring of 1298, and at once hurried north to join the army which he had ordered to assemble on the Scottish border. At the head of a force composed largely of Welsh and Irish foot, he crossed the Tweed about midsummer and advanced slowly toward the Forth, burning and destroying everything that came in his way. At first ill-luck seemed to dog the expedition ; no news could be obtained of the Scottish army, and Edward's careful commissariat arrangements broke down when stress of weather

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delayed his provision ships. To add to his difficulties, the garrisons of Dirleton Castle and two neighbouring peels made frequent sallies in his rear, and sometimes slew straggling bodies of Englishmen almost a few yards from their camp. The Bishop of Durham was dispatched to besiege Dirleton, but he soon lost heart, for he had no siege train, his soldiers had nothing to eat but the pease and beans which they found in the fields, and the garrison time and again issued forth and drove back their enemies. Despairing of ever taking the castle, he sent Sir John Marmaduke to the King to ask for reinforcements. He got slender satisfaction. "Go back," said the King to Sir John, "and tell the Bishop that so far as he is a bishop he is a man of piety, yet in this business he must not do the deeds of piety. As for you, you are a cruel man, and I have sometimes rebuked you for your excessive cruelty because you have exulted in the death of your foes. But now go, be as cruel as you wish; nor will I blame you, indeed, but praise you. And see that you do not look upon my face until these three forts are burned." It was enough; within two days the castles were captured.

All this time Edward's main army had been encamped at Kirkliston, a village about eight miles to the west of Edinburgh. Its plight was becoming serious; no provisions had arrived, the soldiers were dying by the score, and Wallace and his army seemed to have vanished. Wallace, in fact, had evolved what afterward became the traditional Scottish strategy when the country was invaded. He meant to avoid an engagement till his enemies had been demoralized by starvation and fatigue; then when they turned to retreat he would fasten upon their rear and deal them one shattering blow after another. The plan almost succeeded. Provisions did arrive in Edward's camp, but in the shape of two hundred casks of wine. These were distributed among the starving troops, with the result that a quarrel broke out between the English and Welsh soldiers in which many were slain. Even in this crisis, when Edward was threatened with the defection of the Welsh troops, his courage did not fail him. To those who counselled him to

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

win back the Welsh by fair words lest they should join the Scots he answered proudly : " What does it matter if foe joins foe ? Each is our enemy. Let the Welsh go, then, where they will, since, with God's help, in one day we shall be avenged on both."

At last the famine in the camp increased to such an extent that Edward resolved to retreat to Edinburgh. But at earliest dawn on the morning of the 21st of July the Earls of March and Angus rode into the English camp and asked to be brought to the Bishop of Durham. Their news was of such moment that the Bishop at once led them before the King. When the Scottish nobles were ushered into the royal tent they brought forward a boy, who announced that Wallace had taken up his position in a wood near Falkirk, only six leagues away, and that he meant to make a surprise attack on the English camp the following night.

Edward's despondency vanished at once. " They need not follow me," he cried, " for I will advance to meet them this very day." He immediately told his men to arm, and, mounting his horse before any of his knights, galloped forward at the head of his troops. His men, not knowing the reason of his sudden change of plan, followed listlessly, and at nightfall had not covered the eight miles between Kirkliston and Linlithgow. There was nothing for it but to bivouac on the open moor. Edward himself, with that indifference to hardship which endeared him to his soldiers, lay under the stars with his shield for a pillow and his charger tethered beside him. In the night it happened that the horse trampled on the sleeping King. The royal attendants rushed up to help their master, and in the confusion some one shouted : " Treason ! the Scots are upon us !" For a moment it looked as if the army were to be stricken with panic, but the soldiers were quieted and silence again settled upon the camp.

### THE BATTLE OF FALKIRK

Despite his injuries the King was in the saddle before dawn. As morning was breaking the troops filed through the silent

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streets of Linlithgow and out into the open country beyond. From a hill not far away came the gleam of spears, but when the English vanguard came up they found that the spearmen had retreated. Tents were pitched on the hill-side, the King and Bishop Antony heard Mass, and now, as the mists melted from the valleys, the Scottish army could be seen quite clearly. Wallace had posted his troops skilfully on a piece of rising ground, separated from the English by a small stream and by a marsh. His spearmen he had arranged in four circles ; they stood shoulder to shoulder, facing outward, with their spears slanting, so that each circle seemed to the English "like a castle girdled by its wall." Between the circles the archers were drawn up, "handsome men of great stature" from the forest of Selkirk, and on the flanks hovered some small bodies of cavalry.

Edward was for giving his men something to eat, as they had fasted since early on the previous day ; his knights, however, objected that such a proceeding would expose them to an attack by the Scots. "What then ?" demanded the King. "Let us ride on in God's name," cried the knights, "since the field is ours and the victory." "Be it so," said the King, "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."

In such strange fashion was the signal for battle given. The heavy cavalry, led by the Earls of Norfolk, Hereford, and Lincoln, charged straight upon the Scots, only to find themselves checked by the marsh which protected the Scottish front, and after some delay they wheeled round to the west in search of firmer ground. The Bishop of Durham, however, who knew of the obstacle,<sup>1</sup> at once rode round the eastern limit of the marsh and halted his men on the firm ground beyond, till he should be joined by the third division under the King. This caution was not relished by the hot-headed

<sup>1</sup> According to Fordun and Wyntoun, his informant was Robert de Brus, who was present in his division. This account is supported neither by the records nor by the English chroniclers, but it is strange that the Scottish chroniclers, who are usually so ready to suppress anything to the discredit of the national hero, should have made so damaging a statement.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

knights. " You, Sir Bishop, who should be attending to Mass," shouted Randolph de Basset, " have no business to teach us in presence of our soldiers. Go and celebrate Mass, if you will, since this day we will do all that pertains to a soldier." The Bishop was pushed aside and his horsemen hurled themselves on the Scots. The three Earls, having at last worked their way round the western side of the marsh, flung their squadrons upon the Scottish right. True to the traditions of Dunbar and Irvine, the Scottish cavalry fled at the first charge, but the archers and spearmen stood firm.

At close quarters the Scottish archers, however bravely they resisted, were no match for the mail-clad horsemen on their mail-clad steeds ; but even when they saw that they were doomed they refused to yield a foot, and were cut to pieces where they stood. The cavalry now turned upon the spearmen. Time and again they dashed on the circles ; time and again they were hurled back from the bristling rings of steel. Edward's third line had now crossed the marsh. The archers were ordered forward, and soon a pitiless hail of arrows beat upon the closely packed masses of spearmen. Wallace could not reply ; his cavalry had deserted him, his archers were dead ; with impotent rage he watched man after man fall beneath the showers of arrows and stones. Soon the circles began to sway ominously ; as their numbers diminished the spearmen attempted to draw more closely together ; but they succeeded only in making gaps in the circles, through which poured the exultant English horsemen. Further resistance was impossible ; the rout of Stirling was avenged.

But the desperate bravery of the Scottish archers and spearmen showed that in the two years that had elapsed since Dunbar a new spirit had come to life. Nor, in spite of the disastrous issue of the battle, can we deny the military genius of Wallace. His plan of enticing the invader into the heart of a wasted country and avoiding a battle till hunger and fatigue had done their work failed only because of the treachery of March and Angus, and in the near future it was tried again and again with complete success, while his use of the 'schiltrom'

## WILLIAM WALLACE

formation, a compact circle or square of spearmen, proved what had hitherto been deemed incredible, that infantry could repulse mail-clad cavalry. For the present, however, his work as a national leader was done. He threw up the thankless office of Guardian and crossed over to France. When he returned he was the guerrilla chief once more.

His journey was probably made with the object of gaining King Philip's support. But Philip and Edward were now fast friends and it was useless to expect help in that quarter. From the French Court he went to Rome, where he seems to have pleaded the case of his country before the Pope, for in the following year Pope Boniface claimed Scotland as a papal fief. The claim was repudiated in the most emphatic terms by both Edward and his barons, and Boniface gave way.

Meantime Edward found that even the disaster of Falkirk had not broken the spirit of the Scots. Late in the summer a small party of nobles met in the forest of Selkirk. There were William Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, Robert de Brus, Sir John Comyn of Badenoch, a nephew of the deposed King, the Earls of Buchan and Menteith, and the Steward of Scotland. Their deliberations began in no very promising way. Some one proposed that the lands of Wallace should be seized ; voices were raised in anger ; Comyn sprang upon de Brus and seized him by the throat, and Bishop Lamberton found himself in the grasp of the Earl of Buchan. The Steward rushed forward and pulled the combatants apart, and when daggers had been sheathed it was agreed that the Bishop, de Brus, and Comyn should become Guardians of Scotland. Such an arrangement had few of the elements of permanence ; there was only too good reason to fear that sooner or later the ambitious de Brus, already less than friendly with Comyn, would withdraw his support from a policy which, if successful, would result in the triumph of a rival family. But the war with England was renewed, and before the end of the year Stirling Castle had fallen to the Guardians.

About midsummer in the following year Edward led his army across the Border ; but the rains beat pitilessly upon

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

his troops and they found themselves in a country where neither man nor beast was to be seen. Starvation was as potent an enemy as the Scottish spears. After capturing the castle of Caerlaverock and making a truce with the Guardians till the summer of 1301 Edward led his weary soldiers back to England. When the truce had expired he took his army north once more and spent a whole winter in Scotland ; but the Scottish envoys had been busy at the Court of Philip, who used his influence with Edward to secure a fresh truce till the beginning of the following winter. Meantime the position of the Guardians had been weakened by the defection of Robert de Brus, who had gone over to Edward early in 1302 ; but they were still firm in their resolution to continue the struggle. An unexpected victory gave them fresh courage.

### THE BATTLE OF ROSLIN

In February 1303 Sir John de Segrave entered Scotland with an army and marched toward Edinburgh, burning and plundering as he went. Fearing no resistance, he had allowed his army to fall apart into three divisions, separated from each other by a space of about two leagues. But Comyn had heard of Segrave's approach, and, gathering together a small body of Scots, he marched swiftly to Roslin, by which the English must pass on their way to Edinburgh. In spite of all his precautions news of his approach was brought to the English leader ; early in the morning of the 24th of February a boy rushed into the camp and told Segrave to retreat, as the Scots were at hand. In his contempt for the Scots Segrave not only refused to wait till the other two divisions had come up, but with his three hundred men advanced against the enemy. His presumption met with its reward ; many of his men were slain, and he himself, with twenty of his knights, was captured. While the Scots were dividing the spoil the blast of trumpets was heard, and to their astonishment a second force of Englishmen was seen advancing toward them. The battle was renewed, more fiercely than at first, and though the prisoners were recaptured, the Scots beat off every attack.

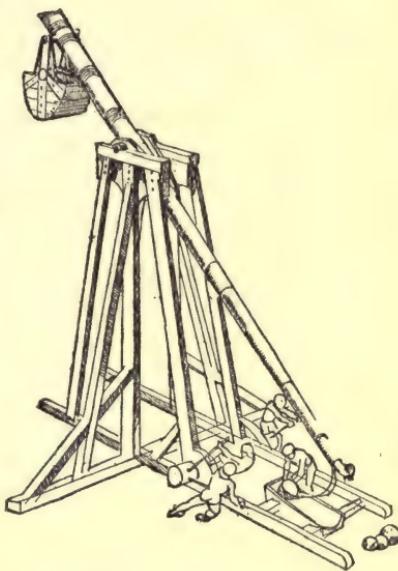
## WILLIAM WALLACE

For a moment it looked as if the arrival of the belated third division might change the fortunes of the day, for the wearied Scots began to waver ; but Comyn cheered them on and their assailants were rolled back in confusion.

### THE SUBJUGATION OF SCOTLAND

The news of the defeat at Roslin and of Segrave's subsequent retreat to England made Edward resolve on sterner measures. It was not enough to defeat Scottish armies in the field. Only when every castle was captured and when every rebel had submitted would the subjugation of Scotland be complete. This time he would not be handicapped by lack of provisions, for the army would keep in touch with a fleet of thirty ships. Great floating bridges were constructed to render the passage of the rivers easy, and his siege train included engines capable of throwing stones three hundred pounds in weight. At the end of May he led a force of fifteen thousand men from the walls of Roxburgh and advanced across the mountains to Moray, burning and destroying everything that could be removed. Many of the inhabitants sought safety in marshes, mountains, and remote islands ; many more submitted to him. Comyn and Wallace, however, now the leaders of a scanty following of outlaws, refused to surrender. Edward returned to the south, and after an unsuccessful attempt to capture Stirling went on to Dunfermline, where he spent the winter.

The Scottish leaders had now lost heart and began to treat with Edward. Even the dauntless Wallace offered to



A MANGONEL, A SIEGE-ENGINE  
FOR THROWING STONES

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

surrender. But he made the offer with his tongue in his cheek ; he would submit to the King's peace, he declared, if Edward would grant to him and his heirs a liberal allowance of woods and cattle. The King was furious, commended him to the devil, and set a reward of three hundred marks on his head, whereupon Wallace discreetly removed from the neighbourhood of Dunfermline.

At the beginning of February 1304 Comyn and a scanty band of knights surrendered to Edward, but the King could not be content as long as Wallace lurked in the woods and the golden banner of Scotland floated above the towers of Stirling. At the end of April he advanced to attack the last Scottish stronghold. Perched hundreds of feet above the level plain, it bade defiance for three months to all the attempts to storm it. Thirteen engines, including a great 'War Wolf,' as it was called, shook the walls of the castle with volleys of stones, Greek fire flamed over the battlements, but Oliphant and the handful of courageous defenders remained firm. Seeing that his artillery was having little effect, Edward ordered the ditches to be filled up with timber. But the defenders were ready ; they set fire to the timber, and the ditches gaped as widely as before. Edward was not to be beaten ; he ordered the ditch to be filled with earth and stones, and the garrison, seeing that the capture of the castle was only a question of time, surrendered unconditionally.

### THE END OF WALLACE

The nation was crushed. Though Wallace remained at large, the hunters were on his track ; of the great army he had led at Stirling and Falkirk only a few men remained. At last, in the early summer of 1305, Wallace was captured, some say by the treachery of his servant, and delivered to Sir John Menteith, who ordered him to be taken to London. There, in Westminster Hall, with a wreath of laurel tied round his head in mockery, he was accused of treason. In vain he protested that he could not be a traitor, as he had never

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sworn fealty to Edward ; he was sentenced to death, and on the same day, the 23rd of August, the sentence was put into execution with every refinement of mediaeval torture. The head of the patriot was hung upon London Bridge, and his limbs were placed over the gates of Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Aberdeen.

## CHAPTER XIV

### KING ROBERT THE BRUCE

FTER almost ten years of continuous fighting, after he or his generals had led seven expeditions over the Border, Edward might at last congratulate himself that Scotland lay at his feet. Every castle of importance had been captured, every great noble or prelate, even the valiant Comyn and the wily Lamberton, had come to his peace; Scottish barons sat in the English Parliament, and English officials governed Scotland. Now that their hero had perished, now that their lords had surrendered, no murmur of complaint came from the common people. Nor did Edward prove a hard master. If he knew when to strike hard, he also knew when to forget. Nobles who had appeared in arms against him he restored to their estates and heaped with favours, as if he trusted to secure by his generosity those conquests which he had gained by the sword. But it was too late. The memories of Balliol's humiliation, of the slaughter at Berwick and Falkirk, of the judicial murder of Wallace, would prevent Scotland from ever becoming a willing partner in a union with her mightier neighbour. If Edward had succeeded at this time he would have succeeded in making of Scotland only a second Ireland. But Edward understood nothing of this; he did not know that the calm which brooded over Scotland was full of menace and that plots were already afoot to overthrow his dominion there.

#### ROBERT DE BRUS

Of all the Scottish nobles none seemed to have less of the patriot in his composition than Robert de Brus, Earl of Carrick  
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## KING ROBERT THE BRUCE

and Lord of Annandale. He was a descendant of an old Norman house which held estates in both Scotland and England ; his grandfather had been Balliol's rival for the Scottish crown, and his father had served Edward for many a year as Governor of Carlisle. The story of his father's first meeting with the fair Countess of Carrick is as strange as any in Malory. The young knight had ridden out to hunt one day, when he encountered a cavalcade of squires and ladies, with the Countess at their head. He saluted their leader after the courtly fashion of the time, but when he would have galloped after his quarry the lady begged him to stay. He asked to be excused, whereupon she laid her hand on his horse's rein and turned its head toward her castle. There de Brus stayed for fifteen days, and there, a none too willing bridegroom, he was married secretly to the Countess.

Up to the winter of 1305 Robert de Brus had distinguished himself chiefly by his amazing versatility. Many a Scotsman, not excepting clerics like the Bishop of Glasgow, had forsaken himself ; few had done it so often and so whole-heartedly as the young Earl of Carrick. Like his father, he signed the 'Ragman Roll' ; in the following year he joined the Scottish nobles who were fighting against Edward, only to surrender to him a few months later at the capitulation of Irvine. In 1299 he became one of the Guardians of Scotland, and in 1302 he again yielded to Edward, who not only pardoned him, but appointed him Sheriff of Lanark. He accompanied Edward to Scotland in the summer of 1303, supplied him with engines for the siege of Stirling Castle, and was highly commended by the King for his diligence. Truly he cuts a sorry figure beside the simple knight who never swore fealty to the conqueror, or even beside Comyn, who, if he surrendered, did so only when everything seemed lost. But the death of the cautious, time-serving Lord of Annandale in the early spring of 1304 seems to have aroused new ambitions in his breast. A rebellion against Edward had much less chance of success now than it had had five years before, but success now would mean that the crown would be gained, not by the feeble Balliol, but by

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himself. His first move was to make a pact with Lamberton, the patriotic and unscrupulous Bishop of St Andrews, his second to approach John Comyn and find out the price of his support. All this time he remained on the most friendly terms with Edward ; the King had ordered his debts to be respite, and on the 8th of February, 1306, he was excused from paying his father's scutage.

### THE MURDER OF COMYN

Two days later he met Comyn in the church of the Minorite Friars at Dumfries. At first they talked calmly, but soon their voices grew louder ; Comyn refused to break from his allegiance to Edward. De Brus answered him with passionate accusations of treachery ; then, crying, "If living you cannot help my desire, you shall have your reward," he plunged his dagger into his rival's body. The friars carried the wounded man aside, but de Brus's followers, finding that he was still alive, dragged him forth and dispatched him upon the very steps of the altar.<sup>1</sup>

The cruelty of the deed was equalled only by its folly. There could be no turning back now, no waiting for a fitter time to draw the sword. When within a few days the murder was announced to Edward a passionate desire for vengeance flamed up in the breast of the old King, and burned unabated till the day of his death. What was worse, the act made Scotland a divided nation. Many a great family in Scotland, the Comyns of Buchan, the MacDowalls of Galloway, and the rulers of Argyll, claimed kinship with the slaughtered Lord of Badenoch ; from these de Brus could now expect, not support, or even indifference, but undying hatred. Worst of all, the Pope directed the thunders of excommunication against one

<sup>1</sup> Of the circumstances which led up to the death of Comyn there are almost as many versions as there are chroniclers. According to the Scottish chroniclers, Comyn had betrayed de Brus's designs to Edward, and de Brus, fleeing from Edward's vengeance, encountered and slew the traitor. But the fact that de Brus's father's scutage was remitted two days before by the King's orders shows that Edward cannot have been informed of his schemes. According to Sir Thomas de Gray, the murder was premeditated, but it is hard to believe that de Brus deliberately selected the sanctuary of a church as the most fitting place for it. Probably it was the result of a burst of passion.

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who had stained a sacred building with human blood, and not till the last year of de Brus's life was the sentence withdrawn. It meant that no prince could aid him without coming under the same ban ; his people were forbidden even to harbour him, clerics to admit him to worship. But Avignon was far from Scotland, his adherents little heeded the muttering of ecclesiastical curses, and the Scottish clergy, always more renowned for patriotism than for piety, continued to be his staunchest supporters.

### A KING WITHOUT A KINGDOM

Meantime his plight was desperate. Six weeks after the murder of Comyn he was crowned in the churchyard of Scone. The Stone of Destiny, on which the kings of Scotland had been crowned for centuries, had become the plunder of the conqueror ; vestments from the Bishop of Glasgow's wardrobe took the place of coronation robes, a handful of knights represented the magnates of the realm, and the crown was set upon the King's head by a woman. To those who knew the might of Edward the ceremony must have seemed as meaningless as a children's game. Three months later the play was played out. Aymer de Valence surprised and scattered King Robert's forces in the wood of Methven, and the King, with a few hundred followers, fled westward for his life. Over trackless moors, through marshes and torrents the fugitives toiled, their only food the deer which they shot down or the fish which they caught in the brown mountain burns, till in the middle of August they reached the border of Argyll and thought that all danger was past. But the Lord of Argyll was a kinsman of the dead Comyn, and the starving and wearied band found themselves confronted by a hostile army. They were soon routed, and only the desperate valour of the King saved the remnant of his men. While the fugitives made their way along a narrow path that wound between a loch and the shoulder of a mountain the King rode in the rear. Few thought of risking an encounter with the powerful warrior, clad in complete mail, who could wield his great two-

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handed sword with such fatal effect, but when he came to a place where the path was so narrow that he could not turn his horse three Highlanders rushed forward and flung themselves upon him. The first grasped his bridle, but a blow of the great sword severed his arm from the shoulder. The second seized the stirrup and tried to drag the King from his horse, while the third leaped up behind and clutched at the rider's mantle, which was fastened by a costly brooch. The King plunged the spurs into his charger's side, and as the animal leaped forward the Highlander at the stirrup was dragged helplessly along the ground. This gave the King time to deal with his fellow ; dragging him forward, he cleft his skull, then with another stroke he slew the wretch who was clinging to his stirrup. But all his strength could not tear from his mantle the hands of the dead Highlander, and he was forced to unfasten the brooch and leave it as a trophy to his enemies.

Adversity, in fact, was working a marvellous change on the King. Defeat transformed the reckless warrior into the most wary strategist in Europe. But it also accomplished a far nobler work : it seemed to burn all the selfishness, cruelty, treachery, and passion from his character. He who had slain Comyn became of all kings the most merciful and generous to his foes ; he who had deserted his humbler fellow countrymen in their hour of need jeopardized his life time and again to save his men. Seldom did his passionate temper break from control, though every one knew that it only slumbered. All the pride of the Norman baron disappeared ; ready praise and homely jests won the hearts of his humblest subjects. Even when he was fleeing for his life he cheered his weary soldiers with tales of knightly adventure, and to the farmer's wife or the camp washerwoman he was as gracious as to any lady of high degree. So did adversity mould the selfish adventurer into the patriot king and stainless knight.

### EDWARD'S LAST CAMPAIGN

But more cruel trials than any he had yet suffered lay before him. The west of Scotland offered as little security to

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him as the east. Reinforcements from England had been hurried north, and the aged King, now sore stricken by disease, was leading an army to the Border. King Robert therefore decided to give up the struggle for a season, and with about two hundred followers crossed to Rathlin, a little island off the northern coast of Ireland, where he spent the winter. While he was there many of his friends and relatives were captured. The men, including three of his brothers, were beheaded, for Edward had done with pardons ; the women, including his wife, his sister, and his daughter, were imprisoned, some of them in cages placed within a castle tower.

Such was the news that was brought to the King when he returned to Scotland in the spring of 1307. It seemed as if he had rushed to his doom. Even in his own country of Carrick, to which he had first turned, he could get no man to follow him, and though Edward still lay sick at Lanercost, six armies were closing in upon him. The tale of his adventures in the next few months reads like the wildest of romances. Time and again he owed his life only to his quick wit and to his marvellous skill with his weapons. He who would may read the wonderful record in the stirring pages of Barbour—how the King single-handed slew three traitors who had vowed to murder him, how he defended a ford against a party of Galwegians until his weary followers came up, how he escaped from a bloodhound by plunging into a stream, how when sleeping in a lonely farmhouse he started up to find his comrade lying dead beside him and his enemies' swords pointed at his throat.<sup>1</sup>

### KING ROBERT'S FIRST VICTORY

Gradually the tide began to turn. Later in the spring Sir Aymer de Valence penetrated to Glen Trool, where the King of Scots was reported to be lurking. But King Robert had discovered his plan, and with three hundred men he took up a position on the densely wooded heights that guarded the

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Bruce's adventures see the author's *Story of King Robert the Bruce* (Harrap and Co.).

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entrance to the glen. As soon as his quick eye caught the glitter of steel among the trees he snatched a bow from the hand of one of his soldiers and sent an arrow singing through the air. Then, waving his banner aloft, he rushed down the hill at the head of his men and drove the English back in confusion. King Robert had won his first victory.

A more serious trial of strength lay before him. The caution of the general could not always control the knightly adventurousness of his disposition, and when de Valence charged him to have done with skulking and to meet him in fair fight on the 10th of May he rashly accepted the challenge. But if in this act he showed the foolhardiness of a knight-errant, his conduct of the battle revealed the skill of a master of tactics. He had to solve the familiar problem—how to meet a force strong in cavalry and archers with a handful of spearmen. He chose a position on the plain beneath Loudoun Hill, where a great marsh on either hand would render it difficult for cavalry to outflank his little army, and strengthened it further by digging three great ditches, each with a narrow gap in the middle, across the level ground. De Valence was confident that he could sweep the half-armed Scots away with one wild charge. The trumpets blared, and “with heads stooping and spears straight” his mail-clad squadrons hurled themselves upon the foe. The foremost ditch was discovered when it was too late. To outflank the Scots was impossible, to make a way through the gap they would have to fling themselves upon the unwavering line of spears. Hither and thither the horsemen galloped, till all order was lost, and King Robert, advancing upon them with “outrageous valour,” drove them in confusion from the field.

### EDWARD II

But a far greater disaster than the loss of Loudoun Hill befell the English soon after; at the beginning of July the indomitable Edward I died at Burgh-on-Sands, a few miles from the Scottish border. It was a tragic end to a great career. All his statesmanship, all his marvellous military

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skill, had resulted in nothing but ten years of useless warfare and a feud that was to last for centuries. Diplomacy and force had alike failed to master Scotland. The last weeks of his life were embittered by the frequent tidings of defeat; and though he had made his son swear never to rest till he had subdued that contumacious people, he must have known what manner of man was to succeed him and black forebodings must have filled his heart. For Edward of Carnarvon was a very different man from his father, a careless voluptuary, with as little share of his father's military genius and relentless determination as of his piety, his generosity, and his loyalty to his friends. Quarrels with his barons prevented the second Edward from bringing the whole might of his kingdom to bear upon the Scots, but they could not excuse his half-hearted expeditions, his frequent change of commanders, his neglect of appeals for provisions and reinforcements. With no master mind to organize, each English leader in Scotland had to depend on himself, each garrison had to gather its supplies from the neighbouring country, a task which became more difficult every day. Deserted by their King, certain that, however bravely they fought, they would gain neither praise nor reward from the degenerate Edward, the English not unnaturally began to lose heart.

In proportion as the English grew demoralized confidence began to enter into the Scots. Possessed at last of a leader whom no danger could daunt or difficulty baffle, they attempted things that hitherto they had deemed impossible. And in the stern school of warfare other leaders were being trained—the King's brother, Sir Edward, “so outrageous hardy and of so high undertaking that he never had none abasing for multitude of men,” and Sir James Douglas, who had all Edward Bruce's bravery with none of his rashness, and who in his ability to devise wiles and stratagems equalled the King himself.

But with the friends and kinsmen of Comyn still arrayed against the King and every castle in English hands the liberation of Scotland seemed far enough off. With his kingdom

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divided against itself Bruce could not hope to drive the English over the Border. His first task, therefore, was to crush the opposition of his countrymen. Leaving Douglas in the south, he marched into the lands of the Earl of Buchan, a kinsman of John Comyn. Never was he in greater danger ; winter found him environed by enemies and stricken with a heavy sickness. A raid on his camp did more for him than the medicine of any leech. He demanded to be set on his horse, though he was reeling with weakness, and, placing himself at the head of his men, fell on the forces of the Earl and scattered them ; then, bursting into the country of Buchan, he burned everything that would burn. Fifty years afterward, Barbour tells us, men still bewailed the harrying of Buchan. But the people of the north had learned their lesson ; never again did they trouble King Robert.

Meantime Douglas, who had been carrying on a successful guerrilla warfare in the south, accomplished a feat of no little importance by the capture of Thomas Randolph, the King's nephew. Randolph had been made prisoner at the battle of Methven and had gone over to the English ; and though his first meeting with his uncle was by no means friendly, he soon became one of the King's most faithful comrades. Without the consummate tactical skill, the wariness, the swiftness to see and to decide which marked the King and Douglas, he was yet far from being a mere reckless swordsman, and experience soon made him second only to Douglas in military skill among the King's lieutenants.

In the autumn of 1308 the King made his way into Argyll, routed the Highlanders on the lower slopes of Ben Cruachan, and forced his old enemies, Alexander of Argyll and John of Lorn, to flee from the kingdom. Meantime Edward Bruce was busy in Galloway, where within a year he captured thirteen castles. Barbour gives an example of his wild adventurousness. On one occasion, hearing that a body of foemen were scouring the country in quest of him, he galloped on their track with only fifty horsemen. A mist enveloped his little party, but he refused to draw rein. Suddenly the haze lifted and revealed a force of about fifteen hundred

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English only a short distance away. Edward was a stranger to hesitation or fear. With a great shout he hurled himself on the foe and cut his way through, followed by his men. His rashness was his salvation. The English, believing that no man would be fool enough to charge them with so scanty a following unless a larger force were at hand, began to waver. Edward marked this and again cut a path through their ranks. He turned to charge a third time, but before he was on them the enemy fled in confusion.

Even King Edward could not let Scotland slip from his hands without a struggle, however, and in the autumn of 1310 he led an army as far north as Linlithgow. The expedition was a failure. The King of Scots would neither meet him in battle nor discuss terms of peace with his ambassadors, and Edward returned to the south in the spring of 1311, less popular than ever with his subjects.

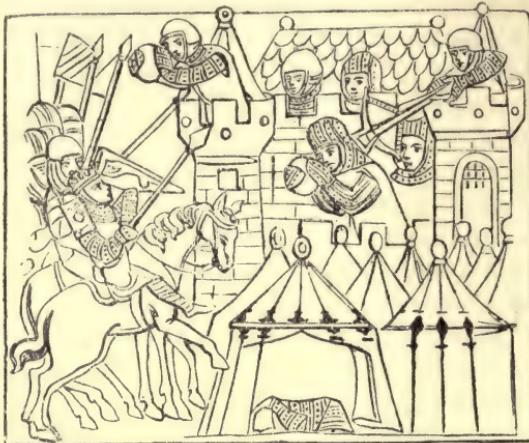
### THE CAPTURE OF THE CASTLES

The warfare now entered on a new phase. Thrice between the autumn of 1311 and the autumn of 1312 the Scots entered England, burning and plundering after the immemorial fashion of their race, till the wretched inhabitants willingly paid large sums of money to be relieved of their attentions. But the King was not blinded by his success. He knew that until the English strongholds in Scotland were reduced his position was insecure, and he began to lay systematic plans for their capture. He would depend upon blockade and stratagem rather than upon attacks by siege-engines, once the strongholds were taken he would order them to be demolished, and hills and woods, which he had found more secure than stone walls, would be his fortresses.

Berwick was the first stronghold to be assailed. On a winter night at the end of 1312 the Scots crept up to the town and succeeded in fixing rope-ladders to the walls ; but before they could clamber up the barking of a dog aroused the garrison. Better fortune attended the siege of Perth, a town encircled by a wall of stone and a deep moat. In the dead of

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night the King led his men across the moat at the one place where it could be forded, and scaled the walls before any one



SUMMONING A CASTLE TO SURRENDER

had given the alarm. Dumfries fell shortly afterward, and in the spring of 1313 Edward Bruce, after capturing the castle of Dundee, advanced to the siege of Stirling.

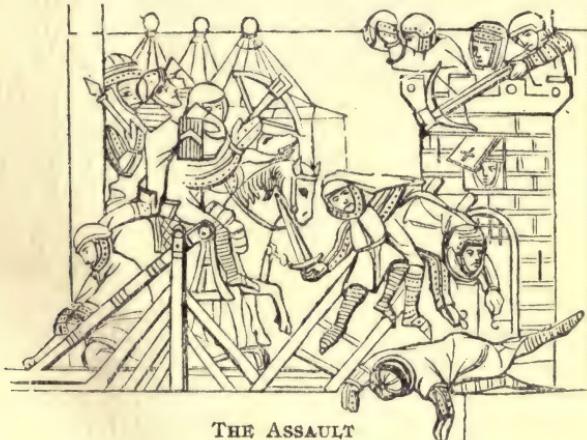
Much depended on the capture of Stirling, for the castle commanded the lowest point at which the Forth could be forded or bridged by the engineering skill of the day, and it was therefore the key to northern Scotland. But if it had defied the forces of Edward I for three months, equipped though they were with the mightiest artillery of the age, it is no wonder that it soon exhausted the patience of the wild-hearted cavalry leader who had set himself to take it. After the siege had dragged on for some time he entered into negotiations with the governor, who promised that he would surrender his castle if it were not relieved before the feast of St John in the following year. Sir Edward lightly consented, and rode off in search of more congenial work.

It was a grave blunder; it gave King Edward time to assemble the whole armed force of his dominions and compelled the King of Scots to follow a course of action which he had

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hitherto steadfastly avoided, for he knew that his troops would have little chance in a pitched battle against the overwhelming masses of the English, most strong where the Scots were weakest, in archers and heavy cavalry. But though King Robert knew that his brother had "set him in jeopardy," he disguised his anxiety about the result.

Meantime the capture of castles went merrily on. The peel of Linlithgow was taken by the cunning of a countryman, who blocked up the entrance with a lumbering farm-cart in which a party of armed men was concealed. Early in 1314 two of the sentinels on the walls of Roxburgh marked a herd of black cattle straying over the darkening fields. A few minutes afterward the cry of "Douglas!" came from the hall of the castle, where the Shrovetide revellers had been feasting, for the cattle which the soldiers had seen were really Douglas and his men, muffled in dark cloaks. Randolph, fired by a generous rivalry, resolved to equal that feat, and a few nights afterward led a party of desperate men up the face of the precipitous rock on which Edinburgh Castle stands. When



THE ASSAULT

the spring of 1314 ended only Stirling, Dunbar, Bothwell, Berwick, and one or two smaller places remained in the hands of the English or their friends.

## CHAPTER XV

### BANNOCKBURN AND AFTER

AS the 24th of June drew near everything else was forgotten in the preparations for the coming conflict. For the moment Edward regained something of his lost popularity. Though Earl Thomas of Lancaster and his faction held sullenly aloof, the great bulk of the nation eagerly welcomed the opportunity of wiping the stain of defeat from the English arms, and when on the 12th of June Edward crossed the Tweed at Berwick he commanded one of the finest armies that an English king had ever led to battle. Hordes of auxiliaries from Ireland, Wales, and France were there, besides the terrible archers and mailed knights and men-at-arms in whom the King placed his chief trust. But two things the army lacked—discipline and a leader. The drunken, dissolute Edward was not a man to inspire confidence; Aymer de Valence, his most experienced lieutenant, had more experience of defeat than of victory, and most of the nobles who accompanied him were young men, rash to the point of folly. Twice on the eve of Bannockburn orders were disobeyed by these headstrong young warriors, with disastrous results.

The Scottish army afforded a contrast in every respect to the host of King Edward. It was only a third of the size of the English army, in all the force there were scarcely five hundred horsemen, the archers were far inferior in skill to their English rivals. But its leader had not his match among the armies of Europe for fertility of resource and chivalrous daring. Every soldier in the army knew of his desperate adventures in the first dark year of his reign, every soldier had

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confidence in his skill and courage, and his kindly jests, his ready words of praise and encouragement, and his acts of courtesy had won all hearts. He had able lieutenants in the wary Douglas, master of wiles and stratagems, the brilliant Randolph, and his own hot-tempered, impetuous brother. And if his force was small it had been trained in a hard school. The long years of defeat and oppression had taught it caution and endurance, the briefer season of victory had given it confidence in its leaders. Men from all parts of Scotland were there, not only the sturdy spearmen from Lothian and Angus, arrayed in habergeon, basnet, and gloves of plate, but the men of Carrick and Galloway, and even the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders of Argyll and warriors from the Western Isles.

King Robert took up his position in the Torwood, a mile or two to the south-west of Stirling Castle. To reach Stirling, he knew, the English army must first cross the Bannockburn, a narrow stream. But only for the mile or so directly to the south of the castle was the crossing practicable. If the English army struck to the west it would become entangled and confused in the devious paths of the Torwood ; if it made a *détour* to the east it would have difficulty in making its way among the pools and marshes which lay about the confluence of the Bannock and the Forth. And the King's quick eye had noticed the weak spot in his position ; before the English came in sight he had honeycombed the firm open ground to the south of the castle with innumerable pits.

On the afternoon of Sunday, the 23rd of June, the English army came in sight. Embroidered banners floated over forests of spears, the sun glinted on the rich weeds and the shining armour of the knights ; now and again the clang of a trumpet sounded over the trampling of innumerable feet. It is little wonder that even Douglas's heart grew cold as he looked on the beautiful and terrible array, and that the King counselled his lieutenants to say not a word about the real strength of the English to his men.

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### RANDOLPH AND CLIFFORD

But superior discipline and more skilful leadership told. As the English army rolled northward, a confused, disorderly mass, a horseman rode up to Edward and charged him not to advance farther. This was none other than Sir Philip de Moubrey, the governor of the castle, who had seen the Scots toiling at the pits on the previous day. But the young English knights paid no heed to the advice of de Moubrey and the remonstrances of their King. While three hundred horsemen under Sir Robert de Clifford made a *détour* to the east, crossed the Bannock, and dashed upon Stirling, the vanguard essayed a direct frontal attack.

Bruce's keen eye soon caught the gleam of spears to the east, the quarter in which he had least expected it, for Randolph had been posted near the church of St Ninian with the express object of preventing such a movement. To the King's surprise his nephew did not stir, so, riding up to him, he shouted : "A rose has fallen from your chaplet." Randolph answered never a word, but ordered his men to pursue the vanishing horsemen.

By all the military theories of the age it was impossible for infantry to overtake and attack cavalry on open ground. But the impossible happened through the lack of discipline in the English force. The young knights were more eager to gain glory than to relieve Stirling. When Sir Thomas de Gray, a wary Border veteran, urged them not to be diverted from their task taunts of cowardice were flung at him. "I shall not fly hence for fear," he cried, stung into forgetfulness of prudence, and, driving the spurs into his horse, he hurled himself upon the advancing Scots. But Randolph was ready. He ordered his men to stand back to back with spears sloping outward, so that they formed an impenetrable ring of steel. It was the familiar 'schiltrom' formation that had held the first Edward's cavalry so long at bay on the moor of Falkirk, as five centuries later it was to break the charge of Napoleon's cuirassiers at Waterloo.

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De Gray was thrown from his horse and dragged into the circle ;<sup>1</sup> the knight who rode beside him was slain. His comrades surged up, but time and again they were hurled back from "the hedgehog of steel." Round and round the circle they rode, striving to find a gap, swords and maces were hurled at the heads of the Scots, but the line of bristling spears remained unbroken.

Meantime Douglas, seeing the peril in which Randolph stood, implored the King to let him help his comrade. But the King, knowing that he might be attacked at any moment, refused to weaken his line by withdrawing any more men. Douglas would not be denied. "I will in no wise see his foes surprise him when I can bring him help. With your leave, I will help him or die."

### THE KING SLAYS DE BOHUN

The King reluctantly gave his consent. Douglas galloped off with his men, and almost immediately what the King had feared came to pass. The standards of the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford appeared a short distance off, floating at the head of a great squadron of mail-clad cavalry. As the King rode up and down the ranks, exhorting his men to stand firm, a single knight detached himself from the glittering mass and rushed upon him with levelled lance. Bruce was mounted on a small palfrey and armed only with a battle-axe. Prudence dictated retreat, but the spirit of the knight-errant flamed up in the breast of the wary general and he awaited the onset of de Bohun. Skilfully avoiding his assailant's charge, the King rose in the saddle as the great lance swung harmlessly past him and buried his axe in the knight's skull.

It was a rash deed, justified only by its success and by the increase of confidence which it brought to the Scots. De Bohun's comrades swept up to avenge his death, but they were driven back by the fierce onset of the Scottish spearmen.

<sup>1</sup> As Sir Thomas remained a prisoner in the Scottish camp during the battle of Bannockburn, it was doubtless from him that his son got that full and valuable account of the battle which he inserted in his *Scalacronica*.

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Meantime de Clifford's force had met with no better success. Douglas, seeing that his help was not required, refused to diminish Randolph's glory by joining in the conflict; but the sight of his approach perturbed the English horsemen. Randolph noted their hesitation and ordered his men to charge. The English horsemen did not wait for them, but turned and rode sullenly back to the host.

Though two attacks had been repulsed, it was impossible for the Scots to hold the long line of the Bannock. As the evening came on the English picked their way through the marshy ground to the east and forded the stream. But though they had outflanked the Scots, though they were so near the castle that some of the garrison actually helped them to bridge the pools and streams, they were in a perilous position, crowded together on a narrow strip of marshy ground, between the Bannock and the deeper waters of the Forth. The brilliant feat of the King of Scots and the discomfiture of de Clifford had dashed their spirits, and though heralds went about the host proclaiming that they had no cause for fear, many looked on themselves as doomed men.

Meantime the Scottish leaders, unaware of the panic that had seized the English host, were resolved on retreat. So far as their knowledge of the circumstances went it was the wisest policy. Their flank had been turned; neither the pits nor the burn could now avail to stop the English charge. On the other hand, they had twice checked the English, and even if the castle were relieved scarcity of provisions, they knew, would soon bring the vast army to a stand. Rather than lose everything it would be better to withdraw westward to the Lennox and fasten on the flanks of the English when the inevitable retreat began. The resolution had been taken when a horseman rode into the camp and asked to see the King. He was Sir Alexander de Setoun, a Scottish knight in the English service. Now was the time, he declared, to reconquer Scotland. The English had lost heart and would be discomfited by a sudden, open attack. This information

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made the King decide on a startling change of policy, as daring as it was original. On the morrow, in defiance of all theories of tactics, he would hurl his spearmen upon the English position.

Morning dawned upon the two armies, the one huddled in a confused mass, the other arranged in four divisions. Edward Bruce commanded the vanguard ; a little behind him stood Randolph's division ; beyond that again was the division headed by Douglas and Walter the Steward, the King's son-in-law ; while the King himself commanded his own men of Carrick and the Highlanders and Islesmen.

### THE SCOTTISH ATTACK

The trumpets rang out and the Scots advanced to the attack. Edward marvelled when he saw the four small divisions of infantry advance across the plain to assail his splendid squadrons. "What? Will these Scots fight?" he exclaimed. A moment later they dropped upon their knees. "These people kneel to ask mercy!" he cried exultantly. "You say truth," exclaimed a Scottish knight who rode at his side. "They ask mercy, but not from you. These men will win all or die." "Be it so," said the King ; "we shall see without delay." He gave the signal, the English trumpets sounded, and the vanguard, a great body of armoured cavalry, rushed full upon Edward Bruce and his men. The two divisions met with a crash that could be heard far from the field of battle, but the Scots stood firm, thrusting with their spears at the horses, which, maddened with pain, hurled their riders to the ground and dashed hither and thither, flinging the ranks into confusion. While the vanguards of the two armies were swaying in this deadly struggle, first Randolph and then Douglas and the Steward led their divisions against the main body of the English.

But the English archers, held back at first by the press of knights, had succeeded in forcing their way to the front and soon flight after flight was sent into the closely packed ranks of the Scots. For the moment it looked as if the story of

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Falkirk was to be repeated, but King Robert had foreseen this danger and provided for it. He saw that as the English archers wore no armour and had few weapons beyond their bows and arrows they would be helpless in a fight at close quarters. Accordingly he ordered his cavalry, five hundred horsemen in all, to take them in flank. The manœuvre succeeded ; the archers could oppose no resistance to the lances of the Scottish horsemen, and scattered like chaff. Bruce had learned the lesson, too soon forgotten by Scottish generals, that spearman and knight could do little until the enemy's archers were put out of action.

Now the Scottish archers advanced, and shot thick and fast into the confused masses of the enemy. The King, too, seeing the battle sway hither and thither, charged madly at the head of his division and bore the English back for a little space.

At first a strange silence had brooded over the field of battle as men fought grimly without word or cry, but now above the clash of weapons and the rattle of armour could be heard the shrieks and groans of the dying, the scream of wounded horses, the yells of terror or rage, and the hoarse voices of the commanders.

### ROUT OF THE ENGLISH

Hitherto none could say to which side fortune would incline, but at last Edward Bruce drove the English vanguard back on the main host. The English army was now crowded together in one vast disorderly mass, hemmed in by the two streams and by the Scots. The attempts of the rear ranks to force their way to the front only increased the confusion, and if a man stumbled in that dense, struggling throng he never rose again. And now a wild panic swept through the host ; behind the four divisions of the Scots they saw a fifth body approaching, with standards fluttering in the sun. It was only a confused rabble of camp-followers, the banners were only sheets fastened to spears and poles ; but when the English heard the wild shout of the newcomers they began to waver and give

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way. King Robert marked their hesitation ; he resolved to make a supreme effort, and, shouting his battle-cry, he hurled his four divisions upon the reeling masses of the foe. The English broke and fled. But they were in a place where flight availed them little. Many were drowned in the Forth or trampled underfoot in the Bannockburn, many were trapped in the marshes and pits. King Edward himself, with his bodyguard of five hundred knights, galloped to Stirling castle ; but the governor refused to receive him, as by the terms of the agreement he must yield to the Scots on the morrow, so with Douglas at his heels the King galloped to the friendly castle of Dunbar, whence he escaped to England in a small boat. We can pardon the patriotic Barbour for moralizing on the fickleness of Fortune, who set the King high on her wheel,

And on a nyght syne and a day  
Scho<sup>1</sup> set hym in so hard assay  
That he with seventeen in a bat<sup>2</sup>  
Wes fayne for to hald hame his gat.<sup>3</sup>

The victory gave much to Scotland—freedom from invasion, enormous wealth from plunder and ransom, the return of captives who for seven years had pined in English prisons, and a glorious memory that inspired many a poet and heartened many a warrior in the hour of peril. But it did not give the King all he desired. Neither Edward nor the Pope would formally recognize the independence of Scotland, and in spite of the support of the Scottish clergy he still remained under the ban of excommunication. Accordingly his policy was now to force Edward to give way by threatening to make himself master of northern England. He was eager to be reconciled with the Pope, but he would open negotiations only on one condition : the Pope must address him as King of Scotland. To receive letters addressed otherwise, he argued, would be to admit that he had no title to the throne. But as Pope John argued similarly that to address him as King would be to admit his claim, it was hard to see how negotiations could begin.

<sup>1</sup> She.

<sup>2</sup> Boat.

<sup>3</sup> Way.

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### THE SCOTS IN IRELAND

The King had first, however, to solve a problem nearer home. What was to be done with his fierce, ambitious brother, Sir Edward Bruce? The solution took the form of a wild scheme for making him King of Ireland. A year after Bannockburn Sir Edward and Randolph landed in Ireland and put themselves at the head of the disaffected Irish chieftains. In the autumn of 1316 they were joined by King Robert, who remained in Ireland till the following spring, and two years later the titular King of Ireland fell on the field of Dundalk, the victim of his own rashness. One need not dwell on this curious episode in Scottish history. It was an attempt doomed to failure. The Scots might win victories, but they failed, as the English had failed in Scotland, because they could not take up arms against a wilderness. Nor was there anything to prove that they would have been more acceptable rulers than the English.

One incident dignifies the history of this confused and hopeless struggle. The Scottish army had reached Limerick and was about to retreat, baffled, to the north, when a shriek reached the ears of the King. He asked what it was, and was told that it came from a camp washerwoman who had been seized with the pains of labour and must be left behind "It were pity," said the King, with a chivalry that knew no distinction of rank, "that she should be left in this extremity, for of a truth there is no man that will not pity a woman." He ordered a tent to be pitched, sent women to attend on her, and refused to advance till he knew that the crisis was past.

### THE CAPTURE OF BERWICK

Of more importance than the Irish campaigns were the attempts to coerce Edward into submission by attacks on the Borders. Only a month after Bannockburn the King and Douglas harried England to the banks of the Tees; before the King embarked for Ireland unsuccessful attacks had been made on Carlisle and Berwick. So long as it remained

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under the care of the valiant Sir Andrew de Harcla Carlisle was safe, but Berwick was doomed. The inhabitants were starving, brawls between the burghers and the garrison were frequent, and a large party of horsemen that had sallied out in quest of supplies had been cut to pieces by Douglas. In the spring of 1318 the town fell, betrayed by one of the inhabitants, and though a fleet and army, led by Edward himself, invested it in the following year, the great war-engines of the townsmen struck terror into the ranks of the besiegers. Nevertheless the town was in grave peril, for Edward had encircled it with a ring of fortifications within which his forces could defy any attempt to bring succour to the besieged. But the brilliant strategy of the Scottish leaders made Edward's precautions of no avail. The relieving army, instead of advancing against Berwick, marched far into the heart of England, burning and pillaging as it went. In vain the Archbishop of York strove to lead the men of the northern counties against the foe ; at Mitton his disorderly force broke and fled before a blow had been struck, at the mere sound of the terrible Scottish war-cry. The northern barons who were with Edward, alarmed for the safety of their possessions, clamoured for immediate retreat, and the King was forced to give way.

### A NEW INVASION

At the end of 1319 came the first break in fourteen years of continuous warfare : a truce for two years was proclaimed ; but as soon as the term expired the old monotonous round of forays, burning, and pillaging began. The state of northern England was wretched. Only a few castles held out, and their garrisons had trouble enough to protect themselves, without undertaking the defence of the surrounding countryside. Despairing of succour from the indolent Edward, the country-folk chose to pay blackmail, and even to swear fealty to the Scottish King, rather than face the certainty of starvation. In the autumn of 1322 Edward made a last attempt to invade Scotland. The Scots employed their usual tactics ;

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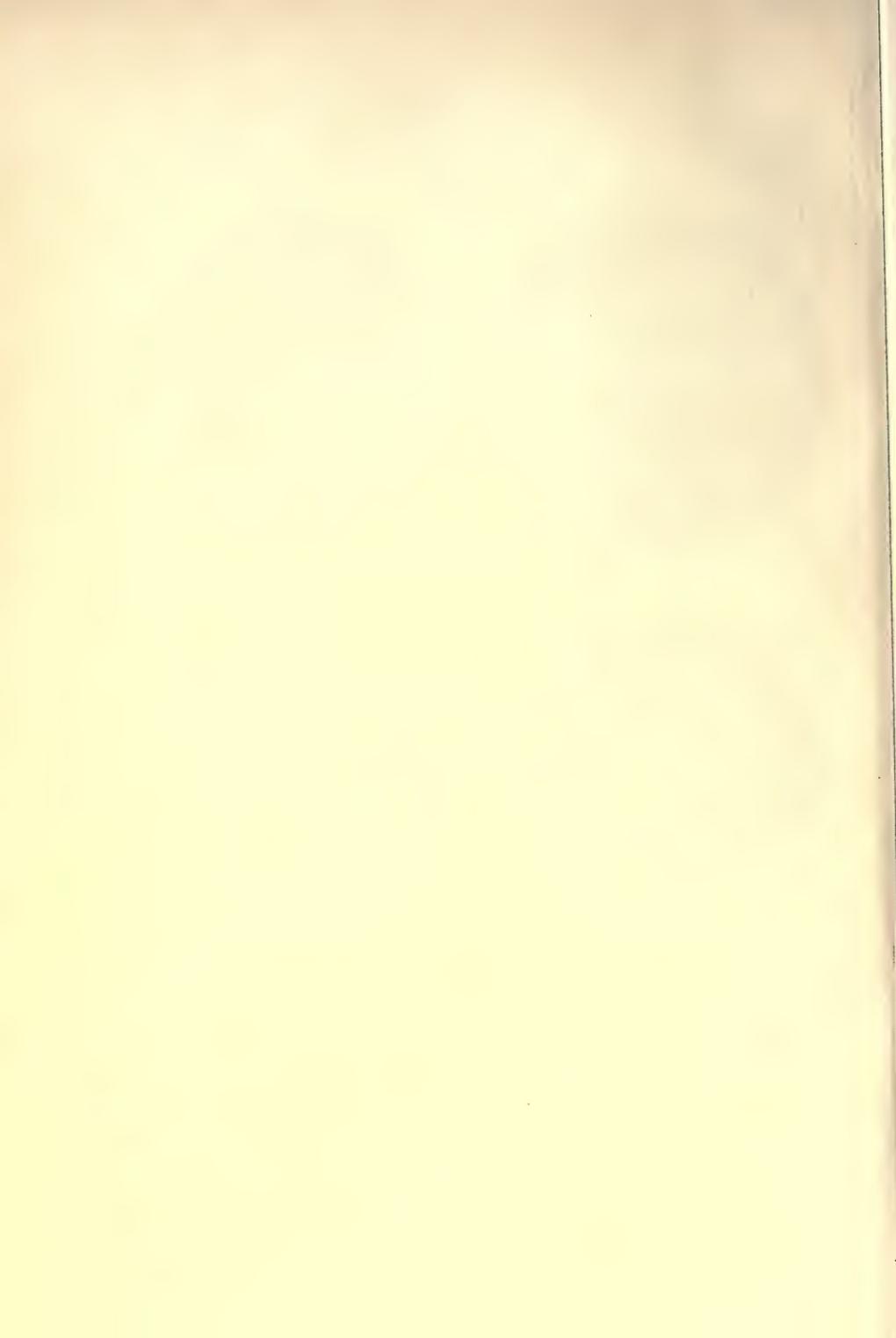
the invaders advanced through a wasted country where not a foeman was to be seen. The exertions of the commissariat could secure only one lame cow—"the dearest piece of beef he had ever seen," Earl de Warenne grimly remarked; and when the army reached Edinburgh it was discovered that the provision ships had not arrived. There was nothing for it but retreat. But no sooner had the English crossed the Border than King Robert burst from his hiding-place and followed them into the heart of Yorkshire. There, near Rievaulx Abbey, a fierce encounter took place, in which the Highlanders decided the fortune of the day by clambering up a precipitous height and flinging themselves on the English flank. King Edward fled, leaving his baggage in the hands of the Scots. He saw that it was madness to persist in a war which brought him only humiliation and the contempt of his subjects, and in 1323 he agreed to a truce which was to last for thirteen years.

### KING ROBERT AND THE POPE

Meantime King Robert's negotiations with the Pope had proceeded but slowly. The great stumbling-block was the title of King. When in 1317 two papal envoys gave him letters addressed to "Sir Robert de Brus, Governor of Scotland," he refused to look at them, saying that as they were not addressed to the King they must be intended for some other man. These two envoys had been greeted with smiles and fair words, but another, a friar of Berwick, did not fare so well, for he was not only refused admittance to the King, he was waylaid on his return from the camp and stripped of both letters and garments. In 1324, however, a great step forward was made. Randolph appeared at Avignon and made a successful attempt to outwit the astute Pope John. King Robert intended to go on a crusade, he declared. Such a proceeding, objected the Pope, could be neither "decent nor expedient" so long as Robert and his people remained unreconciled with the Church. The King longed for that reconciliation, Randolph urged, and was ready to begin



PLATE XIX. SEALS AND COUNTER-SEALS OF (a) KING ROBERT  
THE BRUCE; (b) DAVID II



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negotiations if only the Pope would consent to address him as King ; but if the Pope would not concede this triflē there was little hope of Bruce giving way. John granted the ambassador what he wished, and straightway wrote to King Edward to excuse himself. But this was only the first step ; though ambassadors often passed between Scotland and Avignon during the next few years, it was not till a few weeks before the King's death that the sentence of excommunication and interdict was removed.

### THE GREAT FORAY

With the accession of Edward III in 1327 warfare recommenced. The King was no longer able to lead an army into the field, for he had been smitten with leprosy ; but under the skilful leadership of Douglas and Moray a great host of Scottish horsemen crossed the Border and marched as far as the river Wear. This was the great foray immortalized in the pages of Froissart, who has described minutely the habits of the invaders.<sup>1</sup> They were of remarkable courage and endurance, accustomed to march twenty-four miles a day. The rapidity of their movements was accounted for partly by the fact that all were mounted, partly by the absence of any baggage train or lumbering provision wagons. Instead of wine they drank the water of the moorland streams ; for food they depended upon the cattle which they captured. Their method of preparing the cattle for food was simple : the beasts were flayed and then boiled in their own skins. Each soldier in addition carried a small bag of oatmeal, a handful of which he mixed with water and heated on a small iron plate when he grew weary of an unrestricted diet of flesh.

It would be long to tell of all the events of that last expedition—how the boy-King of England set out at the head of a great army to search for the Scots, how he missed them and lost himself, how the pitiless rains beat upon his men, and how many a soldier was swept away by the flooded rivers. At

<sup>1</sup> This part of his narrative Froissart transcribed from the account of Jehan le Bel, who fought in the campaign.

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last the Scots were discovered in a strong position on the northern bank of the Wear, cut off from retreat, however, by a stretch of marshy land. Edward drew up his forces on the opposite bank ; but though Moray was eager for a fight, Douglas refused to be drawn. For three nights hardly a man slept in the English camp, for the Scots made such a din with yells and blasts of horns that, in the words of Froissart, " it seemed just as if all the devils of hell had come there to strangle them and carry them off." On the fourth morning they had vanished ; but when the English looked more carefully they discovered their foes in a much stronger position some three miles distant. There was nothing for it but to follow them, and thus for about a week more the two armies glared at each other. One night, however, Douglas with two hundred horsemen crossed the river secretly ; then, making a *détour*, he fell on the rear of the English camp, hacked his way right through to the King's tent, cut down the tent-ropes and slew some of the guards, hurled back those who attacked him, gained the river-bank, and forded the Wear again in safety. To Moray's questions about his adventures his laconic answer was : " Sir, we have drawn blood." But provisions were failing and the position was becoming dangerous ; one night, therefore, after building up great fires and leaving a few trumpeters behind, the Scots made their way over the marshes by a road that had been hastily constructed. The stratagem succeeded. All night the English watched the fires and cursed the noise of the trumpets, and when the trick was at last discovered the Scots were far beyond the reach of pursuit.

### THE TREATY OF NORTHAMPTON

Edward's advisers were convinced by these events that it was folly to continue the war, and in the spring of 1328 the Treaty of Northampton put an end to a struggle that had extended over more than thirty years. A perpetual peace was to be established between the two countries ; the Scots were to pay thirty thousand marks as compensation for the

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losses that had been inflicted on northern England, and a marriage between Prince David of Scotland and Edward's sister Johanna was to take place. The "perpetual peace," of course, came to an end in four years; but though Edward might repudiate the actions of his advisers and renew the old demand for homage, it was seen that if treaties meant anything at all Scotland was now *de jure* as well as *de facto* an independent country. Sufficient causes of quarrel remained, the promise to reinstate certain English nobles in the Scottish estates which they had held before the war was fatuous in the extreme, but the immemorial question of the homage had disappeared into the limbo of forgotten things.

### THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT

King Robert had, indeed, accomplished a mighty task: he had found Scotland despairing and disunited with no faith in either its cause or its ability to conquer; he had welded the nation together, fired it with a new patriotism, and guided it with unfaltering skill through the uncertain pathways of war and diplomacy. But he was more than a great warrior; he attended carefully to the administration of justice, and one of the greatest constitutional changes in the history of Scotland took place in his reign. Hitherto the Scottish Parliament, like the Parliament of England before 1295, had been simply a feudal assembly, a gathering of the great prelates and tenants-in-chief of the Crown. The smaller landowners and the inhabitants of the burghs had no representatives—in fact, did not wish to be represented. But, as has so often happened, the poverty of the King influenced the fate of the Parliament. Owing to the destruction of property and the confusion caused by the long wars, the ordinary revenue from fines, feudal aids, and customs dues was no longer sufficient to maintain the royal dignity. The King therefore proposed that a tax of one-tenth of the annual value should be levied on the land of every freeholder in the realm. Before this could be done the persons concerned had to be consulted. Instead of negotiating with each burgh separately the King

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summoned to the Parliament which met at Cambuskenneth in 1326 representatives of the burghs and of the free tenants.

It was a great change, but its importance must not be exaggerated. The burgesses were there simply because the King wanted money from them, and there is nothing to show that at this date their work in Parliament went beyond the granting of supplies. When money was not needed it seems they were not summoned, and attendance at Parliament was regarded by them, not as an honour, but as an intolerable burden.

Parliament met frequently in King Robert's reign. To the Parliament of Arbroath we owe that noble vindication of the Scottish fight for freedom : " It is not for glory, riches, or honours that we fight, but for freedom alone, which no good man loses but with his life." The Parliament which assembled at Scone in 1318 issued numerous enactments on subjects ranging from the welfare of the Church to the establishment of a close season for salmon. It paid careful attention to the defence of the country, and the regulations which it passed give much valuable information about the military organization of the kingdom in the years that followed Bannockburn. Every man who possessed goods worth more than ten pounds was to provide himself with a basnet or " hat of iron," an " actoun " of mail or a " haubergeon," and gloves plated with iron. His weapons were to be spear and sword. Every man having goods equivalent to a cow was expected to have a good spear or a bow with twenty-four arrows. Soldiers on their way to the army had to support themselves at their own expense, giving the usual price of the district for whatever provisions they required ; those who came from the remoter parts of the realm were warned to supply themselves with enough money " for to buy their victual and nocth in hope to charge the country and make na payment therefore."

### DEATH OF KING ROBERT

The reign of the great King had a melancholy close. Danger, anxiety, toil more than human had broken down the iron

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frame, and left him, while yet in the prime of life, an aged man. Leprosy, the dread of the Middle Ages, fastened upon him. The leadership of the great foray had to be left to other men. When the bells of Berwick rang for the marriage of his son and mortal foes sat side by side at the long tables the King remained in his lonely palace at Cardross.

In the spring of 1329 it was seen "that there was no way with him but death." When he felt that his end was near he summoned his nobles before him and told them how he had long desired, after all his wars were finished, to journey to Palestine. "But our Lord would not consent thereto," he said; "and since it is that my body cannot go, or achieve what my heart desireth, I will send the heart, instead of the body, to accomplish mine avow." He therefore charged Douglas, his "own dear especial friend," to take his heart after he was dead and present it at the Holy Sepulchre. Douglas, hardly able to speak for weeping, vowed to carry out the commands of the dying King. "Now I die in more ease of my mind," he murmured, "since I know that the most worthy and sufficient knight of my realm shall achieve for me the which I could never attain unto."

A few days later, on the 7th of July, the King died. A universal wail arose from the kingdom, and men thought fearfully of the future, for his genius, his courage, his devotion had raised the nation from the dust, and without the spell of his personality it might crumble to the dust again. The events of the next few years showed how much reason there was for these dark forebodings.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE REIGN OF DAVID II

FOR twenty years Scotland had known nothing but success ; the death of the great King was the prelude to a swift succession of disasters. Some we can only call the result of evil fortune ; of others the cause is sufficiently plain. The country had been impoverished by the long struggle. Her industries had disappeared ; even the saddles and bridles for the knights' chargers had to be brought from Flanders. Her commerce had dwindled to the export of a few cargoes of salt fish or coarse cloth, carried, more often than not, in foreign vessels. Land under cultivation a generation before was now a waste of heather and whin, where only the blackened timbers of ruined houses remained as a memorial of happier days. As the inevitable result of poverty came disorder ; robbery and murder seem to have been more than frequent in the closing years of King Robert's reign. The point to be observed is this : men who had followed the trade of arms for a lifetime, who had gained wealth lightly by the ransom of some high-born captive or the plunder of a Northumbrian homestead, would not readily settle down to guide the plough or chaffer over herring and salmon at the market-cross. In time of peace they would be a danger to their neighbours ; if war threatened they would never throw their weight on the side of caution and restraint. In some mysterious way, too, the fighting quality of the Scottish troops had deteriorated. Probably twenty years of unbroken success had bred over-confidence and carelessness. They remembered how the half-disciplined mob at Mitton had fled at the very sound of their voices, and thought that shouting would always win victories ;

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they had forgotten the tactics of Bannockburn, or, if they remembered them, applied them under the wrong conditions. In the big battles of the next twenty years there is not the faintest trace of the wariness, the skilful choice of position, the coolness and swift decision that had become the mark of the Scottish captains.

### RANDOLPH BECOMES REGENT

But as yet there was no sign of danger. David Bruce, a child of five, was anointed and crowned at Scone. Hitherto no King of Scotland had been anointed at his coronation. Sir James Douglas departed on his mission, and his comrade, the Earl of Moray, became Guardian of the realm. "Better before wist no man hold the law than he then," says Wyntoun, and his methods of administering justice form an instructive comment on the state of the country. The royal officials seem to have been corrupt or incompetent. The Guardian roused them from their indolence by ordaining that if a man's bridle were stolen the sheriff was to pay the price of it; similarly, if a plough-iron were taken from a plough the sheriff was to pay two shillings to the owner. This second enactment had in one case an unfortunate effect. A "greedy carle" stole his own plough-iron and claimed the two shillings. He got the money, but the fraud was discovered and he was "harled<sup>1</sup> to the gallows."

Not content with awaking a sense of responsibility in the breasts of the sheriffs, Moray travelled about the kingdom himself, holding courts of appeal. At Inverness a man who was accused of murdering a cleric made the ingenuous plea that his victim was "but a priest." To his surprise the Guardian regarded this as an aggravation of the offence, and he "tholed dede."<sup>2</sup>

But the clouds were beginning to gather. It is true that a "perpetual peace" had been made a few months before; but already it seemed likely to come to an end. For one thing, it had been made by Queen Isabella and Mortimer without

<sup>1</sup> Dragged.

<sup>2</sup> Suffered death.

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the consent of the young King ; the vows of his enemies could not bind a monarch as ambitious as Edward I and even more unscrupulous. Again, in the Treaty of Northampton the Scots had undertaken to restore three of the English barons to the estates which they had formerly held in Scotland ; only in the case of one of them was the promise kept. It was obviously dangerous to hand over Liddesdale, with its guardian castle of Hermitage, and Buchan, in the turbulent north, to the hereditary enemies of Scotland. The fall of Mortimer left Edward's hands free ; at the end of 1330 he demanded the restoration of the disputed estates, and repeated the demand with increasing vigour throughout the following year.

Though war was imminent, the Scots, with Douglas and Moray at their head, had little reason for fear. But now a sorrowful rumour ran throughout Scotland. A little band of knights and squires, the remnant of a gallant company that had set out a year before, returned, bearing the heart of Bruce and the bones of the dead Douglas. While he was voyaging to Palestine Douglas had heard that a Spanish king was fighting against the Moors of Granada, and, like the true knight that he was, had gone to his assistance. Once, when Christians and Saracens were glaring at each other, Douglas saw the king's troops move forward a little space, and, being one "*qui mieux vouloit être des premiers que des derniers*," he charged at the head of his squadron. The Spaniards did not follow, and the gallant Scots were cut to pieces after accomplishing marvellous feats of arms. Douglas had hewn a way out of the press and would have escaped had he not ridden back to rescue a comrade who was being borne down by the Moors. Even to this day, after six centuries, the name of Douglas lingers about that corner of Spain.

### EDWARD BALLIOL INVADES SCOTLAND

Douglas was sorely needed, for the perils were thickening, and of the great captains in the War of Independence only Moray remained. Henry de Beaumont and Thomas Wake, the dis-  
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possessed barons, had now been joined by the Earls of Angus and Atholl, and, most important of all, by Edward Balliol, the son of the luckless King John. King Edward's plan was now clear. The attack on Scotland, when it came, would have the appearance, not of an act of aggression, but of an attempt by a Scottish king and his barons to regain what rightfully belonged to them. If the adventure failed Edward could disclaim all connexion with it; if it succeeded his complicity would soon be evident.

In July 1332 the dispossessed barons sailed from the Humber at the head of a few hundred men. Before a blow had been struck another disaster befell Scotland: the Guardian died suddenly. In haste the magnates of the kingdom were summoned, and after much wrangling the young Earl of Mar, a cousin of the King, was appointed in his place. It was almost the worst choice that could have been made. Mar had spent the greater part of his life in England, and, as the sequel shows, had not the most rudimentary idea of the art of war. On the very day that he was elected news was brought that Balliol's fleet had reached the Forth; four days later the English landed, and, breaking through the small band of Scots that opposed them, marched on Perth.

### THE BATTLE OF DUPPLIN

On the evening of the 10th of August the invaders reached Forteviot, on the southern bank of the Earn. Seven miles to the west, at Auchterarder, was a large Scottish force under Earl Patrick of Dunbar; at Dupplin, sundered from these by the deep waters of the Earn, lay the main army of the Scots. It is a sorry tale. The Guardian's forces, blinded by self-confidence, made no attempt to get into touch with Earl Patrick, or even to guard the fords of the river, but spent the night carousing over pots of wine and ale. Before dawn next day the English crossed the river quietly, fell upon an isolated division of the Scots and cut it to pieces. The main body, aroused by the yells of their comrades, rushed to arms and advanced against the English, but with broken ranks.

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Nevertheless the young Earl of Moray's division fought fiercely and bore back the enemy. It looked as if the Scots might win after all, for Mar had collected another division and was advancing to the help of his comrades. But by an incredible act of folly the Guardian, instead of attacking the flank of the small English force, pressed upon the rear of Moray's division and threw it into utter confusion. Many a man was borne to the ground by his own comrades, and those who fell "had never leisure to rise again." The victory had been delivered into the hands of the English. Of the two thousand Scots who are estimated to have perished there one thousand were wounded by no weapon, but were trampled or crushed to death. Wyntoun tells a grim story which illustrates the horror of the scene. When the battle was over and the English had marched off to Perth an English knight rode back to the field, eager to avenge the death of his cousin. But when he saw the "loathly lump" of mangled corpses he halted, and, exclaiming, "Shall I add to the vengeance of God?" rode back to his comrades without striking a blow.

Perth was occupied without a struggle. Though Earl Patrick and his men appeared before it a few hours later, they marched off again without venturing to attack, and at the end of August Edward Balliol was crowned as king. But the country was not subdued. Though Mar had fallen at Dupplin, his death made room for a far abler man. Sir Andrew de Moray, the new Guardian, was the son of a Scottish leader, the comrade-in-arms of Wallace, who had been mortally wounded at Stirling Bridge. If he lacked the military genius of Bruce and Douglas, if he never won a great battle, he possessed patience, coolness, and indomitable courage; if his methods were slow and wasteful, he at least achieved his end.

Balliol's first campaign came to an inglorious conclusion. After his coronation he departed for a progress through southwestern Scotland. Perth was recaptured almost at once, and three months later Balliol was surprised at Annan by a party of Scots. Some of his followers were slain, and he made his

## THE REIGN OF DAVID II

escape, with only one boot, on a horse without either saddle or bridle.

### THE BATTLE OF HALIDON HILL

But the danger was not yet over. In the spring of the following year Edward III himself marched north and invested the town of Berwick, while Balliol pushed westward and occupied Roxburgh. In an unhappy hour for Scotland the Guardian was captured before the walls of Roxburgh, and though the garrison of Berwick kept Edward at bay for four months, its fall was inevitable unless help could be brought to it. In this hour of danger the Scottish leaders called to mind the last siege of Berwick, and resolved to make use of the strategy that had been successful on that occasion. Sir Archibald Douglas, the new Guardian, was to burst into northern England at the head of his men and draw off King Edward from the siege. There was no reason why the plan should not have succeeded, but as Douglas was crossing the Border urgent messages reached him from the Governor of Berwick imploring him to turn and fight. Reassured by the news that the enemy were few in number, Douglas resolved to attack the English lines at dawn. On the morning of the 19th of July he advanced to Halidon Hill, a little to the north of Berwick, and looked down on the battered walls of the city and the English camp, now swarming with soldiers preparing for the battle. But between the camp and the hill stretched a hollow with a somewhat abrupt slope on either side. If the Scots chose to cross at this point their advance would be slow and they would be exposed all the time to the galling flights of English arrows. Douglas was blind to the danger, and ordered the lines of Scottish spearmen to advance. It was a caricature of the tactics of Bannockburn. The Scots had attempted an impossible task, and, led into a place "where a man might discomfit three," they suddenly broke and fled. The Guardian's folly met with its due reward; he was slain, and with him three earls and hundreds of lesser rank.

# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

## EDWARD III's FIRST INVASION

It was the darkest hour for Scotland since the rout of Methven. Berwick surrendered at once, and thenceforth, save for one or two brief intervals, remained in the hands of the English. Edward swept through the land, reducing every stronghold, till only five castles were left to the Scots. Nominally he was doing this on behalf of Balliol, but the actions of the pseudo-king soon revealed the true state of affairs. In February 1334 he did homage to Edward at Edinburgh; four months later he handed over to the English monarch the whole of south-eastern Scotland. Many estates were given to Englishmen, and sheriffs and justices were appointed to carry out the will of the English King. So dark was the complexion of affairs that King David was sent to France to wait for better days.

But in the autumn of 1334 the clouds began to lift. At Perth a quarrel broke out among the English adventurers. Balliol fled to Berwick, while some of his followers went over to the Scots. A few months later Robert the Steward, the heir to the kingdom, escaped from Rothesay in a small boat and reached the still uncaptured castle of Dumbarton. There he was joined by the Earl of Moray, who had escaped from France, and together they drove the English from the lands about the estuary of the Clyde. Farther south the same thing was happening; Annandale was in rebellion, while on the Border William de Douglas "proved many a jeopardy." In the spring of 1335 the Steward and the Earl of Moray became Guardians, and effective measures were taken for the defence of the kingdom. The inhabitants of the plains were ordered to leave their homes and fly to the hills, taking with them their cattle and what they could carry. The plan was successful; though Edward III spent two months in Scotland in the summer of 1335, he subdued no more of the country than his army occupied, and soon after his departure the Earl of Atholl, whom he had appointed Guardian, was slain in resisting a particularly daring attack of the Scots. Scotland

PLATE XX. DUMBARTON CASTLE FROM THE NORTH-WEST





## THE REIGN OF DAVID II

had once more a leader of ability ; the capture of the Earl of Moray on the English border resulted in the valiant Sir Andrew de Moray being again made Guardian. De Moray at once set out for the north, and before the summer of 1336 had broken what power the English possessed beyond the Grampians.

### EDWARD IN THE HIGHLANDS

But he had to reckon with no common foe. Early in June Edward suddenly appeared at Perth, and as suddenly departed. He had resolved to lead his men across the Grampians by wooded valleys and trackless moorlands to Lochindorb, a castle in the heart of Moray, which for more than half a year had been besieged by the Scots. It was a daring venture, but it succeeded. De Moray, mindful of the disasters of Halidon and Dupplin, would not risk a battle ; hunger, he knew, would do more harm to Edward's men-at-arms than the Scottish spears. Once, indeed, it seemed that Edward held him in the hollow of his hand. The King had heard that Sir Andrew was lurking in the wood of Stronhaltere, and pushed forward with all speed. The Scottish outposts rushed back to warn their leader, but he was attending Mass, and, knowing his disposition, they feared to disturb him. Only when Mass was finished did they tell him that the English were at hand. "No haste," he replied calmly. But as the English were rapidly drawing nearer his followers could not share his confidence, and one ran to bring him his horse. As he was mounting one of the straps of his armour broke ; with exasperating deliberation he cut a fresh thong from a piece of leather and fitted it in its place. At last he leaped on his horse and led off his men in good order by a path over the hills which the English could not follow.

Edward pressed on, and in a few days reached Lochindorb ; then, striking eastward, he captured Aberdeen and gave it to the flames. From Aberdeen he marched down the east coast, giving orders as he went that the castles of Dunnottar, Kinneff, and Lauriston were to be strengthened. Perth was

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

soon reached, and after ordering that walls of stone were to be built about it he departed for England, leaving Balliol with a large garrison to defend the town. At the same time the castles of Stirling and Edinburgh, but lately mere heaps of stones, were transformed into powerful fortresses and handed over to tried knights, while smaller strongholds at Leuchars and St Andrews kept watch over the shire of Fife.

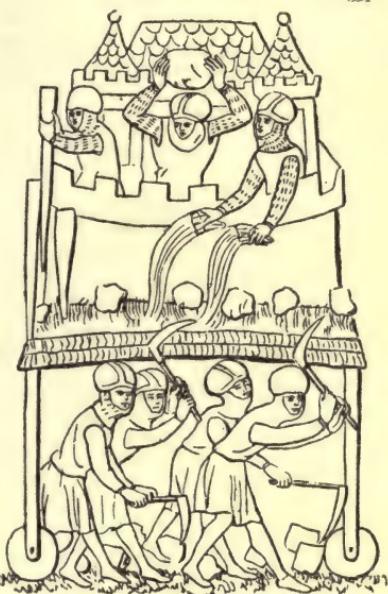
It seemed now that it would be difficult to loosen the hold of the English ; for in those days, when cannon, if used at all, were used tentatively and timorously, a few dozen men behind stone walls could defy a host. But the Guardian displayed an ability that for too long had been lacking in the Scottish leaders. In the month of October, by what means we know not, he captured the three castles of Dunnottar, Kinneff, and Lauriston, which guarded the coast between Aberdeen and the mouth of the Tay. All through the winter he lurked in the forests of Angus, all through the winter wild fighting took place between his men and bands of Balliol's followers, till Angus and the plains about Perth were "almost reduced to a hopeless wilderness and utter want." Then, while the snow was yet on the ground, he crossed the Tay, and, joining forces with some of the southern nobles, captured the castles of Falkland and Leuchars and assailed St Andrews with his great engines of war. In three weeks the castle of St Andrews fell, and, sweeping west, he next attacked and captured Bothwell. At the end of May 1337 he was besieging Stirling, but retired when he heard that Edward was advancing to its relief.

Scotland, however, had little more to fear from Edward. Other schemes were already occupying that restless, ambitious brain. Hitherto his foreign policy had been simply a continuation of that of his grandfather ; its aim was the unification of Britain under one ruler, and the first stage in the fulfilment of that aim was to be the placing of a vassal king on the throne of Scotland. But now he was looking away from the bleak moorlands of Scotland, so stubbornly defended and so worthless when subdued, toward the cornfields and vineyards and

## THE REIGN OF DAVID II

towered cities of France. This change of policy had a double effect on the fortunes of the northern kingdom. It had no longer to fight for national existence ; for long periods the country was not invaded, and when invasions did come they were of the nature of punitive expeditions. On the other hand, the new hostility of England to France caused France to draw nearer to Scotland, the ancient enemy of England. This *entente* was of doubtful value to Scotland. More than once at the bidding of France the Scots threw their well-tried strategy to the winds and rushed to certain disaster.

For the present, however, the preoccupation of Edward with his French designs was of the utmost importance for Scotland. For five months in 1338 the English made a desperate attempt to capture the great fortress of Dunbar, which guarded the eastern road into Scotland. It had a woman for keeper, but she was Black Agnes of Dunbar, the daughter of the great Earl of Moray, and endowed with no little part of her father's spirit and resource. The English engineers brought a movable shed or tower of wood, called a 'sow,' toward the walls. "Montague," she called to the Earl of Salisbury, who commanded the besiegers, "I sall gar<sup>1</sup> thy sow farrow against her will." With that she ordered the soldiers in charge of a great engine on the ramparts to direct their missiles against the 'sow,' and a continuous shower of stones soon shattered it and crushed the engineers within. All this time the stones from the English engines were rattling against the walls of the castle, without, however, doing any



A 'Sow'

<sup>1</sup> Make.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

damage, and the Scots laughed loud when a damsels, obviously prompted by the dauntless Countess, stole along the ramparts and with a towel ostentatiously wiped the places which the missiles had struck.

Nor were mocking courtesies lacking between the châtelaine and the Earl. A soldier fell dead by the side of Montague, his armour pierced by a Scottish arrow. "This is one of my lady's pins," said the Earl. "Thus do her love-tokens pierce me to the heart." An attempt to gain an entrance to the castle by bribing the porter seemed to have succeeded; but the porter told his mistress, and as the portcullis clashed down and shut Montague out Black Agnes, who had been watching the attempt from the battlements, mockingly cried: "Adieu, adieu, Monsieur Montague!"

In June the siege was raised. Edward could spare neither men nor money for Scottish adventures, and though Andrew de Moray invaded northern England, he provoked no counter-invasion. But the Guardian felt a mortal sickness stealing upon him, and, creeping back to his own country, far beyond the Grampians, he died. He had saved Scotland in its hour of peril, but at a frightful cost. His plan of laying the country waste and avoiding a battle had, indeed, baffled the invaders, but those who perished in the famine that was the inevitable result of this policy were more than those who died by the swords of the English. For miles around Perth not a house was to be seen, deer wandered unmolested about the outskirts of the depopulated towns, and some starving wretches are said to have lived on human flesh.

### END OF THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE

But the worst was over. Before the end of the year Teviotdale had been wrested from the English by Sir William de Douglas, and in the autumn of 1339, while the sky was dark with eclipse, the Governor of Perth gave up his city to the Scots. Stirling fell soon afterward, and before another two years had passed the almost impregnable fortress of Edinburgh had been taken by a stratagem, planned by William de Douglas.

## THE REIGN OF DAVID II

and one Wat Curry. Early in April 1341 a small ship had sailed into the Forth with Wat in command. He gave himself out to be a merchant who had come from England with a cargo of wheat and wine, and in that character he obtained an interview with the governor of the castle. Provisions were almost exhausted, and when Wat promised to bring some wheat and wine to the fortress next morning, ostensibly to encourage the governor to purchase liberally, his offer was gladly accepted. He returned to his ship and sent a message to Douglas, who stealthily took up his position in the reedy hollow to the north of the castle.

Next morning twelve mariners appeared before the gate of the castle, muffled up in long cloaks. They had two horses with them, one of them bearing baskets of coal and the other casks of water—the promised wheat and wine. The porter opened the gate; at once one of the shipmen struck him to the earth, while Wat Curry rushed forward with a staff which he fixed so that the ponderous portcullis stuck fast as it descended. The barrels and coals were thrown to the ground to form a sort of breastwork, the long cloaks were torn away, disclosing suits of armour, and when the English rushed up they found “stout porters at the yett.<sup>1</sup>” Meantime the blast of a horn had warned Douglas that his confederates had gained a foothold within the defences of the castle, and, sallying from his hiding-place, he rushed to their help and completed the work which they had begun.

## DAVID II

The weary struggle was over at last; only one or two Border strongholds remained in the hands of the English. Now that the country was tranquil it was judged wise to let King David return. But the realm got little good of him, for he was a haughty and dissolute youth, caring for nothing but “jousting, dancing, and playing,” and destitute of the faintest affection for his country. Never had a great man a more unworthy son. Under a skilful ruler Scotland might

<sup>1</sup> Gate.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

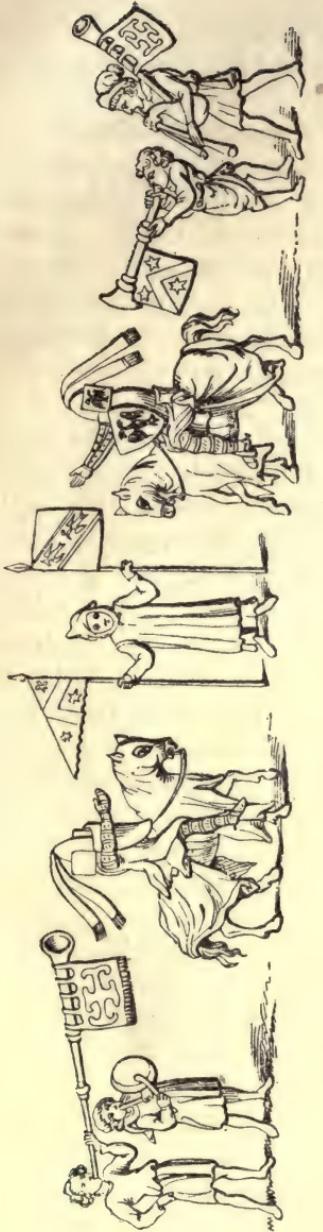
have entered upon a long period of prosperity ; but after a year or two of David's rule the country lapsed into disorder once more.

The new misfortunes were not the work of a foreign foe. Feuds began to spring up among the Scottish nobles, released for the first time in many years from the fear of an English invasion. A deed of blood signalized the beginning of this dark period. Among the Scottish leaders none were more renowned than William de Douglas, the captor of Edinburgh and the hero of many a daring adventure, and Alexander de Ramsay, " surpassing all others of his day in feats of arms and in bodily strength," who had crowned a glorious career a little before by storming the castle of Roxburgh. The King had appointed Douglas Sheriff of Teviotdale, a district which he had won back from England by his own exertions, but after a short time David revoked the grant and gave the sheriffdom to Ramsay. Douglas could not forgive the humiliation. He seized Ramsay in the church of Hawick and bore him to his castle of Hermitage, where he kept him without food until, at the end of seventeen days, he died. It is a grim comment on the morality of the age that Robert the Steward prevailed upon King David to pardon the murderer.

### THE BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS

But under the guidance of its worthless King the country was marching straight to another disaster. In the autumn of 1346, moved by the request of the King of France, whose country was now staggering under the defeat of Crécy, David and his barons resolved to invade England. From the very first misfortune dogged the expedition. Ronald of the Isles, who had led three thousand of his wild clansmen to the help of the King, was murdered at Perth by the Earl of Ross. Down Liddesdale the army swept, driving the English settlers before them, and capturing the peel of Liddel, which guarded the western march. At this point the wary Douglas urged his comrades to rest content with what they had done, but the hot-headed barons insinuated that he wanted to see his plunder

I. PREPARING FOR THE JOUST  
2. THE ENCOUNTER



## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

safely stowed and said that they were ready to march on London. The counsels of folly prevailed, and the Scots, now only two thousand strong, advanced to the neighbourhood of Durham, burning everything as they went. For fourteen days they lay there, unaware of the whereabouts of the enemy, and making "great mirth and solacing." On the morning of the 17th of October Douglas, with a small band of horsemen, came upon the English, arrayed in three divisions. In haste he galloped back to his comrades and gave the alarm. Consternation spread through the camp. The leaders formed their men into three divisions, but the positions were chosen carelessly in ground broken by hedges and deep ditches, where the impetuous charges of the Scottish spearmen would be checked. Soon a great mass of archers appeared and prepared to send their volleys among the Scots. A Scottish knight saw the danger and cried for a hundred horsemen, that he might scatter the archers. No heed was paid to him; in despair he charged alone, but one man could do nothing, and soon the deadly rain was pouring into the Scottish ranks. A few faltering volleys were sent in reply, but the Scots were no archers, and before long their first two divisions were in flight, with the King at their head. The third division, under the Steward, did something to redeem their comrades' disgrace. Long after the fugitives had swept past them their sharp axes rose and fell, making great gaps in the ranks of their assailants. Even when the fugitives were more than two miles away the Scottish banners still floated over a handful of desperate men. But at last they too broke and fled.

The King was captured—not before two of his teeth had been knocked out, be it said to his credit. The defeat of the Scots was complete. But the results of this disaster were not nearly as far-reaching as might have been expected. It is true that immediately after the battle Balliol rode through the southern shires of Scotland, wasting Lothian and capturing the two Border fortresses of Roxburgh and Hermitage; but except on the marches no attempt was made at a permanent occupation of the country. It was true that the King was

## THE REIGN OF DAVID II

in an English prison, but he could do his country less harm there, and the Steward, his vigour as yet unsapped by age and debauchery, became Guardian for a second time.

### THE GREAT PESTILENCE

A far greater disaster overwhelmed the country three years later. Long before vague rumours had reached Scotland of a dreadful pestilence that was sweeping over Europe. In 1347 it reached England, but it did not cross the Border, and the Scots congratulated themselves that they alone of all Europe were immune. Their boasting was soon cut short, for in 1349 the pestilence entered the kingdom and slew nearly one-third of the inhabitants. It was "a strange and unwonted death," says a contemporary chronicler, "such as had never been heard of by man nor is found in books." The swiftness of the disease added to its terrors ; those who were stricken lived barely two days. Such fear did it inspire that sons refused to visit their dying parents. The fact that it seldom attacked the rich, however, renders it probable that exposure, lack of food, and attachment to those little hovels of turf heaped together in three days did much to aid the ravages of the disease. Twelve years later it returned and raged from Candlemas till Christmas, and frequent records of similar pestilences are to be found in the pages of many an old historian.

For years after the capture of the King, save for the chronic warfare on the Borders, there was peace between the two countries. Edward was engrossed in his schemes of conquering France ; if the Scots left him alone he would not squander men and money on them. But in the spring of 1355 an ambassador arrived from the French Court with sixty horsemen at his back to urge the Scottish nobles to make war on England at once. Bribed with a huge store of gold, the Scots descended upon the northern counties of England, but did little damage. A few months later, however, the Earl of Angus scaled the walls of Berwick by night and occupied the town.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Edward could not pardon the double insult, and before the snows were off the ground next year he was leading an army to Scotland. Before a shot had been fired Berwick surrendered. At Roxburgh the King was met by Balliol, who, using "words more bitter than death," gave him the crown and a handful of earth as a sign that he renounced to Edward his claim to the Scottish throne. The King entered Scotland "like a she-bear robbed of her whelps," but though he marched as far as Edinburgh the loss of many of his provision-ships in a storm caused him to retreat hastily. It was his last invasion of Scotland. The plight of his armies in France was growing more and more serious, and for the remainder of his reign the two countries were at peace.

### THE KING'S RETURN

The return of David to Scotland in 1357 brought a new danger with it, the danger, not of war, but of a dishonourable peace. The King had been released on the understanding that he was to pay a hundred thousand marks in ten years. It was an absolutely impossible task, for the kingdom was poverty-stricken and nobles, clergy, and people alike had a rooted objection to direct taxation, however small the tax might be. Not a fervid patriot at any time, David, now that he was hopelessly in debt to Edward, began to display a sympathy for England that threatened to have dangerous results. He had no children, and the heir to the throne was Robert the Steward. In 1363 he entered into an agreement with Edward whereby either Edward himself or else his son Lionel was to succeed to the throne of Scotland. The news of the King's treachery seemed likely to cause a rebellion. When the proposal that Prince Lionel should be the next king was submitted to the Scottish Parliament it met with a grim refusal, even though the King was "right woe and angry."

With a traitor on the throne, one, too, whose unclean life was notorious in a none too scrupulous age, it is little wonder that the prestige of the kingship suffered. If, during the remainder of his reign, no enemy threatened

## THE REIGN OF DAVID II

the safety of the southern border, if lawlessness within the kingdom was diminishing, little of the credit was due to the King. In searching for the causes of the dark calamities which overshadowed the house of Stewart we must go back to those years before ever a Stewart sat on the throne, when an arrogant and vicious weakling dishonoured the great name of Bruce.

## THE HOUSE OF STEWART, 1371-1625

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Walter the Steward  $\overline{\parallel}$  Marjorie, daughter of Robert I

ROBERT II (Stewart)  
1371-1390

ROBERT III  
1390-1406

David, Duke of Rothesay; *d.* 1402

JAMES I  
1406-1437

JAMES II  
1437-1460

ROBERT, Duke of Albany  
GOVERNOR, 1406-1420

Murdach, Duke of Albany  
GOVERNOR, 1420-1424

JAMES III  
1460-1488

John, Duke of Albany  
GOVERNOR, 1515-1524

JAMES IV  
1488-1513

(2) Mary of Guise-Lorraine  
GOVERNOR, 1554-1560

JAMES V  $\overline{\parallel}$  (1) Margaret Tudor  
1513-1542

MARY Queen = (1) Francis II of France (no issue)  
(2) Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley

James Stewart  
Earl of Moray  
(illegitimate)  
GOVERNOR, 1567-

Lady Margaret Douglas, *m.*

Matthew Stewart, 4th Earl of Lennox  
GOVERNOR, 1570

Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley

John, Earl of Arran and Duke of Châtellerault; GOVERNOR, 1542-1554

Mary = (1) Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran  
(2) Lord Hamilton

James Hamilton, Earl of Arran

James, Earl of Arran and Duke of Châtellerault; GOVERNOR, 1567-1625

(3) James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell (no issue)

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE REIGNS OF ROBERT II AND ROBERT III

ON the 27th of March, 1371, Robert the Steward, the first of his ill-fated line to sit upon the throne of Scotland, was anointed and crowned at Scone. He was a son of Marjorie, the daughter of King Robert the Bruce, and Walter the Steward, a young knight who had fought at Bannockburn and covered himself with glory at the siege of Berwick. He himself had twice been Guardian of the kingdom, and had won fame as a soldier, but as King he did little to justify the promise of his youth.

A tragic fate, indeed, seemed to loom over his house. We see his descendants in Scotland engaged in an unceasing and hopeless struggle to reduce their realm to order and make the king of more account than turbulent barons or plundering Highland chiefs. Most of them were rulers of uncommon powers, yet two died on the field of battle, two by the stroke of the assassin, one on the scaffold in a foreign land, and two of a broken heart. In almost every case they were snatched away long before their time : James II was twenty-nine when he was slain, James III barely thirty-seven, James V died at the age of thirty. In almost every case the heir was a minor, and the strife between rival factions of nobles, anxious to secure his person and through him to control the government, plunged the country into a disorder which confronted him with an almost impossible task when he came of age. When the Stewarts became Kings of England the same sorry story continued. One perished by the headsman's axe ; another, driven from his kingdom, died in exile.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

The temptation is strong to believe that some awful doom overhung this royal house, like the dark fate which menaced the house of Atreus. For if the Stewarts were poets and musicians, if, like James V, they embarked too lightly on amorous adventures, they were neither fools nor weaklings. Even the pedantic doctrinaire James VI could strike, and strike hard, when it was necessary. The fault, in most cases, was not in themselves. Was it, then, in their stars, as M. Jusserand hints? This is an alluring theory, but it cannot be considered seriously.

Some allowance, of course, must be made for sheer ill-luck, but not so much as is generally deemed necessary. The untimely death of James II, for example, was a pure accident, but the assassination of James I was the direct result of his attempts to weaken the power of the great nobles. We must search deeper for the causes of the chronic instability of the Stewart rule.

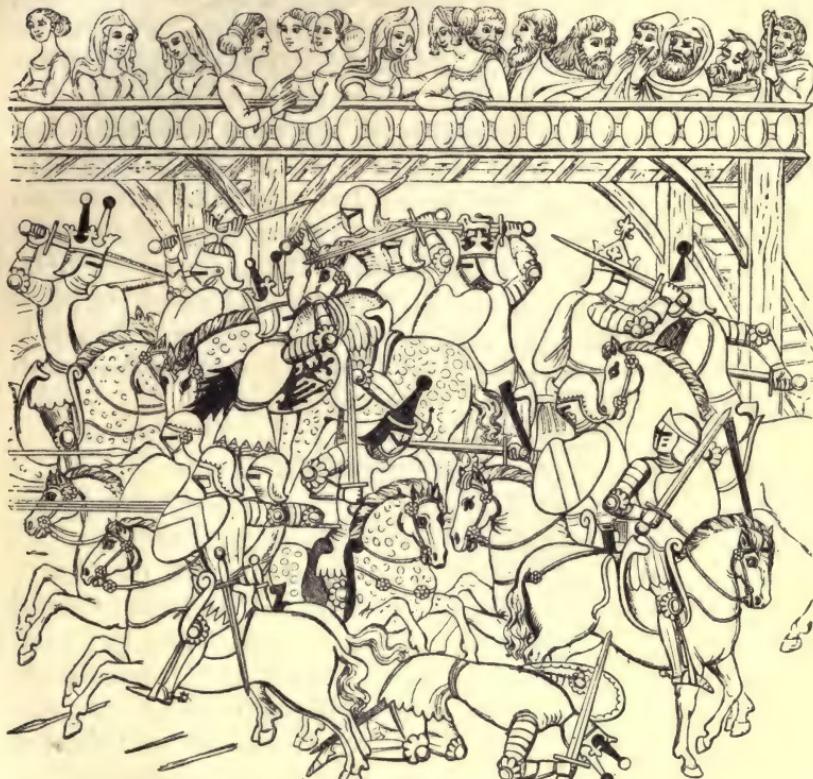
### DECLINING PRESTIGE OF THE CROWN

One of these causes was undoubtedly the decline in the prestige of the monarchy, a decline which set in long before Robert the Steward had come to the throne. Alexander II and Alexander III were vigorous monarchs, whom the Scoto-Norman nobles regarded as their natural leaders in their attempts to dominate the Norse or Celtic fringes; Bruce was a genius who dazzled the whole nation with his prowess and gained the allegiance and affection even of the fierce Highlanders and men of the Isles; but with the death of Bruce came a change.

King David II was only a child when he came to the throne. Eighteen years of his reign, some of them years when his country was fighting for bare existence, were spent in captivity or exile. His one military exploit was the expedition which culminated in the disastrous defeat of Durham. And when he did return to his kingdom it was to burden his people with the payment of an enormous ransom and to begin a stealthy attempt to seat Edward III or his son on the

## THE REIGN OF ROBERT II

throne of Scotland. Add to the sin of treachery the sins of arrogance and wantonness, and one will not marvel that in 1371 the glory of the kingship was somewhat dimmed. Nor



A TOURNAMENT

were the first two Stewarts men likely to repair the tarnished lustre of the Crown. Robert II had been a competent soldier, but he was fifty-five when he became king, and in the fourteenth century a man was spent at that age. He appears before us in the pages of the old chroniclers as a stately figure of a man, courteous and debonair, but pleasure-loving, indolent, and easily swayed by his nobles. They decided questions of peace and war for him, acquired large portions of the royal

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

demesnes from the too compliant monarch, and in the last year but one of his reign made him sign what was practically a deed of abdication. With Robert III, his son, the case was even worse. Tall, with a sweeping white beard, ruddy cheeks, and kindly eyes, no man ever looked more of a king. But an accident in a tournament had lamed him and unfitted him for leading his knights to battle. The virtue in which he excelled, says one who writes in praise of him, was humility ; but humility was not a virtue in mediaeval Scotland, least of all in a king. That he was good-natured and well-meaning no one can deny ; the fact remains that of all the line of Stewart he was by far the most incompetent. The epitaph which he asked to be carved on his tomb, “Here lies the worst of kings and the most miserable man in the whole realm,” though it almost disarms criticism, is only a just estimate of his worth as a ruler.

### GROWTH OF THE POWER OF THE NOBLES

For almost eighty years, then, Scotland was governed by a succession of incompetent kings. These same eighty years naturally saw a great increase in the power and prestige of the nobles. It was they who had beaten back the tide of English invasion, and it was to them, and not to the king, that the nation attributed its success. And among these warrior-barons none had distinguished themselves more than the Lords of Douglas. One of them had been slain at Halidon Hill ; another was captured in the disastrous fight at Homildon ; when by the pale light of the moon at Otterburn “a dead man won a fight” that man was an Earl of Douglas. They were the heroes of many a desperate frontier fight of which even the names are now forgotten. It was they, too, who won back some of its fairest provinces for Scotland. Is it to be wondered at, then, that they showed little respect for their feeble rulers—to that monarch, for example, who retired to the Highlands when there was fighting to be done—and that when David II died the head of the house of Douglas actually claimed the crown ? And the house of Douglas, though by

## THE REIGN OF ROBERT II

far the most conspicuous, was only one of many noble houses that were increasing rapidly in authority and possessions. Almost as powerful as the Douglases was the far older family of the Dunbars, the head of which was Earl of March; while to the south of the Grampians the Lindsays, Lords of Glenesk, were rapidly gaining renown for their attempts to bridle the caterans of the north.

As yet there was no open hostility between the great nobles and the king, but that was because the king did not oppose them, and, in fact, positively helped them forward on their ambitious career. A statute had to be passed, for example, forbidding David II to alienate royal demesnes. This was not done out of any regard for the royal prestige, but because the burden of supplying an adequate income to the king would become intolerable if he gave away too many estates. Robert II seemed to be aware that the power of the nobles might be used against the Crown, but the policy which he adopted was a suicidal one. He married one of his daughters to John Dunbar, the brother of the Earl of March, and so secured the support of the Earl when Douglas claimed the crown. Douglas himself was won over in the same way, and married the King's daughter Isabella. Other daughters were married to the Lord of the Isles, the Lord of Glenesk, and nobles of lower rank. Robert's purpose was evidently to ensure the fidelity of his most powerful subjects by binding them with the ties of kinship to the royal house, but, like the similar attempt made by Edward III about the same time, it ended in failure, for the great nobles had now more reason than ever to regard themselves as the equals of the king. This special trouble was further complicated by the attitude of the King's younger sons, who ranged themselves on the side of the nobles rather than on the side of the Crown. Alexander, for example, earned the title of 'the Wolf of Badenoch,' and was dismissed from his office of Justiciar in the North for negligence. It would have been well had negligence been his worst fault; a short time afterward he burned the town and cathedral of Elgin. The

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Earl of Atholl, another son, planned the brutal murder of James I

### THE PROBLEM OF THE HIGHLANDS

Another cause of the weakness of the Stewart rule lay in the nature of the country and the people. The Highlands remained a problem till after the middle of the eighteenth century, and they would have been as great a problem to a Lancastrian or Tudor as to a Stewart. In spite of the contentions of recent writers, we have no warrant for denying that an obstinate antagonism existed between the Scot who dwelt to the north of the Grampians and the Scot who dwelt to the south, and that the antagonism was based, to a great extent, on differences of race and language. Insurrections in the Highlands had been frequent before the War of Independence, the Western Islands had been brought under the sway of the Scottish Crown only a century before the accession of Robert II, and though a common danger had made Highlanders and Islesmen fight side by side with the Lowland Scots against Edward I, though the personality of Bruce had cast its glamour over the Celtic north, yet the weakening of the central government after Bruce's death saw the speedy reappearance of the ancient discord. The most serious portent was the rapidly increasing power of the Lord of the Isles, who in the fourteenth century ruled the western Highlands and the Isles and made treaties with the King of England like an independent prince.

But racial prejudice and the ambition of the Highland chiefs were far less dangerous than "the law of the empty stomach." Poor as the south of Scotland was, the Highlands, with their barren mountains and moorlands, were infinitely poorer. Only in the valleys could a scanty crop of oats or barley be cultivated, and from that only a threefold increase was expected. Sheep and black cattle grazed on the lower slopes of the hills, but even with that addition the supply of food was quite inadequate. The only remedy, therefore, was "the good old rule, the simple plan." Not once, but many

## THE REIGN OF ROBERT II

times in a year would the “wild Scots” sweep through their mountain passes and descend on the more fertile plains, to return with great herds of lowing cattle. Under the pressure of hunger thieving became a virtue, and no young chief could expect the obedience of his clan till he had proved his worth by stealing some cattle. The natural defences of the country—hill, moorland, and marsh—the absence of roads, and the scarcity of provisions put the invasion and subjugation of the Highlands by the royal forces out of the question. Only punitive expeditions could be attempted, and these were not always successful.

### THE FRENCH IN SCOTLAND

Such was the heritage of misfortune, laid up for the most part in the fourteenth century, which burdened the house of Stewart. In addition to all these troubles there was the perpetual bickering with England, which broke out again soon after the accession of Robert II. Luckily, however, the war in France, where the English were now fast losing ground, and rebellions at home prevented the desultory fighting from developing into another struggle for national existence. The only danger was that France might rush Scotland into an aggressive policy, and by making her forsake her traditional tactics bring about a repetition of the battle of Durham. Already in 1381 the *entente* had become an alliance; if England made war upon France the King of Scotland was to attack her with all his forces, and no peace was to be concluded by the two larger countries without the consent of the Scots.

The results of this alliance were soon seen. About the beginning of 1385 a truce was made by the English and the French. The English, however, said not a word of this to the Scottish King, and in the spring dispatched John of Gaunt to invade Scotland. He marched as far as Edinburgh, but dealt gently with the country, being mindful of the shelter which he had received from King Robert during Wat Tyler’s rebellion. Soon after his departure two parties of Frenchmen

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

arrived in Edinburgh, one the accredited ambassadors from the French Court, come to announce the truce, and the other a band of wandering knights who had found their occupation gone in France and had come to Scotland to seek adventures. When the Scots found how they had been duped their anger was great. Stormy debates took place in Parliament, and though the pacific King insisted upon the truce being accepted, it was against the wishes of most of the nobles. As usual, the nobles decided to ignore the King; they had a secret conference with the French knights, took two of them on a foray into England, and before they left for home assured them that if they had a thousand lances from France they could give "such a considerable blow to England that it should be visible for forty years to come." These words were not forgotten, the French Court was soon convinced of the wisdom of the scheme, and in May 1385 Jean de Vienne, Admiral of France, sailed to Scotland at the head of a splendidly equipped force of knights and men-at-arms, amounting in all to about two thousand men. With him he brought some hundreds of suits of armour and fifty thousand francs in gold.

But the expedition was a mistake. Scots and Frenchmen could be excellent friends when the North Sea separated them, or when the one nation was not expected to make sacrifices for the other, but when they lived together an unexpected antagonism made its appearance. The French knights, accustomed to the fair cities and rich cornfields of their own land, the prodigal hospitality of its great lords, the servility of its peasants, looked on the bleak country and its proud, reserved, and somewhat penurious inhabitants with contempt and hatred. "There is not much honour there," says Froissart, who had evidently heard some of the Admiral's knights recounting their Scottish experiences, "and they are difficult to be acquainted with." Their parsimony shocked the careless cavaliers who were accustomed to make free with other people's goods. The King refused to interview the leaders of the expedition till they had advanced him a con-

## THE REIGN OF ROBERT II

siderable sum of money, and the common people were said to ask sixty or a hundred florins for a horse that was worth only ten. Worst of all, they would not allow their lands to be plundered. Whenever the French knights sent out their



A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SHIP AND GALLEY

servants to forage, Froissart tells us, "they were indeed permitted to load their horses with as much as they could pack up and carry, but they were waylaid on their return and villainously beaten, robbed, and sometimes slain, insomuch that no varlet dared go out foraging for fear of death." In this way more than a hundred 'varlets' were lost within a month.

The Frenchmen's admiration for the country was as small. "Their country is very poor," says Froissart. "There is neither iron to shoe horses nor leather to make harness, saddles, or bridles; all these things come ready-made from Flanders

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by sea." With the exception of Dunfermline and Perth, the towns did not impress them favourably. Dunfermline was "a tolerably handsome town, where is a large and fair abbey of black monks." Perth, it seems, won their admiration because it was easy to get out of it, for Froissart describes it as "a handsome town" where there was "a good seaport, from which one may sail to any part of the world." But Edinburgh he dismisses as "not such a town as Tournay or Valenciennes, for there are not in the whole town four thousand houses," and he marvels that it should be "the residence of the King and the Paris of Scotland."

About the beginning of July the united French and Scottish forces made a raid into England. A few Border keeps were taken, but no attempt was made to reduce fortresses like Roxburgh and Berwick. When they were some distance to the south of Berwick news came that John of Gaunt was advancing to meet them at the head of the northern barons. The French knights were eager for a battle, but the Scottish leaders would not forsake their customary strategy and insisted on retreat. As they crossed the Border, giving the warning that invasion was imminent, the inhabitants carried their provisions to hiding-places in the forests, where they knew the English would never come. They were soon followed by the united armies of King Richard and John of Gaunt. Again de Vienne thought that the time for fighting had come, again the Scottish leaders persuaded him that a less glorious policy would be more effective, so while the English were burning Perth and Dundee the Scots and French crossed into Cumberland and for three days plundered a land that had not known invasion since the days of Bruce.

King Richard returned to England by the eastern march, and the French and Scots slipped back the way they had come, the French saying among themselves that "they had burned in the bishoprics of Durham and Carlisle more than the value of all the towns in the kingdom of Scotland." When they arrived in the Lowlands they found the whole country laid waste, but the inhabitants were quite cheerful and said

## THE REIGN OF ROBERT II

that "with six or eight stakes they would soon have new houses."

The ill-feeling between French and Scots now increased rapidly. The French were informed by their allies that they had done more mischief than the English, and that before they left Scotland they must pay for the crops they had trampled down and the timber they had carried off. Only when de Vienne promised to remain in Scotland till every penny was paid were his followers allowed to depart, which they did as quickly as possible, "cursing Scotland and the hour they had set foot there," and wishing that their King "would make a truce with England and then march to Scotland and utterly destroy it, for never had they seen such wicked people, nor such ignorant hypocrites and traitors." The money was paid and de Vienne returned to the French Court, where he protested that he would rather be Count of Savoy or of Artois than King of Scotland.

### THE BATTLE OF OTTERBURN

But the alliance between the two countries was not broken. A generation afterward France in the hour of her extremity appealed to Scotland, and her cry for help was answered. Nor did the departure of the French keep the Scots from making raids into England. In the late summer of 1388 Cumberland was invaded by the Earl of Fife, the King's second son, while the young Earl of Douglas crossed the eastern border and advanced up to the walls of Newcastle, where he remained for two days. At all hours of the day encounters took place between small parties of Scottish and English knights, and in one of these skirmishes Douglas captured the pennon of Sir Henry Percy, the Hotspur of Shakespeare's pages. "I shall bear this token of your prowess into Scotland," cried the victor, "and shall set it on high on my castle of Dalkeith, that it may be seen far off." "Sir," rejoined Percy, "ye may be sure ye shall not pass the bounds of this country till ye be met withal."

The Scots marched slowly northward, and on the second

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day halted before the castle of Otterburn, which they proceeded to besiege, for they had no mind to avoid the encounter with Percy. They had chosen their position with skill ; their cattle were driven to a piece of ground almost surrounded with marshes, the pathway across the marshes was blocked with their wagons, and near at hand was a hill covered with brushwood which was to play an important part in the coming battle. It was a calm evening, the sun was on the point of setting, and the Scottish knights, who had taken off their armour because of the heat, were lying at their ease or sleeping, when a youth rushed into the camp and shouted : “ Have arms speedily ! ”

Even as he was speaking a shout of “ Percy ! Percy ! ” arose, and the Scottish knights knew that the enemy had broken into the camp. Luckily it was at a part remote from where they were, so while the knights hastily buckled on their armour they dispatched archers and spearmen to hold the English at bay. These yeomen were unable to keep back the English, who outnumbered them three to one, and they fled, leaving the camp in the hands of the enemy. They had resisted long enough, however, to let Douglas and his knights creep stealthily through the brushwood and round the little hill that rose beside the camp. A few yards off stood the main body of the English, ignorant of their danger, for the last rays of the sun were shining full in their eyes. Suddenly a shout of “ Douglas ! ” echoed over the darkening plain, and the young Earl hurled his steel-clad knights on the ranks of the foe. An obstinate battle took place. At first the Scots were borne back, but Douglas, “ who was of great heart and high of enterprise,” took his battle-axe in both hands and “ went ever forward like a hardy Hector,” till he fell, wounded by three spears at once. At this time, to quote the memorable words of Froissart, “ the night was far on, but the moon shone so bright and as it had been in a manner day ; it was in the month of August, and the weather fair and temperate.”

Some of his knights found the Earl lying on the ground,

## THE REIGN OF ROBERT II

unnoticed by both friend and foe, and asked him how he did. "Right evil," he replied ; "but thanked be God there hath been but a few of mine ancestors that hath died in their beds." Then he prayed them to raise up his banner and tell none that he was wounded. They obeyed the command of their dying leader, raised his banner embroidered with the heart and the silver stars, shouted "Douglas!" once more, and rushed fiercely upon their foes. The rest of the Scots rallied at the cry, and, falling upon the English, on whom the effects of a long day's march were now beginning to tell, they drove them back in confusion. The victory was complete. The Englishmen who had been taking their ease in the Scottish tents, "as if they were their ain," were almost all put to the sword, and more than a thousand prisoners were taken to Scotland, including the valiant Hotspur himself.

In one sense the battle was of little importance ; it did not modify the policy of the two nations to any extent nor put a stop to the warfare upon the Border ; but its memory will endure when many a far greater battle is forgotten, for it is immortalized in the noble pages of Froissart and in those wonderful ballads compact of fierceness and pity and magic glamour. "I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas," said Sir Philip Sidney, "that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet" ; and Scott in his darkest hours would repeat the words of the dying warrior :

"My wound is deep, I fain would sleep ;  
Take thou the vanguard of the three  
And hide me by the bracken bush  
That grows on yonder lilye lea."

But, in spite of the romance which poets and chivalrous chroniclers have thrown over that age, it was sordid enough in reality. The aged King was no longer fit to rule ; the Earl of Carrick, his eldest son, who was lame and who "practised besides the virtue of humility," found that negative virtues could not terrify contumacious nobles or thieving Highlanders. A few months after the battle of Otterburn Parliament took the government out of the feeble hands of the King and his

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

eldest son, and entrusted it to his second son, Robert, Earl of Fife, who as Duke of Albany afterward gained an unenviable fame.

### ROBERT III

The death of Robert II and the accession of the Earl of Carrick, who changed his name from John to Robert at his coronation, made not the slightest difference to the government of the country, if, indeed, it could be said to have had a government. The disorders within the kingdom rapidly grew worse, and if any attempt was made to suppress them at all it was by private enterprise. In 1392, for example, a body of three hundred Highlanders swept down into the north of Angus. Sir David Lindsay, Lord of Glenesk, and the Sheriff of Angus rode out to meet them with sixty horsemen. They were utterly defeated. The Sheriff refused to flee and was slain with the rest of his men ; if Lindsay returned, it was because his attendants had forced him from the field. Three years later Lindsay had to take the field in hot haste and ride at the head of four hundred men to Fyvie Castle, where his wife was being besieged by her dutiful nephew, Sir Robert de Keith. In 1396, annoyed at the doings of the Highlanders, who disturbed the whole of Angus with their ceaseless raids, he arranged the famous combat which Scott has celebrated in his *Fair Maid of Perth*. Thirty men were chosen from each of the two rival clans that had worked most of the mischief, each one armed with a bow and three arrows, axe, dagger, and sword, and set to fight out their quarrel within lists erected in a meadow beside the Tay. Five escaped on one side, two on the other.

But these were desperate remedies. Not till 1397 did the Scottish Parliament intervene. Considering "the great and horrible destructions, heresships,<sup>1</sup> burnings, and slaughters that are sa commonly done through all the kingdom," it ordained that "na man use sic destructions, slaughter, rief,<sup>2</sup> nor burning in time to come under pain of tynsale<sup>3</sup> of life and

<sup>1</sup> Harryings.

<sup>2</sup> Robbery.

<sup>3</sup> Loss.



PLATE XXI. SEALS AND COUNTER-SEALS OF (a) ROBERT II;  
(b) ROBERT III



## THE REIGN OF ROBERT II

gudis." The principle of the statute was excellent, but the methods to be used in enforcing it were ludicrously feeble. Each sheriff was first of all to find out if there were any 'destroyours' within the county. Then he was to arrest them, but if they could find friends who were willing to pay twenty pounds of bail they were to be released, on the understanding that they would appear at the next justice aire. If they did not appear they were to be outlawed, and their friends would be required to forfeit the bail. When a man could get no one to bail him out the sheriff was empowered to try him at once, and if he was found guilty he was to be "condamnit to the deid." The statute, it will be observed, offered several loopholes to the man who had influence and wealthy friends. In the following year the statute was amended. The names of notorious 'destroyers' were to be read out at the parish church on the first market-day ; if the persons named did not appear within forty days they were to be outlawed. There is no reason to believe that any one accepted this ingenuous invitation.

### ALBANY AND ROTHESAY

The responsibility for these endless disorders has been thrown upon Albany, who after the accession of Robert III remained Governor of the kingdom. In a sense the charge is true ; but only in the sense that, like his father and brother, Albany followed the line of least resistance. What could he do ? A stronger man would have tried to break the nobles, and, like James I, would have perished beneath their daggers ; Albany ran with the hares, hunted diligently with the hounds, and died in his bed.

In 1399 another attempt was made to remedy the state of the kingdom. Parliament, frankly attributing the misgovernment and lawlessness to the enfeebled health of the King and the weakness of his officers, appointed his elder son, David, Duke of Rothesay, Lieutenant of the kingdom. It was a foolish choice, for the young Prince was entirely given up to pleasure and debauchery, and it soon produced a crop of evil.

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The youth had been betrothed to a daughter of the powerful Earl of March, who had paid the King a large sum of money for the honour. But the Earl of Douglas bid higher, and Rothesay straightway married his daughter. The Earl of March was furious ; he burst into the presence of the King immediately after the ceremony, and insisted that he should either get back his money or that the original arrangement should still be observed. As he got no satisfactory answer he at once made his way to England, where Henry IV, who well knew his value, heaped favours upon him. His great castle of Dunbar, the seat of his family for centuries, fell into the hands of the Douglases. He demanded its restoration, and on the demand being refused invaded Scotland ; but his mixed force of English and Scots was surprised by Sir Archibald Douglas and driven across the Border. The two countries were again at war.

A few months later, in the autumn of 1400, Henry IV invaded the kingdom. Two Scottish armies, one under Rothesay, the other under Albany, assembled to bar his advance, but owing to quarrels between the two leaders nothing was done. Henry had left a distracted kingdom behind him ; though no battle was fought, he was losing men daily, and the one castle that he besieged offered an obstinate resistance. So he speedily returned to England.

This invasion was but the least of a series of crushing calamities. In the year 1401 a comet flamed in the sky and terrified the superstitious. That same year a great pestilence appeared in the kingdom, more terrible than any that had yet occurred, for previously these scourges had travelled slowly from place to place, while this broke out simultaneously all over the country. Among those who died was the Queen, the only one who had the least influence for good over the wild young Prince. Rothesay now laid aside all restraint and plunged into such wantonness that the old King, despairing of controlling him, begged Albany to take charge of him till he should reform. A few days later Rothesay was met by Sir William Lindsay and Sir John Ramorgny, who told him

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that his life was in danger and advised him to ride to the castle of St Andrews. The knights were emissaries of Albany ; Lindsay's sister had been seduced by Rothesay under a promise of marriage. When he was within a mile or two of St Andrews he was taken to the castle, where he was kept till his uncle and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Douglas, had decided what was to be done with him. Thence he was taken to Falkland, where he was shut up in a little vault, and where he died soon afterward, some said of dysentery, others said—and their story has been generally believed—of starvation.

## THE BATTLE OF HOMILDON HILL

But that was not all. In the autumn of the year Archibald, Earl of Douglas, "the unhappy warrior," led an army into England as far as Newcastle. There he was met by Hotspur and the exiled Earl of March, and straightway betook himself to Homildon Hill, where his men were crowded together in such a dense body that they could hardly move their weapons or even breathe. Hotspur would have charged ; the Earl of March advised him to attack with his archers only. As at Durham, a Scottish knight saw the danger and implored his leaders to attack the archers before they had taken up their position, but he could obtain only a hundred horsemen, and they were insufficient for the task. The English archers advanced ; the Scots stood on the hill like a mark to be shot at. Soon the English arrows were flying like hail, and the Scottish army, so crowded together that it could not retreat, bristled with cloth-yard shafts like a gigantic hedgehog. The Scots were utterly defeated. About a hundred earls, barons, and knights were slain or captured. Among the prisoners were the Earl of Douglas and Murdach Stewart, Albany's eldest son.

## CAPTURE OF PRINCE JAMES

What were the thoughts of the weary old King we dare not imagine. He had lost all that was dear to him except one son, Prince James. Him he decided to send to France, and

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early in 1406 the young Prince began his journey. Sir David Fleming escorted him to North Berwick, whence he was rowed over to the Bass Rock, to await the arrival of his ship. It was an ill-omened expedition. As Sir David was riding back from North Berwick he was waylaid by one of the Douglases and slain. The ship arrived at the Bass and James embarked, fearing nothing, for truces had been made on both sea and land, but off Flamborough Head the ship was captured by an English vessel. On the 4th of April, the very day that his son was taken prisoner, the old King died.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE GREATEST OF THE STEWARTS

**I**T is questionable if the capture of the young King was a great misfortune, or, indeed, a misfortune at all. Certainly James himself had reason to regard it as a happy accident. In Scotland, where learning was despised by men of rank, he could have received no education worthy of his station or his abilities ; in France, distracted as it was by invasion, his plight would have been little better ; but in England he had an opportunity of developing his wonderful powers of body and mind. Henry IV had remarked dryly, when the captive Prince was led before him, that he would be responsible for his education, and well did he keep his promise.

As James was only eleven years old at the time of his father's death, his presence in Scotland could not have strengthened the government, while, on the other hand, it might have brought about what actually did happen in the next reign, a struggle between two factions of nobles for the possession of the King's person. Albany, who had been virtually ruler of the kingdom—so far as any man could be said to be ruler—for the previous eighteen years, was again appointed Governor, an office which he retained till his death in 1420.

Few men have suffered so much at the hands of historians. He figures in their pages as a Machiavellian schemer who, because he wished to be supreme in the realm, murdered one nephew and kept another in prison ; who had strength enough to suppress the disorder in the kingdom, but to gain the favour of the nobles deliberately allowed it to remain in a state of anarchy. The murder of Rothesay is, indeed, the darkest

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blot on his fame ; but was Rothesay murdered, and if he was murdered, was there no justification for the deed ? He was certainly imprisoned by Albany's orders, but of the contemporary historians some are silent as to the manner of his death, while only one says that " he died of dysentery, or, as others hold, of starvation." Again, two of the chroniclers state that Albany had been informed that Rothesay was plotting against his life. With the exception of Wyntoun, all of them admit that Rothesay was a heartless scoundrel. The whole matter is obscure, but it cannot be proved that Albany imprisoned his nephew with intent to murder him, or that he did not believe that Rothesay had designs on his life. The charge that he deliberately made no attempt to secure the King's release is quite unfounded ; Albany's own son remained in an English prison for seventeen years. Embassies were sent to arrange for the King's release, but how was the ransom to be paid ? After sixty years a large part of David II's ransom remained unpaid, nor has it been paid to this day. Albany's attitude to the nobles seems to betray, not deep cunning, but weakness. " He was a man most patient of all things," says a contemporary, " mild enough and kind-hearted, communicative and affable." Nor is there any reason for denying the truth of this estimate. The patience and mildness of a ruler have sometimes done more harm to his country than cruelty and greed.

Throughout his term of office, then, Albany seems to have studied the wishes of the great nobles, especially of the Earl of Douglas. In 1409, for example, the Earl of March, who had been responsible for the Scottish defeat at Homildon Hill, was pardoned by the Governor and received back the bulk of his estates. The explanation of Albany's clemency was that the Earl had bribed Douglas and other nobles with the promise of some of his lands, and so obtained their support.

### THE BATTLE OF HARLAW

Under such a ruler it was only to be expected that the Highlands should get out of hand. So far, while the Govern-

## GREATEST OF THE STEWARTS

ment was absolutely unable to impose its will on the people north of the Grampians, the Highlanders, divided into clans, each keeping jealously to itself, had made no attempt at a permanent conquest of the Lowlands. But the rapidly increasing power of the Lords of the Isles, who now dominated the Hebrides and the western Highlands, made that attempt possible, and in the summer of 1411 Donald of the Isles, at the head of ten thousand Highlanders and Islesmen, was marching eastward to Aberdeen. The earldom of Ross, he considered, had been filched from him by the Earl of Mar, Albany's nephew, and he had resolved to show his displeasure by plundering Aberdeen and by making himself master of the whole of Scotland north of the Tay. Already he had reached Harlaw, less than twenty miles from Aberdeen, when he found his way barred by the Earl of Mar and the Sheriff of Angus, at the head of the northern gentry and the burgesses of Aberdeen. A fierce battle took place. Time and again the Islesmen flung themselves wildly upon the staunch band of steel-clad spearmen. The burgesses of Aberdeen were slain by the hundred and almost all the men of Buchan perished, but the Lowlanders held their ground, till the Lord of the Isles called off his discouraged clansmen and retreated to the west. His power was not shattered—his losses were trifling in comparison with those of the Lowlanders—but its limits were fixed, and north-eastern Scotland had henceforth no need to fear a Celtic domination.

### THE SCOTS IN FRANCE

The relations between England and Scotland at this time call for little remark. Truces were frequently made, and frequently broken. Jedburgh Castle, which had been in the possession of the English for more than sixty years, was captured by a small band of Scots, and in the year of Agincourt raiders from Scotland devastated the northern counties. But in the last year of Albany's life a remarkable departure from the traditional policy was made. France, crushed under the heel of Henry V, appealed to her ancient ally for help. The

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

call was answered. A few months later a splendid force of seven thousand men, led by the Earl of Buchan, landed in northern France. The enthusiasm with which they had first been greeted soon waned, however, and the taunt was made that they were "good for nothing but to devour mutton and swill wine." The French had received a similar welcome in Scotland thirty-five years before. But the Scots soon vindicated themselves splendidly. On Easter Eve in 1421 they were posted near the town of Baugé, in Anjou. Near at hand was the Duke of Clarence, King Henry's brother, at the head of a larger force, but as a truce had been made the Scots feared nothing. While they "were playing at ball and amusing themselves with other pleasant or devout occupations," the gleam of weapons on the other side of the river warned them that Clarence, despite the truce, was about to seize the bridge of Baugé. A few Scots rushed up and kept back the enemy till their comrades were ready. The English did force a passage, but their horses and archers had been left on the other side of the river, and before these could be brought up the Scots charged furiously. The flower of the English army perished at the first shock. Clarence was slain; his coronet became the prize of a common soldier.

The victory of Baugé increased the popularity of the Scots. Buchan was made Constable of France; the Earl of Douglas, who landed in 1423 at the head of another contingent, received the title of Duke of Touraine. Their fortunes had changed, however; they were defeated at Crevant in the same year, and in 1424 they were cut to pieces on the fatal field of Verneuil. There had been dissensions among them; they went into battle disheartened, with great gaps in their ranks, and this time they had to face the terrible English archery. Six thousand Scots were left dead upon the field, including Buchan and Douglas.

Though some of the Scots survived to take part in the luckless 'Battle of Herrings,' five years later, and to accompany the Maid through both victory and defeat, the battle of Verneuil really marks the end of this romantic and useless adventure.

## GREATEST OF THE STEWARTS

Useless it was to both allies ; for only France could work the salvation of France, and it was of no profit to Scotland that the flower of its manhood should rot on the fields of Normandy. Yet few pages in the history of Scotland move one more than the record of that splendid and quixotic sacrifice.

### JAMES RETURNS TO SCOTLAND

Meantime much had been happening in Scotland. The old Duke had died in 1420 and the office of Governor had gone to his son Murdach. Negotiations for the liberation of the King were set on foot, and before the end of 1423 the final treaty was signed. After he was released James was to pay £40,000 to the English King—not as ransom, the English commissioners insisted, but as payment of his expenses during his stay in England.

Fortune's wheel had now lifted him high, far above that "ugly pit deep as any hell" that he had quaked to behold ; but it was to raise him higher still. On a day in February 1424, in the church of St Saviour at Southwark, not far from the tomb of Gower, his "master dear," he married the Lady Joan Beaufort. Most of the queens of those days are but empty names ; not so Queen Joan. *The Kingis Quair*, the triumphant song of the lover who knew that he "was near to his possession," will long preserve the memory of that beauty that was "enough to make a world to dote."

Two months later the King returned to Scotland, and on the 21st of May he was crowned at Scone. He was of quite a different stamp from the kings who had occupied the throne of Scotland since the death of Bruce. He was in the prime of life, only thirty years old, and his short, thick-set frame and powerful limbs betrayed uncommon energy. Unlike his father, he was skilled in all manly exercises ; no journey, however long, on foot or horseback could tire him out. His qualities of mind were even more uncommon. He was a true, if not a great, poet, and a passionate student of literature, science, and philosophy. His skill in music drew from an admiring contemporary the quaint verdict that he was

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"another Orpheus, excelling even the Irish in lyrical modulations." Observation must have taught him much, for he lived in England at a time when Parliament was beginning to play a bigger part in the national life, and when the country was governed by one of her ablest and most unscrupulous kings. But his greatest qualities, his courage, his obstinate perseverance, the clear intellect that made him delight in mastering detail, and that tireless zeal for his country, had not been learned ; they were part of the man himself.

### THE KING AND THE NOBLES

Great as his powers were, he knew that they would be taxed to the utmost, for he had to solve, not one problem, but many. There was no strong central government, the nobles had absorbed much of the power and property that belonged to the King, robbery and murder were frequent and the officers of justice either weak or corrupt. The Highlands were still in a state of chronic rebellion ; at any moment another Harlaw might take place. The country was poor ; the departure of thousands of soldiers to France had stripped it of its ablest defenders.

These problems were to be solved by measures partly destructive and partly constructive. The nobles would be intimidated and crushed ; at the first opportunity the Highlands would be subjugated. On the other hand, Parliament would become more important ; in consultation with the King it would decide everything affecting the welfare of the nation, while the administration of justice was to be reformed.

The King was not slow to strike at the nobles. His very first Parliament, which met a few days after his coronation, ordained that they were to reduce their swollen bands of armed retainers, forbade them to make war on one another, and decreed that any man who refused to give information against a rebel was to be regarded as his accomplice. Previous kings had adopted the suicidal policy of attempting to keep the allegiance of the nobles by lavish gifts of money and land ; James decreed that all the customs were the property of the



PLATE XXII. JAMES I



## GREATEST OF THE STEWARTS

Crown, despite any grant that might have been made by his predecessors, ordered the sheriffs to find out the extent of the royal demesnes during the last ninety years, and declared that, if they were required by him, the tenants-in-chief must produce their charters.

The nobles did not understand the kind of man they had to deal with. Some of them when asked to show their charters produced an old sword. But they were soon to learn that the poet-king could be as cruel and relentless as themselves. James determined to terrify them into obedience. Next to himself the greatest man in the kingdom was Murdach, Duke of Albany. He had shared James's imprisonment in England ; at the coronation he had placed the crown on the King's head. All this availed him nothing. With his two sons and the aged Earl of Lennox he was arraigned before his fellow nobles, condemned to death, and executed.

### PARLIAMENT

But the King was more eager to build up than to strike down. In the Parliament he recognized an instrument for impressing his will upon the nation. The Scottish Parliament, as we have seen, now consisted of the prelates, abbots, and priors, as well as bishops, the greater and smaller landowners, and one or two representatives from each burgh. The smaller freeholders and the burgesses, by reason of poverty, were usually lax in their attendance. The clerics and nobles did not sit apart from the smaller freeholders and burgesses, as in the English Parliament ; but in 1370 what was practically a division into two Houses was introduced. A small committee, known as the Committee of the Articles, or Lords of the Articles, was appointed, containing representatives of the different ranks. This body drafted new laws, and at the end of the session presented them to the whole Parliament, which simply signified its approval or dissent. This was all in James's favour ; he had only to carry this small committee with him if he wished to dominate Parliament. Something like this seems to have happened, else how are we to explain

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the sudden flood of legislation between 1424 and 1436, dealing with everything from the arming of the nation for war to the kind of clothes that a bailie and his wife were expected to wear?

The King saw to it that Parliament took itself seriously. It met at least once a year throughout his reign; members who absented themselves were forbidden to send procurators, and if their excuse did not satisfy the King they were fined £10. As this regulation pressed heavily upon the smaller landowners, an important innovation was made in 1428. Hitherto all freeholders had been expected to attend; now the King announced that it would be sufficient if two were sent from each shire. These representatives were called the commissioners of the shire, or, later, the barons, and they were required to elect a Speaker, whose duty it was to bring forward any matter specially concerning themselves.

Parliament exercised considerable control over finance. At various times it levied new customs duties, or increased old ones; it ordained a new valuation of all the property in the kingdom; it imposed taxes on property and income to meet the cost of the King's ransom, of an embassy to France, and of James's expeditions to the Highlands. Though these taxes provoked no quarrel between the King and his Parliament, they were not popular in the country; the second caused so much discontent that the King refunded the money.

### LEGAL REFORMS

The administration of justice was another matter to which the King gave his attention. Trial by ordeal or by the oath of compurgators had long disappeared—when, no one knows; a criminal was now tried before an assize of his equals, presided over by the sheriff, the royal justice, or the king himself, as the case might be. "These lords, earls, and great barons," says the *Book of Pluscarden*, describing the trial of Albany, "were peers of the realm and greater lords; and they were sworn as an assize upon them, and adjudged them worthy of death and guilty of high treason—for a peer must be tried

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by his peers." But the jurisdiction of the royal officials was confined within comparatively narrow limits. Burgesses were tried in their own burgh courts, presided over by their provost and bailies. Similarly, on many of the great estates justice was administered by the lord of the soil. Judges of this kind could not be expected to display the same degree of zeal as a royal official. The great territorial magnate would shield his dependents from the king's sheriff under the plea that only he could try them, or refuse to raise the country at the sheriff's command. Even the sheriffs were often timid or incompetent or faithless.

James saw that the judge presented almost as great a problem as the criminal. In his first Parliament he ordered that only men possessed of a considerable amount of property were to be made officers of law ; thus he ensured that every official would have something to lose if he neglected his duty. A statute passed in 1432 will show how the sheriffs, nobles, and burgh officials were kept from evading their duties. If one man had slain another, the sheriff, as soon as he was informed, had to raise the country and pursue the murderer till he was captured. When he was secured he had to be put in a "*sikkir festinens*"<sup>1</sup> and tried within forty days. If the offender escaped into another county the sheriff of that county was to be informed at once ; if he remained at large for any length of time a proclamation was to be made that he had escaped, and that any one who sheltered him would lose life and goods. If he fled to a town or an estate the lord of which had the right to sit in judgment on him, he was to be tried. If a baron let him escape, he was to be fined £20. The sheriff, baron, or burgh official who refused to administer the law was required to pay £40 to the relatives of the murdered man. If the country did not rise at the sheriff's summons, every gentleman was to be fined £2 and every yeoman £1. Two years later it was enacted that the lord of regality who took bribes from a thief would forfeit his privilege of administering justice, while the sheriff who

<sup>1</sup> Secure hold.

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committed the same offence would lose life and goods. Jury-men were required to swear that they had received no bribes.  
These were not the only legal reforms that James introduced. In 1426 a small committee of "wise and discreet men" was appointed by Parliament to examine the laws and "mend the lawis that nedis mendment." At the same time a court of appeal was erected; the King ordained that the Chancellor and a committee chosen from each of the three estates, clerics, barons, and burgesses, were to meet three times in the year and issue a final judgment on all disputed cases. All statutes were now written, not in Latin, but in Scots, and had to be proclaimed by the sheriffs, "swa<sup>1</sup> that nane has cause to pretend na allege ony ignorance." Two other ordinances show a touching faith in human nature; no man was allowed to interpret the laws "uthir wayis than the statute beris," and advocates were required to swear that the cause which they were pleading was "gude and lele.<sup>2</sup>"

### JAMES AND THE HIGHLANDS

Again and again in the first years of his reign had the King's eyes been turned to the north. In 1426 he ordered those barons who had lands beyond the Grampians to repair thither and fortify their castles. In the following year the blow fell. He went to Inverness and held a Parliament, to which he summoned all the Highland chiefs. He took care that they should enter the castle one by one, and as each one crossed the threshold he was seized by the royal guards and dragged off to prison. The Parliament resolved itself into a court of justice. Some of the captives were executed, others outlawed and banished. For a time the Highlands lapsed into a terrified silence, but it did not endure long. Among the captives at Inverness had been the young Lord of the Isles, whom James, in the hope of gaining his allegiance, had admitted to the royal household. The scheme was a failure; in 1429 the young chieftain escaped and burned Inverness. The King was wroth beyond measure, and at once pursued him into

<sup>1</sup> So.

<sup>2</sup> True.

## GREATEST OF THE STEWARTS

the heart of the western Highlands. Deserted by some of the clans on whom he had relied, the Lord of the Isles surrendered unconditionally. James promised to spare him, though only after he had knelt before the King at the high altar in Holyrood Abbey, clad in shirt and breeches, and, holding out his drawn sword to the King, had begged for his life. But even the humiliation of their greatest chieftain could not tame the Highlanders. Within the next two years two fierce clan battles were fought, and Donald Balloch, the cousin of the Lord of the Isles, routed a royal army at Inverlochy, slaying the Earl of Caithness and twelve other nobles. The evils with which James was fighting were generations old ; his opponents might be cowed by his energy for a little, but they had no intention of letting him have his way.

This was true of others besides the Highland chieftains. The great nobles had been watching the King's policy with growing suspicion ; in every Parliament they saw the passing of some new statute which might make the kingdom a more comfortable place for the common people to live in, but which certainly diminished their wealth and power. Nor had the King stooped to arts which might have made him popular with his nobles ; he regarded them as the authors of most of the evils in the realm and took no pains to disguise his hatred and contempt for them. His ransom was never paid in full, and after the first year of his reign he seems to have made no attempt to secure the release of the many noble hostages in England ; some died in prison, some ransomed themselves with their own money, others remained thirty-five years in exile before they were allowed to return. The nation had shown no eagerness to pay up the remainder of the ransom, it is true, but the whole blame was imputed to the King. In his anxiety to reduce the power of the nobles he showed very few scruples as to the means he used. In 1435 the estates of the Earl of Dunbar were forfeited, for no reason at all except that they commanded the eastern border and that the Earl's father had once been a rebel. The Earl of Mar died in the same year, and the King quietly added his estates to the royal demesnes.

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### ASSASSINATION OF THE KING

In this state of affairs, when no one knew where next the stroke would fall, it is little wonder that some men had determined to strike first. The leaders of this conspiracy were the aged Earl of Atholl, his grandson, Sir Robert Stewart, and Sir Robert Graham, from whose nephew James had lately taken the earldom of Strathearn. Two motives impelled Atholl—grief for his eldest son, one of the hostages who had died in England, and ambition, for he was the son of Robert II and Queen Euphemia, his second wife, and if James were out of the way only a child of six would stand between him and the throne.

The King spent the Christmas of 1436 in the Blackfriars Monastery of Perth. Week after week had passed in revelry and now it was the night of the 20th of February. The King had just bidden good night to Atholl and Robert Stewart, and was standing before the fire in his dressing-gown, talking to the Queen and her ladies. Suddenly the clash of arms was heard from the courtyard. One of the ladies, Catherine Douglas, rushed to the door of the room to bolt it, but the bolt had been removed. With a courage that no warrior could have surpassed, she put her arm in the place where the bolt should have been, while the King tore up the planks of the floor and leaped into a small chamber underneath. A moment later the door was flung open, breaking the brave girl's arm, and Sir Robert Graham at the head of a band of armed men rushed into the room. In their anger they hurt the Queen and some of her women, but, satisfied that the King had fled, they began to search other parts of the monastery. The King, no longer hearing the trampling overhead, tried to climb out of the vault, but the noise was heard by the conspirators and they leaped down upon him. For a long time, though unarmed, he kept back his murderers, for he was a man of marvellous strength, but at last he fell, pierced by twenty-eight wounds.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE STATE OF SCOTLAND BETWEEN 1329 AND 1437

STUDENTS of history must lament that Scotland, the home of Dunbar, Smollett, and Galt, did not produce a realist in the fourteenth century. As it is, the meticulous painting of detail which distinguished the Scottish literary craftsman even then was reserved for the descriptions of the castles and heroes of romance. Even professed historians like Fordun and Wyntoun neglect to supply much of a background for their story; they did not see the need, for the background was familiar to their readers. Thus it is that we have to depend largely on prejudiced strangers like Froissart and Aeneas Sylvius if we wish to construct a picture of Scottish life in the fourteenth century. Their descriptions are dismal in the extreme; to them Scotland seemed a place where, in the words of Hobbes, "the life of man" was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." But Aeneas Sylvius saw Scotland in midwinter and contracted rheumatism by walking barefoot for ten miles over the snow; Froissart condemns as insolence what to the modern reader seems sturdy independence; we must therefore make allowance for rheumatic twinges in the one description and for aristocratic prejudice in the other. Fortunately the Acts of Parliament, especially in the reign of James I, when they touched the national life at almost every point, supply us with a commentary on the state of Scotland far fuller than those of the native historians and much more reliable than the descriptions of foreign travellers.

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## ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY

Even after making liberal deductions from the contemptuous estimates of Froissart and Aeneas Sylvius, one has to admit that during the greater part of the period under review Scotland was miserably poor. No great cathedral was built in this century ; the new castles, even of the King and the great Earl of Douglas, were but single towers. A comparison of the valuation of the kingdom made in 1366 with that made in the thirteenth century will show how much fifty years of warfare had diminished the wealth of the kingdom. The county of Forfar by the "auld extent" was valued at £3370, by the new valuation at £2260 ; the county of Aberdeen stood at £4448 before the War of Independence, now its value was £2588. Every county showed a decrease. The valuation of the Church lands told the same tale ; their value had sunk from £15,000 to £9396, while the bishopric of Moray, once worth £1418, had sunk to £559.

Attempts were made to improve the economic condition of the country, but before the reign of James I the legislators usually got hold of the wrong end of the stick. Debasement of the coinage was resorted to, with the result that in 1373 the Scots groat fetched only threepence in English money. In 1393 the Scottish Parliament ordained that twenty-one shillings were to be coined from every half-pound of silver ; English merchants now took Scots coins at exactly half their face value. James I saw that the surest way to make a nation rich was not to play tricks with the coinage, but to encourage trade and agriculture. He therefore ordered new coins to be struck of the same weight and fineness as those of England. But James could not altogether free himself from the fallacy that the wealth of a nation was to be measured by the stock of coin which it possessed. He accordingly sought to hinder the exportation of gold and silver by imposing a tax of forty pence on every pound taken out of the realm, and ordained that foreign merchants who had sold goods in Scotland were either to pay the customary forty pence or

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else to take away with them Scottish goods equal in value to those which they had sold. In order that a reserve of coin might be built up Scottish merchants trading abroad were ordered to give to the master of the Mint three ounces of bullion for every sack of wool, serplaith of cloth, third of a last of hides, or five barrels of fish which they sold.

### TRADE AND COMMERCE

This regulation lets us see what were the chief exports of Scotland. They included no manufactured goods except coarse woollen cloth ; wool, salted salmon and herring, the hides of cattle, and the skins of deer, foxes, and other wild creatures almost complete the list. The trade was chiefly with Flanders, though ships also sailed to the Baltic and France, and, in times of peace, to England. In addition, horses, sheep, and cattle were sent over the Border, though the Scottish Parliament tried to discourage the sale of horses to a hostile Power, and English merchants often sent their goods from Scottish ports to avoid the customs duties in their own country. Coal was worked in Lothian, but was not exported. Food, especially meat, was plentiful, but for all their luxuries and many of their necessaries the Scots were dependent on foreign imports. Weapons and armour, cloth, and wine figure frequently in the lists of goods going to Scotland. The wine was not always of the best quality ; in 1374, for example, Thomas White of Great Yarmouth obtained permission to export twenty casks of Gascon wine of poor colour to Scotland or Norway, "to make the best of it," and in 1437 an alderman of London was allowed to freight his ships *Marie* and *Holy Ghost* with empty barrels, woollen cloths, and weak wines and go to Scotland for salmon. The inventory of the cargo of a ship bound for Scotland which was seized at Lynn in 1395 will show to what extent the Scots were indebted to other countries for the commonest articles. The cargo included canvas, woollen and linen cloth, linen thread, dyes and dyed wool, hose, caps, hoods, gloves, and boots. That the Scottish knight got his arms and equipment from abroad is shown by the mention of

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a suit of armour, spears, swords, saddles, bridles, and spurs. Household furniture was represented by brass pots and plates, ewers, basins, candelabra, and keys. There was iron for the smith, there were carding-combs and shuttles for the spinner and weaver. For the housewife there were wax, pepper, ginger, wine, and salt, for the lawyer or scholar paper and parchment. It is an astonishing list. Most of the cargo consists of manufactured articles, but articles that could have been made quite as well in Scotland as abroad. The same applies to some of the raw materials ; iron was abundant, and at a later date the preparation of salt became one of the staple industries of the country. One is forced to the conclusion that industries must have been almost non-existent in fourteenth-century Scotland, either because of the indolence of the people, or, more probably, for the lack of a strong hand to give security and order.

### THE TOWNS

The towns had changed little in the hundred and fifty years between the death of Alexander III and the death of James I. The castle had probably been demolished in the time of Bruce, the church had probably suffered in one of the innumerable English invasions and had been repaired in the fashion of a later age, but the closely packed rows of wooden houses with their thatched roofs showed no appearance of change. In these dense masses of straw and timber conflagrations were frequent ; at the beginning of the fifteenth century, for example, Stirling and Linlithgow were burned down. So serious did these fires become that James I ordered each town to have ready seven or eight ladders, three or four saws, and at least six iron hooks. Naked lights were not to be carried in the streets, and sellers of hay were forbidden to enter their sheds with a candle.

One change the wayfarer would have noted in the streets —namely, the appearance of taverns. For these the indefatigable James was responsible, for he ordained that in all the burghs and on all the great highways of the kingdom there should be hostelries having “ stables and chambers to

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riders and gangers, and that men find with them bread and ale and all other food, alsweill to horse as men, for reasonable price." As the King did not wish these inns to degenerate into drink-shops, he issued instructions a few years later "that na man in burgh be fundyn in taverns at wine, ale, or beer eftir the straik of nine hours," and that the aldermen and bailies who neglected to enforce this rule were to be put in the King's prison. But Scottish inns were long notorious for their discomfort, as the epistles of Matthew Bramble bear witness, and many travellers preferred to lodge with their friends. The innkeepers, annoyed at their loss of custom, complained to the King, who promptly issued another edict declaring that travellers were not to stay with their friends unless there was no room for their followers in the tavern, and that no burgess except a "common hostelar" was to shelter strangers.

The town was still governed by the alderman, bailies, and council, who were empowered to fix wages and the price of goods. The power and authority of the merchant guild had in most cases been transferred to the crafts, or associations of workers at a special trade. At the head of each craft was the deacon, who was required by the King to see that the workmen were competent and that their work was of good quality.

### LIFE IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS

In the country, too, there had been few changes, and till the reign of James I these were mainly for the worse. It was folly to build more than a turf hovel, with an ox-hide for a door, when the English raiders might destroy the dwelling at any moment ; it was folly to have broad cornlands, for corn had to be left to the invader, while cattle could be driven into the mountains. James made an attempt to bring more land under cultivation ; all countrymen were required either to have "half ane ox in the plough" or else to dig each day a portion of land seven feet square. He so tried to make the farmers grow more than the customary barley and oats ; each

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man possessing an eight-ox plough was expected to sow at least a firlot<sup>1</sup> of wheat, half a firlot of pease, and forty beans.

Life, it seems to us, must have been dull to the dwellers on the land, at the best an unending fight with a stubborn soil, at the worst a time of terror, when their homesteads were fired, their corn trampled underfoot, and they themselves driven to the mountains with what they could save of their cattle. "The common people are poor and destitute of all refinement," said Aeneas Sylvius. "They are like savages," was the verdict of Froissart. But often in the long winter evenings some rollicking tale must have kept the smoke-filled hut in a roar, or singing and dancing "helped waste a sullen day." Only the names of these old songs remain: "Pardonnez," "Late, late on evenings," "By yon woodside," "My dear darling"—pitiful relics of dead men out of mind.

But the country-folk had other recreations. They were fond of football, though the King frowned upon it, and ordered every man who played to be fined fourpence. The time which was wasted over it, he thought, could more profitably be given to archery, for in every defeat which the Scots had suffered at the hands of the English, from Dupplin to Verneuil, they had been outmatched by the English archers; when they had been victorious, as at Baugé and Otterburn, the English archers had not come into play. So by King James's orders all men above twelve years of age had to "busk them to be archers." On all estates worth more than £10 a year bow-marks were to be set up, "and specially near parish kirks, where upon holy days men may come and at the least shoot thrice about and have usage of archery." Then four times a year there was the "wapenschawing," when all the able-bodied men of the county between sixteen and sixty had to be reviewed by the sheriff. Each gentleman having land worth over £10 a year appeared on horseback, in complete armour, with sword, lance, and dagger. The men-at-arms, mounted on lighter horses, were drawn from the poorer gentry and the prosperous yeomen. The bulk of the

<sup>1</sup> = 2 gallons 1 pint.

yeomen were armed either with bows, swords, bucklers, and knives, or, if they were not archers, with axes or spears. If we are to believe Aeneas Sylvius, the men were for the most part small in stature. Their women-folk were probably looking on, "fair in complexion, comely and pleasing," according to the same observer, arrayed after the rank of their husbands, the great ladies in the costly embroideries, silks, furs, and head-dresses of lawn that were forbidden to their humbler sisters, however wealthy they might be.

The same sumptuary laws applied to the men. Only knights and lords worth over £200 a year were allowed to wear silks, costly furs, embroidery, pearls, and bullion; those of lower degree had to content themselves with the "honest array" of belts, brooches, and chains, and in towns no one below the rank of bailie could wear furs. At the wolf-hunts, which were held by the order of the baron four times a year, one might see the country-folk in their weeds of peace, the baron's retainers in gaily coloured garments with narrow sleeves and little pockets hanging from them, and the yeomen in sad-coloured raiment, for the King had ordained that no yeoman was to wear "hewit<sup>1</sup> clothes . . . na yit ragyt clothes."

### THE CASTLE

When the hunt was over the yeomen would make their way to their little huts of turf, while the retainers would ride off to their lord's new castle. It was an insignificant pile beside the great thirteenth-century strongholds, with their towering donjons surrounded by massy walls and flanking towers; simply a single tower and a wall, defended here and there by projecting turrets, enclosing a courtyard. Within the courtyard were huts for some of the retainers, but most of them lived in the tower, taking their meals in the great hall with their lord. The ground floor of the tower was a dark, vaulted apartment, used for a store or a stable, and containing a loft in which some of the servants slept. The entrance to the castle was not by this vaulted room; a ladder which could be

<sup>1</sup> Coloured.

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raised at a moment's notice led up to a doorway which gave admittance to the first floor, a gloomy chamber, with a vaulted roof, deep window recesses, and a great fireplace, used as the hall of the castle. A hatchway in the floor of the hall was the only means of access to the storeroom. A spiral staircase in the thickness of the wall led upward to the rooms of the baron and his lady and to the stone-flagged roof. Round the roof ran a parapet, with little open turrets at each corner, and a walk, on which the defenders took up their position in time of siege.

These single towers, though excellent places of defence, appeared mean beside the splendid castles, like Warwick and Pierrefonds, that were being erected in England and France at this time. But about the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the country was becoming more settled and wealthy, one or two castles, such as Doune and Tantallon, were built on a different and more ambitious plan. Instead of the single rectangular tower, a quadrangle of buildings surrounding an open courtyard was constructed. One of these buildings was the keep, but it was different from the gloomy thirteenth-century keep, which had been built not to be a dwelling, but a fortress. The walls were thinner, the rooms larger, and towers thrown out on either side made it stronger and gave the inhabitants more room. The entrance to the castle was not in the curtain wall, but usually by a long vaulted passage, defended by a portcullis, under the keep itself. Round the courtyard were ranged the banqueting-hall, the chapel, the kitchen—at that time a novelty in domestic architecture—and the dwellings for the retainers. But these castles were few in number and were usually built only by nobles of the highest rank; Doune and Tantallon, for example, belonged to the second Duke of Albany.

## ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

If few great castles were built in this period, it is only to be expected that the work of church-builders should be confined to the completion or restoration of the thirteenth-century cathedrals and abbeys. And the restoration was needed, for



PLATE XXIII. MELROSE ABBEY FROM THE SOUTH-WEST



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in the endless invasions the abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh and the great churches at Edinburgh and Haddington had been burned to the ground, while the abbeys of Jedburgh, Paisley, Holyrood, and Arbroath were damaged. Alexander Stewart, the Justiciar of the North, burned Elgin Cathedral in one of his fits of "negligence," and the western part of St Andrews Cathedral perished in a fire which Wyntoun says was caused by the spontaneous combustion of the swallows' nests under the eaves. Thus little was built, and of that little much has perished. Melrose still "rises in ruined pride" beneath the triple peak of the Eildons, the waving tracery of its windows, its noble buttresses, its delicately carved pinnacles and niches almost as fair as when the red stone first took the light. St Giles' still remains, its first splendour somewhat pared and shorn, and no Vandal has laid hands upon the nave of Glasgow, with its timbered roof, or the church of St Michael at Linlithgow, where the apparition glided before the death-doomed king; but Lincluden is only a ruin, though fair in its decay, and the nave of St Andrews lies open to the sky.

Till the end of the thirteenth century, as we saw, the cathedrals and churches of Scotland were copies, with some modifications, of the larger buildings in England. To some extent architecture in both countries followed the same lines of development: windows became larger, the tracery more flowing, the buttresses were less massive, and were now enriched with elaborately carved niches and pinnacles; the sculptor bestowed an infinity of pains on naturalistic representations of foliage, which were now carried round the capitals of the pillars in a continuous band. But the hostility between the two countries began to have an effect on Scottish architecture; the builder forsook English fashions, or, if he used them, did so in his own way. Thus, as in Melrose Abbey, he built what to all appearance were groined stone roofs, but in reality they were barrel vaults, and the ribs of stone were mere ornaments, which did not help in the least to support the roof. The builders were tenacious of old forms; they still made frequent use, for example, of the round arch and round

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pier ; their carving was heavier and less finely wrought ; the tracery of the windows was not always as graceful as that of the English craftsman.

### EDUCATION

In the distracted state of the country education and literature could not possibly flourish. The nobles despised learning, and many a priest did not understand the Latin words which he repeated every day. Till the beginning of the fifteenth century scholars who wished to probe the mysteries of scholastic philosophy or canon law went abroad, most of them to Paris, where in 1326 the Bishop of Moray had founded a college for Scottish students, some of them, in times of peace, to the English universities. Barbour, the poet, made more than one long visit to Oxford ; Donald of the Isles, who led the Celtic hordes to battle at Harlaw, is reputed to have been a Cambridge man. The thrifty Scot does not seem to have been over-popular with his fellows, as is shown by an episode at Oxford in 1393. William Leadhouse, a Scot, while on his way to demand some money which John Foster, a student, owed him, was attacked by Foster and three other students and put in prison.

On a February day in 1414, however, all the bells of St Andrews rang. The clergy marched in solemn procession to the high altar of the cathedral, and at night bonfires blazed in the streets. Messengers had just arrived from Avignon bearing a bull from Pope Benedict XIII permitting the foundation of a university for the teaching of theology, civil and canon law, arts and medicine. The work of the university had begun as far back as 1410, under the patronage of Bishop Wardlaw, but it was miserably poor, without adequate buildings, and could do little to advance either the piety or the learning of the Scottish Church.

### LITERATURE

Though it is to this rude age that we trace the beginnings of Scottish literature, the influences that hindered learning

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hampered literature as well and rendered the output poor and scanty. But the flame had been kindled, and one or two diligent clerics kept it alive. John of Fordun, for example, a chantry priest of Aberdeen, travelled all over England and Ireland in the second half of the fourteenth century ransacking the library of every monastery he came to for materials for his great chronicle of the Scottish people. He completed the part from the creation of the world to the reign of David I, but for the part which would be of far greater value to the historian, the account of his own times or of events within the memory of his acquaintances, we have only brief notes. He wrote in Latin, as good as most of the Latin of his day. To the same school of pedestrian historians belonged Andrew of Wyntoun, who wrote a metrical chronicle in Scots, beginning, as usual, at the Creation and ending with the death of Albany. As a historian Wyntoun is trustworthy, but rarely does one find the graphic touch that illuminates the past, and never does his heavy-footed verse reach the level of poetry. Take the closing lines of his description of Otterburn :

The victory the Scottis had,  
Of men great martyry they made :  
There English men were utterly  
Vanquished ; and tane was the Percy,  
And his broder also was tane.  
The Earl James there was slane,  
That na man knew in what manere.

This is ditch-water compared with the heady wine of the balladists.

Head and shoulders above both Fordun and Wyntoun, second only to Chaucer among fourteenth-century poets, stands John Barbour, author of *The Brus*. It is a veritable epic, a description of the feats of King Robert and his paladins Douglas and Moray from the striking of the first blow in the church of Dumfries to that black hour when Moray, the last of the three heroes, was suddenly stricken down. It is not the finest kind of poetry ; there is no subtlety of language, no music, none of the glamour of the old ballads, but the writer can tell a story, and once, in the famous lines on Freedom, he

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reaches a wonderful height of impassioned eloquence. *Le Morte Darthur* or *The Faerie Queene* is not more full of strange adventures, fights against desperate odds, wanderings over seas and mountains, battles and forays and sieges, of the delight in living dangerously, of the reverence for chivalrous deeds.

Beside Barbour stands the shadowy figure of Huchowne, supposed by some to be the Sir Hugh of Eglintoun mentioned in Dunbar's roll of dead poets. He wrote *The Pistill of Susan*, a rehandling of the story of Susanna and the elders, remarkable for nothing except the elaborate descriptions which afterward became a feature of Scottish poetry. Of far higher merit are *The Adventures of Arthur*, written in the same unwieldy and complicated stanza, and the noble alliterative poem *Morte Arthure*, which have also been attributed to him, with what justice it is hard to tell.

This too short list is closed by the name of James I, the first of the Scottish disciples of Chaucer, the poet who gave to his country its first great love-poem. Phrases and whole episodes show the influence of his master: there must be a dream, he must introduce Fortune and her wheel, pray to Venus and Minerva, and invoke the Muses, among whom he once numbers Tisiphone. But the artifice, the sedulous imitation, cannot obscure the beauty of the poem; all the sounds and airs of the spring are contained in it, all the gusty ardour of youth, all the glory of triumphant love. James and his Queen are dust, the stately monastery that housed their bones has perished, the very place where they lay is forgotten, but our ears still catch the echoes of his rapturous love-song:

Worshipe, ye that lovers been, this May,  
For of your bliss the kalends are begun,  
And sing with us, away, winter, away !  
Come, summer, come, the sweet season and sun !  
Awake for shame ! that have your heavens won,  
And amorously lift up your hedis all ;  
Thank Love that list you to his mercy call.

and shewest all vnt English men  
to helpe us syff and beseche us much for you  
and alsiis for offerte  
to see to chayreys land affter  
the man off justis nation  
vnt Montfort was se with fellow  
men se Northland and to thurso  
and his landes and deputys  
Sotyl men not to meynest  
but on my playn to vñ hauen  
was he off vñ land for by  
and se Lethays deputys  
and Geff on of men in Warldys  
men warlyt hym selfe to that foun  
for my foun found four encreasement  
in pur eyry to destruction  
and Geff vñ emy may nam by  
had emy knyf of West Woules  
of broch or hand or on hym  
in knyf vñ foun to vñ hauen  
vñ knyf or knyf It had vñ land  
and vñ emy knyf had to say  
me foun foun do vñ my foun  
Great land or knyf or knyf on hym  
for my deputys foun est vñ vñ  
abond me knyf to say na foun  
In ynglatir was deputys foun se leste  
for god knyf vñ knyf Oberon  
for all emperysse or vñ men  
was blantet be ye knyf  
He is folke and West fra  
and se fudom women for to be  
thred vñ knyf my knyf and se  
men next foun se deputys  
vñ knyf vñ knyf  
In ynglatir was mi hau  
se domes ob it noble kyng  
se domes mery may to knyf hauen  
se domes ob solum to mi Geff  
kyng ledeyn et est vñ knyf bedyn  
vñ knyf knyf may knyf knyf  
na elles not vñ man knyf knyf  
Geff se domes knyf knyf for se hauen  
vñ knyf knyf vñ knyf vñ knyf  
na he vñ knyf knyf knyf  
vñ knyf knyf knyf knyf knyf  
vñ knyf knyf knyf knyf knyf

PLATE XXIV. A PAGE REPRODUCED FROM THE EDINBURGH MS.  
OF BARBOUR'S "BRUS"



## CHAPTER XX

### THE REIGNS OF JAMES II AND JAMES III

Qui plus ! Où est le tiers Calixte ? . . .

Semblablement, le roy Scotiste,  
Qui demy face ot, ce dit on,  
Vermeille comme une amatiste,  
Depuis le front jusq'au menton ?  
Le roy de Chippre de renon  
Helas ! et le bon roy d'Espaigne  
Duquel je ne scay pas le nom ?  
Mais où est le preux Charlemaigne !

VILLON

**T**O those who care for other things than tales of battle and murder the long record of tragedies of which Scottish history in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is composed must be a cause of vexation as well as sorrow. It is all so wasteful, so purposeless. Each king's work perishes with him ; his successor begins, not where his father ended, but where his father began. The nobles are inveterate foes of the Crown, but they fight for no principle ; the middle classes win privileges only to throw them away. Especially disappointing is the part played by the Scottish Parliament. In England the weakness of the Crown was the opportunity of Parliament ; in Scotland the Parliament seemed to do its best work under a powerful king. The reason is not far to seek. Parliament represented primarily, not the whole nation, not the middle classes, but the nobles and higher clergy. In spite of the efforts of James I, the country lairds soon disappeared from its benches, thankful to be spared the expense of attending. The burghs were still represented ; their members

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were elected, however, not by all the burgesses, but by the burgh council, which itself was elected by the council of the previous year. In addition, only the royal burghs were represented ; growing seaports like Leith had no member ; the number of burgesses who attended Parliament frequently did not exceed half a dozen. But even if the burgesses had been present in far greater numbers they would have been powerless, for they sat with the nobles and clerics, and on the Committee of the Articles, to which the serious work of Parliament was entrusted, they were outnumbered by at least two to one. Further, as the Church was now regarded as a fitting career for the cadet of a noble house, and as an ambitious baron could prove a dangerous neighbour to any bishop or abbot who crossed him, the prelates and nobles were usually firmly allied. The Scottish Parliament, therefore, was as a rule only the mouthpiece of the dominant faction of nobles.

If the salvation of Scotland were to come at all, it would have to come, not from Parliament, but from the king. In this way, by the establishment of a hard, efficient despotism, the problem of government was solved in England and France in the closing years of the fifteenth century. In Scotland the long fight between the king and the great nobles went on with varying fortunes. James II prevailed, only to be cut off in his prime ; James III basely declined the struggle, but his cowardice could not save him from the fate of James I.

### THE HOUSE OF DOUGLAS

At the time of James I's death the three most powerful persons in the realm were Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, the Earl of Crawford, and the Earl of Douglas. Neither the defeat of Harlaw nor the submission of Alexander in 1429 had broken the power of the Lords of the Isles. Time and again in the next half-century they allied themselves with the king's enemies at home and abroad. No sooner was the breath out of James's body than the Earl of Crawford swept down upon the burghs of Angus, and for the next fifteen years the fermes and customs that should have gone to the royal

## THE REIGN OF JAMES II

treasury went into his own pocket. But far more powerful, far more dangerous than either of these earls was Archibald, fifth Earl of Douglas and second Duke of Touraine. He owned great estates and powerful castles in southern Scotland, his retainers were numbered by the thousand, and on occasion he could bring thousands more of his vassals into the field. Hitherto his house had been one of the chief bulwarks against the English invader ; hardly a battle of note had been fought on the Borders in which the blood of the Douglases had not been shed like water ; but about this time there was a change, and people began to see that Scotland could not hold both a king and an Earl of Douglas. The struggle would be long and bitter, for the resources of the Douglases were enormous, and there was the danger that the Earl might enter into a coalition with the two great northern Earls, or even appeal for help to the King of England and plunge the two countries into war.

### CRICTON AND LIVINGSTON

But at the beginning of the reign of James II this danger seemed still far off. As the young King was only a child of six Douglas was appointed Governor of the kingdom, but he held proudly aloof from business of State and suffered disorder to rage unchecked, especially when the offenders were his own tenants. The chief power in the kingdom seemed to have fallen into the hands of two men of lower rank, Sir William Crichton, whom James I had appointed Sheriff of Edinburgh and Keeper of Edinburgh Castle, and Sir Alexander Livingston, the Governor of Stirling Castle. The aim of each was to gain possession of the King and in his name to govern the country. According to a picturesque but not too reliable story, the boy had fallen into the hands of Crichton and was kept in Edinburgh Castle. Thither came Queen Joan, ostensibly only to visit her son and to talk with Crichton about means for restoring the kingdom to order. After she had spent three days in the castle she announced that on the morrow she was going on a pilgrimage to White Kirk, and that she would require two coffers for her clothes and jewels. The coffers were provided.

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The next morning Joan bade farewell to the Governor, and at the foot of the Castle Rock saw that her precious packages were set on swift horses ; then she galloped, not to White Kirk, but to Leith, whence she sailed to Stirling. Great was the anger of Crichton when he discovered that one of the coffers had contained the King.

The King was now in the hands of Livingston, who in the spring of 1439 laid siege to Edinburgh Castle. But both Crichton and Livingston knew that they existed only by the sufferance of the Earl of Douglas, who would give his active support to neither, and was probably meditating the destruction of both. The siege was broken off, and the two rivals entered into an agreement by which Crichton became Chancellor. The Earl died suddenly a few weeks later, and was succeeded by William Douglas, a handsome, insolent youth.

But Crichton was not satisfied, for though he was Chancellor Livingston held the King. Accordingly he beset the Park of Stirling one night, seized the King as he came out in the morning to hunt, and bore him off to Edinburgh. Thither he was followed by Livingston, and a second time the quarrel was patched up. They were compelled to this course, for young Earl William, though scarcely seventeen years old, threatened to be a more dangerous foe than his father. Wherever he went he was accompanied by a band of horsemen, never less than one thousand, sometimes two thousand in number, which always included a fair sprinkling of thieves and murderers, his great castles were crowded with retainers, and, like a king, he created knights and lords of Parliament, for he "thocht na man within the realme micht be his fallow or companiou."

His end was swift and terrible. In 1440 Crichton and Livingston inveigled him and George Douglas, his only brother, into Edinburgh Castle, where he was received by the Chancellor and the young King and feasted royally. After dinner the tables were cleared and a bull's head was set before the Earl ; he sprang to his feet and looked round for a way of escape, for this was the sign of death. But armed men started from the arras and closed about the Earl and his brother. Though the

## THE REIGN OF JAMES II

King burst into tears and implored the Chancellor to save his guests, his entreaties only drew down a sharp rebuke, and the luckless pair were dragged into the courtyard and beheaded.

Crichton excused this treacherous deed by declaring that the realm could never be at peace as long as Earl William was alive. But patriotism was not the only motive for his action ; the desire to ingratiate himself with James the Gross, the uncle of the murdered Earl, was at least as powerful. The lands of Earl William were not forfeited to the Crown, as was the custom with the lands of a traitor, but, with the exception of Galloway, fell into the hands of the indolent, unwieldy Earl James. He showed his gratitude by letting Crichton and Livingston scheme and plot in peace ; but his indolence was as dangerous to the realm as his nephew's ambition, for slaughter and robbery raged unchecked all over the south country. His death in 1443 put a man of a very different stamp in his place. This was his son William, the eighth Earl, an accomplished and plausible courtier and a skilful fisher in troubled waters. He soon gained the ear of the young King by his flatteries, won over Livingston to his side, and was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the kingdom. The fall of Crichton took place a few weeks later. Douglas displayed the royal banner before his castle of Barnton, which surrendered immediately, and before the end of the year he was deprived of his office of Chancellor.

### BISHOP KENNEDY

Happily there was one man who saw the danger in which the country stood, who saw, too, that the schemer who had won over Livingston and broken Crichton would either win over or break those troublers of the peace in the north, the Earl of Crawford and the Lord of the Isles. This was James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews, one of the ablest of mediaeval statesmen and prelates. But he was more than that. The beautiful chapel of St Salvator in St Andrews, one of the noblest examples of Scottish architecture, still commemorates his love of learning ; his life was free from the faults of the

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

average epicurean prelate, and none could ever doubt his unswerving devotion to his country. To Kennedy there seemed only one solution of the problem. Crichton's hands were not clean, but Crichton had at least become the inveterate enemy of Douglas ; he therefore sought to win over the fallen Chancellor to the new national party.

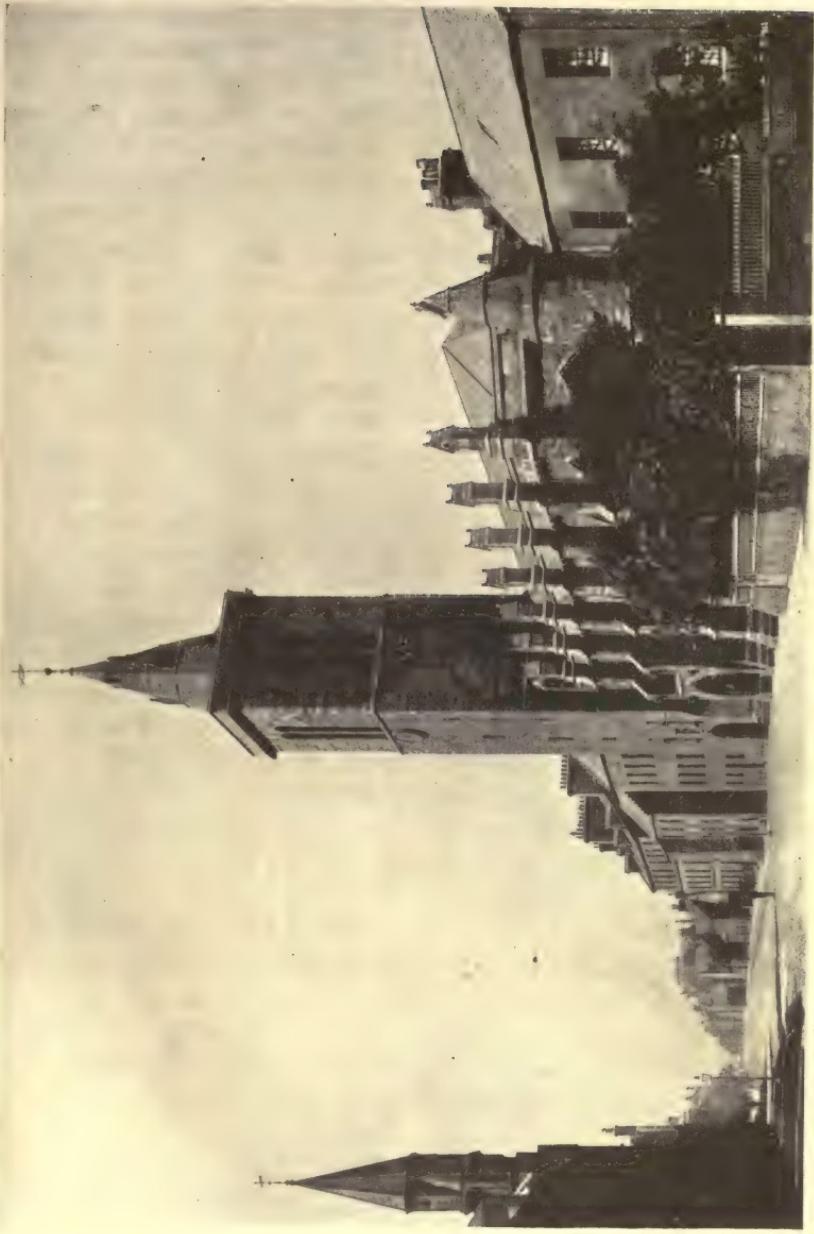
He was soon made to suffer for his independence. On the 23rd of January, 1445, Crawford, instigated by the Earl of Douglas, burst into Fife and laid waste the lands belonging to the bishopric of St Andrews. But the Bishop refused to be cowed. "Incontinent efter," in the words of the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, he "cursit solempnitlie with myter and staf, buke and candill contynually a yer." On the 23rd of January, 1446, the Earl of Crawford was slain in a battle outside the gates of Arbroath. The effect was tremendous. Heaven itself seemed to be fighting for the Bishop ; for four days the body of the great Earl lay above ground, none daring to bury it.

The danger was over for the time. Douglas still lorded it in Threave or Dalkeith or in the King's new palace at Holyrood ; when war broke out in 1448 it was Douglas who burned Alnwick, and his younger brother who routed an English army at the Water of Sark. This was the last blow that his house struck for Scotland. Soon after what had long been dreaded came to pass. He entered into a league with the Earl of Crawford and the Lord of the Isles.

### THE KING SLAYS THE EARL OF DOUGLAS

But the manner in which James in 1449 hurled Livingston and all his kinsmen from power might have warned Douglas that he had to do with a formidable antagonist. James was now a youth of eighteen, self-reliant beyond his years, with little of his father's versatility, but with a full measure of his energy, determination, and obstinate courage. Villon's famous ballade and his nickname 'James of the Fiery Face' tell us something of his personal appearance. But Douglas was blind to his danger. 1450 was a Jubilee year. Douglas, with his

PLATE XXV. ST SALVATOR'S CHAPEL, ST ANDREWS





## THE REIGN OF JAMES II

brothers and a great retinue, more like that of a king than a Scottish earl, travelled to Rome, where the pomp and magnificence with which he surrounded himself made him conspicuous among the princes and nobles who had thronged thither. Never had the renown of the Douglases stood higher. But his fall was at hand. In Rome disquieting reports reached his ears ; he and his brothers hurried home by different routes, to find that the King had occupied his territories and captured some of his castles. An apparent reconciliation followed. Douglas appeared before James and his Parliament a few weeks later and surrendered his body and all his possessions to the King, who granted them again to the Earl. But the reconciliation was only apparent. In the second half of 1451 James Douglas, the Earl's younger brother, was at the Court of Henry VI, and the King, who somehow or other had discovered the league made by the three earls, was now aware of the full extent of his danger. This time he would not stay his hand.

In February 1452 he invited the Earl to come to him in Stirling Castle, and to disarm his suspicions sent a safe-conduct signed by a number of the nobles. The Earl appeared and was welcomed by James, who entreated him to stay to dinner and supper. When supper was over they retired to a little room. The conversation, at first friendly, grew more and more heated as James revealed his knowledge of the league and charged the Earl to break with his accomplices. The Earl's insolent answer that he " mycht nocht, nor wald nocht," threw the King into a passion. " Then, false traitor," he cried, " sin you will nocht, I sall," and with a knife he stabbed his guest in the throat. The attendants rushed in and dispatched the unhappy Earl. It was a rash and cruel deed, and the fair fame of the King has suffered because of it ; but it has yet to be proved that the murder was premeditated, and at the worst it was a wild justice, for the treason of the Earl cannot be denied.

Still, the act did not break the power of the Douglases ; in fact, it gave a show of justice to their quarrel. The Earl of Crawford, faithful to his bond, rose in rebellion, and the King,

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after ordering the Earl of Huntly to join him, advanced to Perth. Meantime Sir James, now the ninth Earl of Douglas, galloped into the market-place of Stirling at the head of a great band of horsemen, and to the blast of twenty-four horns denounced the King's treachery. The safe-conduct, with the signatures and seals of the nobles, was first shown to the people, and then, nailed to a board and tied to a horse's tail, was dragged ignominiously through the dirt of the streets. But the rebellion collapsed. The Douglases were waiting for Crawford ; the King remained at Perth waiting for Huntly. On the 18th of May Huntly met Crawford's army at Brechin and routed it after an obstinate struggle. The King was now free to act ; at the end of June he mustered his host near Edinburgh and passed slowly through the Douglas country, burning and harrying as he went. Before the end of August Douglas pledged himself to return to his allegiance and was pardoned by the King.

### THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF DOUGLAS

There could be no lasting peace between James Douglas and James Stewart. Before a year had passed the Earl's activity was shown in places as far apart as London and Knapdale. In the early summer of 1453 he visited the Earl of Ross and loaded the Islesmen with wine, clothes, silver, and silk. The object of his generosity was made manifest a few weeks later, when Donald Balloch at the head of a hundred galleys swept down upon Bute and Arran and carried off thousands of cattle and sheep. Douglas was equally busy south of the Border. The liberation of Malise, Earl of Strathearn, at his request was a sinister episode, for by some Malise was regarded as the lawful King of Scotland.

The King now saw that Earl James was as subtle and dangerous a foe as Earl William, and resolved to crush him and his house once and for all. Early in March 1455 he marched against the castle of Inverawyne and destroyed it. Thence he made swiftly for Glasgow, where he was joined by the men of the West Country and many Highlanders ; then,

## THE REIGN OF JAMES II

striking south, he passed through Lanark, where he drove before him a body of Douglas's men who dared to resist and advanced to the town of Douglas. The King's method of reducing the country to obedience was simple ; if a man refused to follow him his goods were carried off and his house burned over his head, while the lands of the Douglases and of their ally Lord Hamilton were "heriit clerlye." From Douglas he returned to Edinburgh ; at the beginning of May he was besieging the great castle of Abercorn. Meantime, acting on Bishop Kennedy's advice, he sought to detach some of the Earl's powerful followers from their alliance, and after the siege of Abercorn had lasted for a week Lord Hamilton went over to his side. The defection of his most faithful ally shook the confidence of Douglas, for the Earl of Crawford had died two years before, and the Lord of the Isles was far away, so he fled to England, leaving his three brothers to carry on a guerrilla warfare in Annandale. Abercorn fell at the end of the month, its towers dashed to pieces by the King's great siege gun. A day or two later the Earl's three brothers were defeated at Arkinholm ; one was slain, another captured and beheaded. The fall of the great castle of Threave in July completed the ruin of the Douglases.

### SCOTLAND AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES

So long as James lived there was little fear of the ambition of a great noble threatening the peace of the kingdom. He made frequent journeys into the Highlands, and even the Lord of the Isles put on the appearance of loyalty. But Douglas, though an exile, did not cease to trouble him, and he soon found himself threatened with the hostility of England. The problem was complicated further by the dissension in England between Yorkist and Lancastrian, at that very moment coming to a head, and by the unwillingness of Charles VII of France to risk the loss of all that he had just gained by renewing the war with England. The Lancastrians were eager to obtain James's help, promising Berwick as a reward ; his relations with England, therefore, were governed by the varying fortune of the two factions. That he expected an invasion at any

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

moment is shown by the decrees issued in October. The fords of Tweed between Roxburgh and Berwick were to be watched and beacons were to be prepared. If the approach of the enemy was suspected one beacon would flame from Hume, if it was known for certain that they had come two would be kindled, and if they were present in great force four would flare up. Within a few minutes answering beacons would shine from Eggerhope, Soutra, and Edinburgh Castle, and the mariners at sea would mark the glare from Berwick Law and Dunpeder Law and know that their country was at war. The men of Fife and Stirling and those who lived to the west of Edinburgh were ordered to muster at Edinburgh as soon as they saw the beacon, while those who dwelt in the eastern part of the Lothians had to assemble at Haddington. At the beginning of 1456, however, the Lancastrians seemed to be winning and negotiations between the two countries were begun ; but the tide soon turned, and an insolent letter in which James was told that the English King intended to chastise the rebellion and arrogance of his vassal stung him into action. At the head of six thousand men he marched for twenty miles into England, burning seventeen towns and castles, and returned unmolested. A fresh decree, issued in the autumn, ordered certain barons to procure " carts of war," on which two guns were to be mounted, and to appoint "ane cunnand man to schut thame." Again the Lancastrians prevailed, and peace was made between the two countries ; but the Yorkist triumph at Northampton in the summer of 1460 resulted in another change of policy. At the prayer of Henry VI James advanced against the castle of Roxburgh at the head of a great army. The artillery of which he was so proud was there ; James, with what some regarded as unkingly curiosity, went up to a great bombard to watch the gunners manipulating it. The gun burst ; a fragment struck him on the thigh, and he died almost immediately. His fate was harder even than that of his father, for he was barely thirty when he perished thus, with his work only half done.





## THE REIGN OF JAMES III

### JAMES III

The nation was in a perilous position. Their new king was a boy of nine, Douglas was keeping alive the flame of English hatred, and in the north John of the Isles was stirring uneasily. But the full effects of the King's death were not felt immediately; two days after James III was crowned at Kelso Roxburgh Castle fell to the Scottish army, and in return for a promise of help Berwick was surrendered by the Lancastrians in the following year. Meantime Edward IV was negotiating on the one hand with the Scottish Government and on the other hand with the exiled Earl of Douglas and the Lord of the Isles, who in 1463 bound themselves to unite for the conquest of Scotland and to become the vassals of Edward if they were successful. Headed by two kinsmen of the Lord of the Isles, the Islesmen descended upon Bute, but Douglas did not join them and the rebellion soon collapsed. As a result of this Edward's attitude to Scotland became more friendly, and before the end of the year he gave his consent to a truce.

That the death of the King had not been followed by a scramble for the custody of his son was due largely to the influence of the high-souled Bishop Kennedy, who again stepped forward to guide his country in the hour of danger. But the death of the Bishop in 1465 was the sign for a return to all the evils of the minority of James II. Early in 1466 Lord Fleming, the Steward of the Household, Lord Kennedy, the Governor of Stirling Castle, and Sir Alexander Boyd, the Governor of Edinburgh Castle, entered into a league. A few months later Kennedy and Boyd inveigled James from Stirling on the pretence of taking him to hunt. Boyd laid hands on the King; Kennedy pretended to resist and then allowed himself to be led back to Stirling Castle. But Sir Alexander, the accomplished swordsman, was only a tool in the hands of his elder brother, Lord Robert Boyd. This was evident when Parliament met in October. Lord Boyd, entering the great hall of the castle, flung himself at the King's feet and asked if he or his kinsmen had done anything amiss. Thereupon the

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

King, having been carefully coached, declared that Lord Boyd was free from blame and appointed him governor of his own person and of the royal castles. The Boyds, hitherto almost an unknown family, were now raised to a dizzy height. Lord Boyd became Chamberlain of the kingdom ; his son Thomas was created Earl of Arran and married Princess Mary, the King's elder sister.

### ORKNEY AND SHETLAND ANNEXED

Shortly afterward the long-standing dispute with the King of Denmark was brought to a satisfactory issue. By the treaty of 1266 Alexander III had promised to pay an annual tribute of a hundred marks for the Western Isles, but the impecunious Court of Scotland had fallen hopelessly into arrears, and the equally impecunious Court of Denmark persistently demanded payment. Charles VII of France was appealed to, and suggested that a marriage might prove a solution of the difficulty. Accordingly the Earl of Arran and other ambassadors were dispatched to the Court of Denmark at the beginning of 1468, and in September it was arranged that King James should marry Princess Margaret of Denmark, that the tribute was to be remitted and the arrears forgiven, and that the Princess was to have a marriage portion of sixty thousand florins. A sixth of this was to be paid before the Princess sailed for Scotland, and Orkney was to be handed over as security for the rest. But when the time came King Christian could raise only two thousand florins, and he was forced to pledge Shetland as well. Four years passed without the marriage portion being paid, and in 1472 the Orkneys and Shetlands were annexed to the Scottish Crown. The money has not been paid yet.

### A FEEBLE KING

The arrival of Margaret in Scotland in the summer of 1469 was the sign for the fall of the Boyds. Before Arran had set foot on shore his wife made her way to his ship and besought him to flee for his life ; a few months later Sir Alexander Boyd

## THE REIGN OF JAMES III

was executed and Lord Robert followed his son into exile. But though the King had shaken himself free he did not prove to be a worthy son of his father. His faults were not of the kind that his people could condone ; his virtues they did not understand. He took no delight in warfare or statecraft, but loved music and architecture and dabbled in magic and astrology. He was solitary and suspicious, avoiding the company of the great nobles and surrounding himself with men of low rank, like Cochrane the builder, and Rogers the musician. For this he has gained the praise of posterity ; he is pictured as a Hamlet whose fine, fragile nature was broken by the impossible task with which it was confronted. But these tears are wasted ; James I and James IV were far more passionate lovers of art and learning than he was, but they could command the respect, and in James IV's case the love, of their subjects. These men knew that their first duty was to rule the State ; James III weakly declined the task. Time and again Parliament sought to arouse him. When in 1473 he proposed to dabble in European politics and go to the Continent in person to reconcile the King of France with the Duke of Burgundy, he was advised that the best way of advancing his fame abroad was "to tak part of labour apon his person and travel through his realm and put sic justice and policy in his awn realm so that he mycht be grace of God be callit to gretar thingis." In 1478 it boldly declared that the chief cause of the slaughter, treason, robbery, and theft that was now so common in the realm was the King's readiness to grant pardons to the criminals. To weakness he added the vice of avarice. Lavish gifts to Hummil, the royal tailor, could not make up for the widespread misery caused by his experiments with the coinage. His foreign policy was not of a kind to make him popular ; he was eager to enter into an alliance with Edward IV, who amused him with matrimonial treaties which came to nothing. These negotiations, however, had one good result : the full meaning of the conduct of John of the Isles in 1463 was revealed, at the end of 1475 he was declared to have forfeited life, lands, and rank, and

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

in the early summer of 1476 an expedition was sent to the Western Isles. John was persuaded to surrender and was brought to Edinburgh, where he gave up all his lands to the King. At the prayer of the Queen and Parliament, however, he was restored to his rank and to all his lands except the earldom of Ross.

### THE KING'S BROTHERS

But after this display of energy the King went on from failure to failure. Men could not avoid comparing him with his brother Alexander, the Duke of Albany, whose broad shoulders, well-proportioned figure, and "very awful countenance" seemed to mark him out as one born to command, or with his younger brother John, Earl of Mar, whose noble bearing, courtesy, and delight in knightly games made him a complete contrast to the crowned recluse. James was quite aware of what was passing in the minds of his subjects, and his jealousy of his two brothers was artfully fanned by those satellites who wished a share of their wealth. Taking advantage of the King's superstition, the story goes, Cochrane sent a pretended witch to the King, who warned him that he would be slain by his next of kin. He brooded over the woman's saying, and, as his sons were still children, concluded that the danger would come from his brothers. Whether this tale is true or not, it is certain that at the beginning of 1479 his brothers were thrust into prison, Mar in Craigmillar and Albany in Edinburgh Castle. Mar, who was charged with using magic to bring about the King's death, was removed from Craigmillar to a house in the Canongate of Edinburgh, where he was bled to death, though whether by accident or by design will never be known.

Albany was more fortunate. He got into communication with the captain of a French ship that was lying in the Forth, who sent him two boxes of malvoisie, one containing a rope, and the other a letter which said that he was to be beheaded on the morrow. The Duke, seeing that there was "no other remeid but either do or die," resolved to put a desperate

## THE REIGN OF JAMES III

scheme into execution, and accordingly he invited the governor of the castle to supper that he might have “ane drink of good wine.” When supper was finished the wine was produced ; but Albany and his page drank sparingly. Not so the governor and his three attendants. “The fire was hot and the wine was stark,” and soon Albany knew that the time had come. Drawing his sword, he sprang from the table and cut down the governor and one of his men ; the page accounted for the other two. The dead bodies they cast into the fire ; then, stealing out, they fastened the rope to the battlements. The page clambered down first, but the rope was too short and he fell heavily to the ground. Albany rushed back to his room, tore the sheets from his bed, fastened them to the rope, and thus was enabled to reach the foot of the cliff in safety. Only when morning came and the sentinels saw the rope hanging from the wall did they know that anything was amiss, but by this time Albany was in the French ship, making for the open sea.

James seemed to have triumphed, but in reality he had signed his own death-warrant. Albany had no reason now to be loyal to the man who had treated him so ill ; Edward IV was not slow to grasp the opportunity of making use of the discontented Prince ; the great nobles, headed by the Earl of Angus, the representative of another branch of the house of Douglas,<sup>1</sup> saw that by supporting Albany they might gain much of the wealth and influence which they had lost ; and the nation in general put the worst construction upon the death of Mar when they saw his lands and revenues given to the upstart Cochrane.

Meantime the complexion of foreign affairs would have perturbed a far abler man than James. The King of France was urging him to attack England ; the King of England had opened negotiations with the Lord of the Isles. In 1481 the trouble came to a head. James sent two heralds to Edward to request him not to support the Duke of Burgundy against France. Edward detained the heralds till an English fleet

<sup>1</sup> Descended from an illegitimate son of the first Earl of Douglas.

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had appeared in the Forth ; then he sent them home without an answer. The English fleet was driven off and James prepared to invade England, but when his army came to the Borders he was met by a legate from the Pope, who urged him not to break the unity of Christendom, at that moment threatened by the Turk. James sent his army home ; at once the English fleet reappeared in the Forth. James retaliated by harrying the Borders and by preparing for a great expedition in the following year. But Edward knew that he had nothing to fear ; in June 1482, a month before the Scottish army marched for the Borders, he had completed the corruption of Albany. The Duke promised that if he became King of Scotland he would break the league with France, do homage to Edward, and give up the southern counties. The Earl of Angus, one of the Scottish leaders, was in Albany's confidence, a fact which explains much that followed.

### 'BELLING THE CAT'

It was a discontented army that followed James to Lauder. Though only a few were in communication with Albany, all, nobles and common folk alike, had grown weary of the arrogance and greed of the King's favourites, and especially of Cochrane. On the 22nd of July a party of the nobles gathered in the church of Lauder to discuss the situation. The remedy they hit on was to hang the favourites and imprison the King till he promised to reform, but none would take the first step. Their perplexity moved Lord Gray to tell the fable of the mice who wanted to hang a bell round the cat's neck. "Leave me to bell the cat !" cried the old Earl of Angus. As he uttered these words a knock on the door of the church was heard. "Who knocks so rudely ?" shouted Sir Robert Douglas. "It is I, the Earl of Mar," was the answer, and in stalked Cochrane, arrayed in a riding-suit of black velvet, with a chain of gold about his neck and a hunting-horn tipped with gold hanging from a baldric embroidered with jewels. Angus sprang to the door and pulled the gold chain

## THE REIGN OF JAMES III

from his neck, crying that a rope would become him better ; Robert Douglas followed and, snatching away the horn, said that he had too long been a hunter of mischief. " My lords, is it jest or earnest ? " Cochrane demanded proudly. " It is good earnest," was the answer. He went to his death bravely, asking only that he might be hanged in a silken cord, and not " in ane tow of hemp like ane thief." This request was not granted ; he and most of the royal favourites were hanged over the bridge of Lauder.

The King was taken back to Edinburgh and put in the castle there. The English army followed, and the Scottish nobles, knowing that Albany was with the invaders, hastened to make peace. On their way home the English besieged Berwick. No reinforcements were sent, and the town fell into the hands of the enemy, never to be regained.

### THE FALL OF ALBANY

Albany remained in Scotland. Advancing to Edinburgh, he made a show of besieging his confederates in the castle. The King was released, but Albany was supreme in the State ; before the end of the year he was appointed Lieutenant-General of the realm, with full control of the military forces. In February 1483 he entered into another league with England ; if Edward would help him to obtain the crown he would give up the alliance with France, renounce his claims to Berwick, and restore the banished Earl of Douglas to his estates. This came to the ears of the King, but with incredible generosity, or incredible cowardice, he pardoned Albany, on his promise to renounce his treasonable schemes. The Duke broke his word ; he strengthened the castle of Dunbar and made a journey into England, and at the beginning of July he was declared guilty of treason.

James was safe for the time. As Richard III found it difficult enough to manage his own kingdom without meddling in Scottish affairs, Albany could look for little help in that quarter. In the summer of 1484 he and the exiled Douglas dashed into Lochmaben at the head of five hundred men. It

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was fair-time and the town was crowded with merchants, who offered an obstinate resistance, till the Border gentry rode up and completed the defeat. Douglas was captured ; Albany escaped to France. In the following year the restless, ambitious Prince was slain by the splinter of a lance in a tilt-yard at Paris ; seven years later Douglas died in the abbey of Lindores.

But though Albany had been swept from his path, though he showed unwonted energy in the administration of justice, the King had still to reckon with the ambition of Angus and others of the great nobles. Their plan was the familiar one—to rule the kingdom through a youthful king. Two circumstances helped the conspirators. In 1486 the saintly Queen Margaret died, and it became easy for them to debauch Prince James, a generous, spirited, impulsive youth, and poison his mind against his father. About the same time the King attempted to unite the priory of Coldingham to the new Chapel Royal at Stirling. The powerful family of Hume claimed Coldingham as its own property ; the King declared that any one who objected to his scheme was guilty of treason.

It was a sufficient pretext for a rebellion. In the early days of 1488 the Prince was secured by the conspirators, who proclaimed him Governor-elect and led him through the south of Scotland. James made his way to Aberdeen and rallied the northern earls. Sweeping south, he came upon the rebels at Blackness, on the southern shores of the Forth, where an indecisive battle was fought. Then, before the war had well begun, he sheathed his sword. Making a treaty with the rebels, he disbanded his army and went to Edinburgh Castle.

### THE BATTLE OF SAUCHIEBURN

No sooner was he within the castle walls than the rebels again raised their standard, so, mustering an army in haste, he passed to Stirling. On the 22nd of June he heard that his foes were advancing from the south, led by his son, with his own banner floating over their ranks, and he ordered his men to march to battle. But he was no warrior. His nobles, seeing him grow pale with fear before a blow had been

## THE REIGN OF JAMES III

struck, advised him to leave the field lest he should frighten his men. He took their advice, and found death while he was fleeing from it. As he was galloping in terror past the mill of Bannockburn his horse shied at a woman who was drawing water and he was flung heavily to the ground. The miller and his wife dragged him into the mill, where all day he lay in a swoon while his army was falling back sullenly before the rebels. At last he was heard to ask for a priest. The miller demanded his name. "I was your king this day at morn," he replied. At this the woman ran out and cried for a priest for the King. "Here am I, ane priest," cried one who was passing by. "Where is the King?" The woman took him to where the King lay. Kneeling beside him, the priest asked if he thought he would recover. The King said that he thought he might, but implored the stranger to give him the sacrament. "That sall I do hastily," said the priest, and, drawing a sword, he stabbed the King to the heart, and then dragged him out into the night. Some time afterward a sword was picked up near the battlefield. It was the sword which the craven King had borne to this second Bannockburn; it had been the sword of Bruce.

## CHAPTER XXI

### THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

THE insurgent lords had doubtless expected that the death of the King would leave Scotland helpless at their feet and that the familiar drama of the boy-king and the disinterested counsellors would once again be enacted. They were disappointed. After all, their triumph was due only to an accident ; the friends of the dead King were still powerful and the manner of his death caused a thrill of horror to run through the length of Scotland. The Prince himself was overwhelmed with remorse. At first he thought that his father might have escaped to one of his ships which was lying in the Forth, and a summons was sent to the captain, the famous Andrew Wood. "Are you my father ?" the youth cried eagerly, as the captain came in, but Sir Andrew answered, with tears in his eyes, that he was not, neither was the King in his ship. "But would to God he were there safely," he added ; "I should keep him scatheless contrar from all the treasonable traitors that has cruelly murdered him." Nothing could take the edge from the young King's remorse ; to the end of his life he wore an iron belt round his waist, and every year added a few ounces to its weight.

Thus it happened that though the Humes and their allies the Hepburns gained much—the Master of Hume, for example, became Great Chamberlain, Keeper of Stirling Castle, and Warden of the East Marches—their triumph was incomplete and their ascendancy was only temporary. They were forced to spare their opponents ; in the first Parliament of the new reign it was decreed that all merchants, burgesses, and men of low degree who had fought against the Prince were to be forgiven

## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

and to have their goods restored, while the heirs of those who had fallen in battle on either side were allowed to take possession of their estates without impediment. The loyalist nobles were treated with leniency ; those who had been royal officials lost their offices for three years, but otherwise they do not seem to have suffered. Even Lord Lindsay, “ane man of the auld world,” who denounced the assembled Parliament as “false lurdans<sup>1</sup> and traitors,” was not punished for his boldness.

### CHARACTER OF JAMES IV

The chief bar to the ambition of the victorious faction was the King himself. Unlike his father and grandfather, he was not a child when he ascended the throne, but a youth of fifteen endowed with all the Stewart precocity. From the moment that Sir Andrew Wood brought his fatal message he had lost confidence in his counsellors ; if he would not break with them neither would he let himself be clay in their hands. There was no spectacular struggle between the King and his nobles, no deed of violence, no trial for high treason, only a steady growth in the royal authority. It is true that two of the insurgent lords, Lyle and Lennox, discontented with the scanty results of their triumph, leagued themselves with Lord Forbes and other supporters of James III. But the peace of the country was never seriously threatened ; before the end of 1489 the rebels were defeated and their castles reduced, and from that time till the end of James's reign hardly a whisper of sedition was heard.

Why did James IV accomplish so easily the task that had strained all the powers of James I and James II, both of them men of remarkable gifts ? One reason is, of course, that he was profiting from the work of these two kings, work which the misrule of his father's reign had not altogether undone. He had no foe to contend with like the imperious Earls of Douglas. Angus might send letters to Henry VII and promise to put Hermitage Castle in his hands if war broke out ; a

<sup>1</sup> Rascals.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

royal order to surrender Eskdale to the Crown removed the danger from that quarter. But the chief reason is to be found in the character of the King, that strange, human, lovable mixture of strength and weakness. He had all the Stewart brilliance, all the Stewart charm, and something of the Stewart instability. James I could not have excelled him in his love of justice and order or in the rigour with which he punished offenders, but he had what James I—really a greater



A DANCE IN THE GALLERY

man—lacked, the power of winning the affection of those with whom he came in contact. If he knew how to strike hard he also knew when to forgive. Lyle and Lennox, for example, were not punished for their rebellion, and, as we shall see, he reduced the Highlands to order, not by clapping the chiefs in prison, but by putting them upon their honour. Unlike his father, he did not shrink from the company of his nobles, but welcomed them to his Court, where they sped the days with hunting and tournaments and the nights with dances, songs, and plays. Nor did he disdain to fight in the lists. His imagination had been fired with the dying glories of Arthurian romance ; sometimes he would appear as a “ knyght of King Arthur’s brocht up in the wodis,” sometimes as a black knight, the champion of an Ethiopian beauty, and at Stirling the curious can still see the Round Table in the middle of what

## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

was once the royal garden. The hard-riding, hard-fighting nobles had far more respect for a King who could master them in single combat than for the royal recluse with an incomprehensible devotion to music and architecture.

But James was far more than a fantastically minded swordsman. He was a lover of the arts, a patron of architecture, music, and poetry. According to de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, he could speak Latin, French, German, Flemish, Italian, Spanish, and Gaelic, and was a good historian. He delighted in ships and big guns, and was reputed to be a cunning surgeon. Once the English ambassador could not get an interview with him because he was making gunpowder ; at another time he visited Edinburgh Castle daily to superintend the making of his cannon.

His curiosity and love of novelty were insatiable. Dunbar complained that astrologers and necromancers were more highly honoured by him than poets, and celebrated an exploit of one of these adventurers, an exploit which is also recorded in the sober pages of Bishop Leslie. This scamp, whom the over-generous King had made Abbot of Tungland, boasted that he could fly from the walls of Stirling Castle. The King took him at his word, and, equipped with two wings, he leaped from the ramparts, only to crash to the ground. He escaped with nothing worse than a broken leg, and protested to the jeering multitude that the fault was not his, but was due to the fact that into the wings had been fitted some hen's feathers, "quhilk yarnit and covit<sup>1</sup> the mydding<sup>2</sup> and not the skyis." Another experiment was equally curious : two young children were put in charge of a dumb woman and left on the island of Inchkeith, with the purpose of finding out what language they would speak. "Sum sayis they spak goode hebrew," concludes Pitscottie, "bot as to myself I know not."

The King was as tireless in his care for his people. Whenever it was possible he would attend justice aires in person, he visited the wildest and most remote parts of his kingdom, and

<sup>1</sup> Yearned for and coveted.

<sup>2</sup> Midden.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

that he might get an unbiased estimate of his work he disguised himself and asked those whom he encountered what they thought of the King. For all his pride—and de Ayala said that “he esteemed himself so much as though he were lord of the world”—no man knew less of selfishness or fear. On the battlefield no one could convince him that it was not his duty to be “first in danger,” while the cottar whose crops the King’s deer had eaten or the widow whose land had been spoiled by quarrying found that the King was as eager to grant them compensation as if they had been persons of high degree.

But one must not be blind to the strain of weakness in the King’s character. His activity and energy amounted almost to instability. One day he would be trifling with his mistress in Darnaway, the next galloping wildly to the shrine of St Duthac. Sometimes he would disappear from the Court, don the habit of a friar, and give himself up to agonies of remorse; but the mood passed as quickly as it had come, and to the end of his life he could keep no rein over his passions. His generosity often became prodigality, and his pride, carefully nourished by the blandishments of foreign ambassadors, led him to over-estimate his importance in the affairs of Europe. For all his bravery, all his energy, all his genius, he remained to the end of his days an adventurous, chivalrous youth, no match for the astute Julius II or Henry VIII.

### THE HIGHLANDS

Save for his experiments in *la haute politique*, his reign was an unbroken success. Only in the remoter parts of his kingdom was his authority questioned, and there his courage and tact all but solved an almost insoluble problem. The forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles in the preceding reign had not restored the Highlands to order; even if John had been willing, he would have been unable to keep his headstrong vassals in hand. At the very beginning of James’s reign Alexander of Lochalsh, a nephew of John of the Isles, made an attempt to win back Ross; he captured the castle of

## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

Inverness and sacked the town, but when he entered Ross he was driven back into the west by the Mackenzies. With Lyle and Lennox in rebellion the King could do nothing ; but he did not forget. In the summer of 1493 all the territories of the Lord of the Isles were forfeited to the Crown, and in the early autumn the King was in the Western Islands, receiving the submission of the vassal chieftains. He preferred conciliation to coercion. Some of the chiefs were given charters for the lands which they had held before ; others were knighted.

In the following summer James returned to the Isles and repaired and garrisoned the castles of Tarbert and Dunaverty. Hardly had his ships turned about than John of Isla, one of the new-made knights, burst into Dunaverty and hanged the governor from the walls. He was captured and executed, and before the end of the year the Lord of the Isles surrendered to the King, to end his days in a monastery. But James saw that his work was still incomplete. In 1495, and again in 1498 and 1499, he visited the Isles at the head of a powerful fleet. In 1500 the Earl of Argyll was made Lieutenant-General of the Isles, and some of the more contumacious clans were evicted from their territories.

For a few years there was peace, but in 1503 the storm burst. John of the Isles had died in 1498, leaving a grandson, Donald Dubh, who was held by the King to be illegitimate. Some of the Highlanders who had been driven from their hereditary domains crossed to the Earl's castle of Inchconnell in Loch Awe, rescued Donald, and put him under the protection of Torquil McLeod, the lord of Lewis. Before the end of the year the Islesmen had crossed to the mainland and laid Badenoch waste. The Parliament which met in March 1504 bent its energies to dealing with the problem. The insurgent chiefs were declared guilty of treason, and the Earl of Huntly was ordered to besiege their castles. The disorder in the Highlands was attributed to the lack of means for enforcing the law ; there was only one sheriff for the Hebrides and the whole of Scotland north of the Spey, " and ther throu," it

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was declared, “the pepill ar almaist gane wild.” Four sheriffs were therefore appointed for Caithness, Ross, the North Isles, and the South Isles. In the following year the King himself led an expedition into the west. Most of the rebels surrendered ; Stornaway Castle, the stronghold of Torquil McLeod, fell to Huntly, and Donald Dubh fled to Ireland. For the time the Isles were at peace. But the King’s policy of setting a Highlander to rule a Highlander, though apparently successful at first, only perpetuated the disorder that it was designed to suppress. The disease was far more deeply seated than James supposed ; new sheriffs and new castles could not mend it. Yet he had done more to bridle the Highlands than any king since the days of Bruce.

### THE THISTLE AND THE ROSE

It seemed, too, that the ancient enmity between England and Scotland would soon be forgotten. It is true that in 1496 James led a force across the Border to strike a blow for Perkin Warbeck, who professed to be the Duke of York, younger brother of Edward V. The inhabitants of the northern counties refused to rise on behalf of one whose coming had meant the burning of their homesteads and the lifting of their cattle, and James returned to Scotland “with a fatt pray.” But Ferdinand of Spain had no desire to see Scotland help his rival France by harassing England. His ambassador, Pedro de Ayala, was on the friendliest terms with King James, and in the following year he succeeded in persuading the King to dismiss Warbeck and to make a truce with England for seven years.

In 1499 the truce was extended, but Henry VII was already cherishing a design which would ensure the permanency of the peace and convert Scotland into an ally, and three years later the design came to fruition. By one treaty there was to be a perpetual peace between the two countries ; by another James was to marry Margaret Tudor, Henry’s eldest daughter, then a girl of barely thirteen years. Late in the summer of 1503 the Princess arrived in Scotland, and was married to

PLATE XXXVII. JAMES IV AND HIS QUEEN, MARGARET TUDOR





## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

James in the abbey church of Holyrood. The long years of hatred seemed to have passed like a dream. Never had such festivities been seen in Scotland. "What sall I say," Bishop Leslie asks quaintly, " how the King here recivvet the nobility of England, how ornately, honourably, Royally, sumptuously ? What of spectacles, games, and plays there to be seen ? What of horses runing ? upon horses jousting ? " Dunbar celebrated the union of " the Thistle and the Rose " in the most beautiful of his allegories, and his song " Now fair, fairest of every fair," floated from the minstrels' gallery above the crowd of revellers in the new palace of Holyrood. From Edinburgh the King led his bride through the chief towns in his realm ; everywhere there were banquets and pageants, while the day was sped with hunting and hawking and the night with songs and dances, till a whole year had passed.

### CONDITION OF THE LANDED GENTRY

The golden years of Alexander III seemed to have returned. "There is as great a difference between the Scotland of old time and the Scotland of to-day," said de Ayala, "as there is between good and bad." The very appearance of the country showed this. The nobleman was no longer content with his square keep, where he and his servants were crowded together in one or two rooms ; he built wings to it or made it only one side of a quadrangle of noble buildings designed for comfort rather than defence. He thought of more than utility ; he saw that the builder adorned the great fireplaces and the cupboards with carvings almost as fine as those in the parish church, and if his floors were still carpeted with straw, he had at least glass in his windows and tapestry on his walls. Splendid as some of these castles were, they were excelled by the royal palaces to which James IV and his father gave so much care, stately and beautiful buildings enriched with sculptured shields and effigies and graceful oriel windows. Never before had such buildings been raised in Scotland ; and the builders soon lost the secret of their peculiar excellence. The churches of the period, more like fortresses than churches

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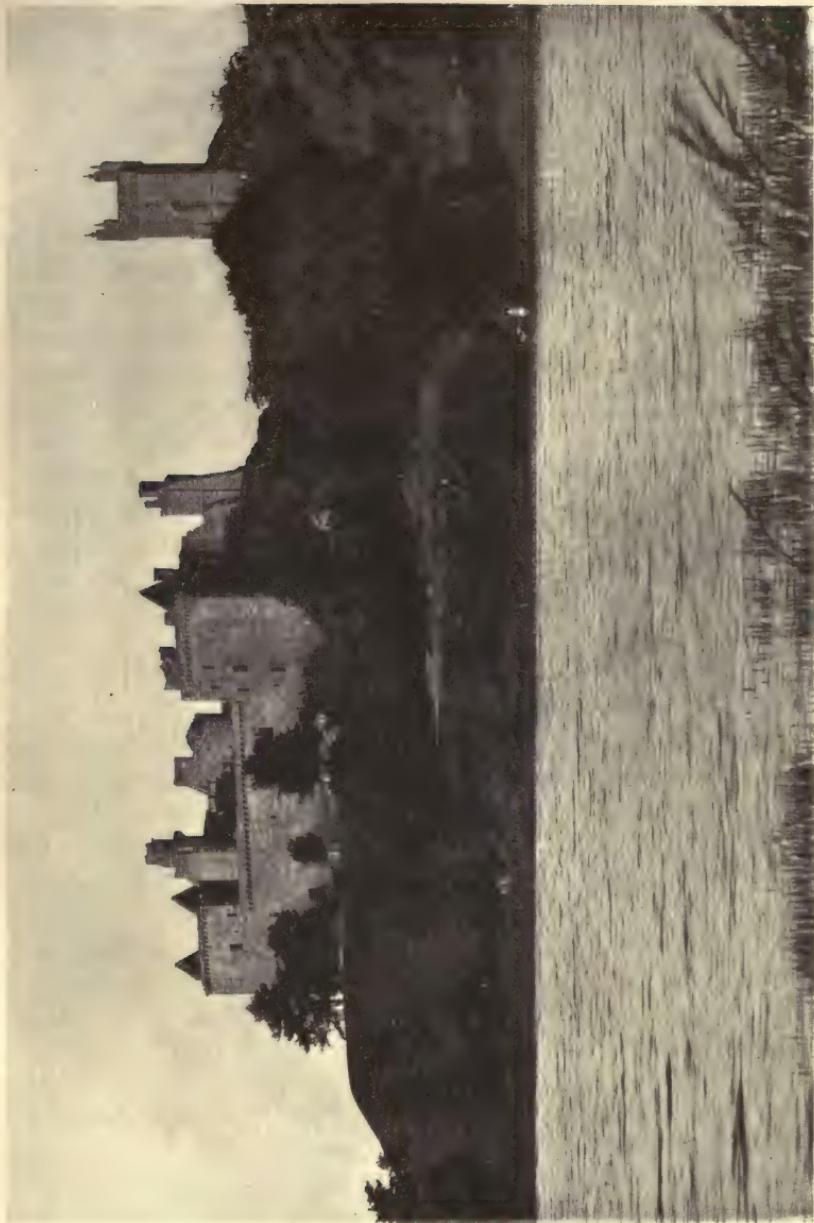
with their ponderous buttresses and battlemented towers, could not compare in grace or magnificence with the great palaces at Linlithgow and Stirling or the pleasant hunting-seat of Falkland.

While the country was for the most part bare and treeless—it was not till Scott's own day that it became a “land of brown heath and shaggy wood,” and Scott himself had much to do with the change—an exception must be made in favour of the land round the castles. The country house of the lord or laird was now surrounded by orchards and deer-parks, enclosed by hedges—fences were prohibited. He was also supposed to have fish-ponds, dove-cotes, and rabbit-warrens, and, if the neighbourhood of the castle was treeless, he had to plant at least an acre with trees. To encourage the lord of the castle, a fine of ten pounds was exacted from those who stole his pike, shot his deer, or plundered his orchards. “And gif ony childer within age,” the statute continues, “committis ony of ther thingis forsaid becaus thai may not be punyst for nonage, thar faderis or maisteris sal pay for ilkane of thame ilk tyme committing ony of the said trespass forsaid xiij s. iiiij d. Or ellis deliver the said child to the Juge to be leschit, scurgit, and dungin according to his falt.” The dearth of wood was a grievous problem; the great ship which the King built a few years later wasted all the woods of Fife. The old penalty for breaking down or burning wood was therefore increased to five pounds.

### THE TENANTRY

If the noble or laird was living in greater comfort the lot of his poorer neighbour was also improving. His greatest grievances had been the insecurity of his tenure of his plot of land and the heavy burdens of service and payment which he had to bear. Land was usually leased for terms of three or five years, and if the owner sold his estate the tenant was often turned adrift. Besides the payment which he made when his lease was renewed, there were the vexatious and irregular feudal casualties, while in the south-west he had to

PLATE XXVIII. LINLITHGOW PALACE AND THE CHURCH OF ST MICHAEL.





## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

pay the ancient Celtic dues, obsolete elsewhere. As far back as 1450 it had been ordained, "for the sauftie and favour of the pur pepil that labouris the grunde," that if the estate changed hands they were not to be removed till their leases had expired, and here and there in the next few years the tenure of feu-farm was introduced. In 1504 the King declared his intention of setting his demesnes in feu-farm, and empowered his nobles to follow his example. Before the end of his reign the new form of tenure had become almost universal in the Lowlands, save in the case of the largest estates. Land was still granted for terms of three or five years, and the tenant paid a larger sum when he took over the ground and a fixed annual rent. But both landowner and tenant were satisfied : the landowner gained an immediate increase of revenue ; the tenant, once he had paid his rent, had no more feudal dues to pay or services to render ; he had gained security of tenure, and however much the value of the land might increase the rent would remain fixed.

### AGRICULTURE

There was abundance of cattle and sheep in the country, but agriculture was neglected, and, as numerous statutes show, corn had to be imported from Continental ports. So urgent was the need that an exception was made to the universal policy of protection, and the exaction of dues from foreign merchants bringing food into the country was strictly forbidden. Nor is the scarcity of corn to be wondered at, for de Ayala tells us that the land was ploughed only once, and that when it was covered with grass as high as a man. After the seed had been sown and the ground harrowed nothing was done till autumn, and then only the ears were cut, while the straw was left to rot in the fields. The inventory of the Grange of Darnaway, rented by the Vicar of Inverness, adds something to the little we know about a sixteenth-century farm. In March 1506 there were in the yard eleven stacks of oats, five stacks of barley, and two and a half stacks of wheat. Fifty oxen supplied teams for the five ploughs ; there were

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sixty-three other cattle, including one “bowyll,”<sup>1</sup> and more than three hundred sheep. The farm-servants included five ploughmen, a shepherd, and a smith.

### ROADS AND FERRIES

It is little wonder that the country gentleman of those days would rather ramble about his new plantations to watch the white walls of the new wing rising beside the grim ancestral keep than make the tedious journey to the Parliament at Edinburgh. The omission of any reference in the old statutes to the upkeep of roads is significant; roads in our modern sense did not exist. Coaches were unknown; even the Queen rode behind her husband when a royal progress was made. Should a country gentleman, greatly daring, undertake the journey to the capital his horse would suffer much by the rough tracks over which it had to travel, and more at the hands of unskilled and bibulous smiths. In a statute of 1478 it was enacted that as “ignorant smithis throw ignorance and drunkynness spillis<sup>2</sup> and crukis<sup>3</sup> mennis hors throw schoyn in the quyk . . . quhen ever a smyth schoys a mannis hors in the quyk that smyth sall mak and paye the cost of the horss quhill he be hale, and in the mean time find the man a hors to ryde on and to his labour quhill the said hors be haile. And gif the hors crukis throw the schoying and will not heile the smyth sall hold the hors him self and pay the price of the horse to the man that aw<sup>4</sup> him.” Fresh dangers awaited the traveller at the ferries. Though by a law passed in 1474 the ferryman was entitled to demand only twopence for horse and rider at Queensferry or the ferry over the Tay, passengers were frequently overcharged, and though every ferryman was supposed to have a gangway from his boat to the shore that horses might be shipped more easily, the horses were often drowned for lack of it. We modern folk lament that the bard and the professional jester have forsaken the high-roads; to the mediaeval traveller they were an intolerable nuisance. They were classed with masterful beggars, and in 1450 the

<sup>1</sup> Bull.

<sup>2</sup> Spoil.

<sup>3</sup> Cripple.

<sup>4</sup> Owned.

## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

sheriff of each county was ordered to find out “ gif thar be ony that makis thaim fulis that ar nocht, bardis, or sic lik utheris rynnaris aboute,” to keep them in ward as long as their money lasted, and when it was exhausted to see that their ears were cut off and they themselves banished. “ And gif tharefter thai be fundyn again,” this ferocious statute concludes, “ at <sup>1</sup> thai be hangit.” Even this did not cure the evil, and James IV, to ensure that the old laws should be enforced, hit on the ingenious device of fining sheriffs, provosts, and bailies one mark for every able-bodied beggar found within their districts. But Parliament had no intention of putting down mendicancy altogether ; permission to beg was the only provision which Parliament made for “ crukit folk, blind folk, impotent folk, and waik folk,” and, in fact, in the reign of James III copper farthings were ordered to be struck “ for almouss deide to be done to pure folk.”

### THE TOWNS

A change had taken place in the appearance of the towns. The houses, of the wealthier merchants at least, were no longer wooden erections thatched with straw, but stately buildings of stone. Most of them were several stories high ; from every floor projected a gallery of wood, where the householder’s wife and daughters basked in the sun, or walked up and down when heavy rains had transformed the malodorous street into a filthy swamp. The space in front of the house under the lowest gallery was boarded up and divided into narrow compartments ; these were the shops of the time. The towns generally consisted of one broad street, from which branched numerous pends or closes, entered by low-browed archways, such as may still be seen in the High Street of Edinburgh. To-day they lead to grimy slums ; in the fifteenth century they led to retired houses set among quiet gardens, whence the town-dweller might see the team of oxen straining at the plough, or Robin the shepherd wooing Makyne “ amangis the holtis hare.<sup>2</sup> ”

<sup>1</sup> That.

<sup>2</sup> Hoar.

# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

## BURGH COUNCILS, GUILDS, AND CRAFTS

By the end of the fifteenth century the distinctions between class and class in the towns had become much more rigid. The council of the burgh was no longer elected by the whole of the burgesses. In 1469 Parliament had declared that the magistrates and council were to hold office for only a year. When the year expired the old council was to choose the new council, and the two bodies would then proceed to elect a provost, bailies, and a dean of guild. A few years later it was ordained that at least four of the old council must have places in the new council, while in the reign of James IV no one who was not a merchant trading in the burgh was allowed to become a magistrate. Thus both the neighbouring landowner and the poor tradesman were excluded. This system persisted almost unchanged till 1833.

But the tradesman was just as exclusive as the merchant. Each craft formed a close corporation, presided over by its deacon and governed by elaborate regulations. In theory the deacons of craft should have confined themselves to regulating the quality of the goods ; in practice they regulated prices, wages, and hours of labour as well. All the complaints that one hears of the modern trade unionist were made of the fifteenth-century craftsman. A statute of 1493 declared the "using of deacons" to be "right dangerous," and complained bitterly of "masons and uther men of craft that convenis to gyddir and makis reule of thair craft sic as masonis and wrichtis<sup>1</sup> and utheris that thay sall have thair feis<sup>2</sup> alsweill on the halydays as for wark dais or els thay sal not laubor nor wirk. And als<sup>3</sup> quhat personis of thame that wald begin ane uther mannis wirk and he at his plesour will lief the said werk and than nane of the said craft dar not compleit nor fulfill the samin werk." Not only did the craftsmen demand wages for the holy days on which they did no work ; they discovered holy days that did not exist in the Church calendar, and claimed the right of abstaining from work on the day before a festival

<sup>1</sup> Carpenters.

<sup>2</sup> Wages.

<sup>3</sup> Also.

## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

Such accusations were probably coloured to some extent by the prejudice of the burgesses who sat in Parliament, men drawn exclusively from the merchant class, jealous of the power which the crafts had gained and eager to appropriate it. In 1493 Parliament suspended all deacons of craft for a year and denounced the craftsmen who asked wages for holy days as common oppressors of the King's lieges. Three years later the right to fix prices was taken from the craftsmen and given to the provosts and bailies, who were ordered to draw up a scale of charges "for breid, aill, and all uther necessar thingis."

## CHAPTER XXII

### THE REIGN OF JAMES IV—*continued*

AT the end of the fifteenth century Edinburgh had reached a position of pre-eminence among the towns of Scotland. Up to the middle of the century the Parliament and the Session, or judicial committee of the Parliament, had sat wherever the king happened to be, as often as not at Stirling or Perth; now they invariably met in Edinburgh. In many ways Edinburgh looked its part of capital city, with its towering citadel, its broad central street, a full mile long, flanked with tall galleried houses, leading to the quiet suburb of the Canongate and the new palace of Holyrood, though Dunbar complained that much of the wonder it first inspired in the traveller disappeared on a closer acquaintance. The visitor was deafened by the “cries of carlines<sup>1</sup> and debates,” or by the town minstrels droning through their repertory of two tunes, “Now the day dawns” and “Into June”; his nose was assailed by the “stink of haddokis and of scaittis<sup>2</sup>”; every few yards he was surrounded by the “crukit, blind, and lame” clamouring for alms. If he loitered near the Cross, in the shadow of the pinnacled church of St Giles, expecting to see merchants selling silk and jewellery, he tripped over pails of milk; if he patronized the booths of “tailoris, soutteris,<sup>3</sup> and craftis evil,” which monopolized the principal streets, he was grossly overcharged.

#### THE PARLIAMENT

Edinburgh has been swept and garnished; most of the nuisances against which Dunbar testified so loudly have

<sup>1</sup> Old women.

<sup>2</sup> Skate.

<sup>3</sup> Shoemakers.

## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

disappeared, though with them has gone much that he would have lamented. A Scottish Parliament may sit in Edinburgh once more, but never again will the great hall of Edinburgh Castle be filled with the splendid array that met there in the days of King James. There were the bishops and abbots in their gorgeous vestments, earls in their robes of brown furred with white, lords in red robes trimmed with grey fur, and burgesses in cloaks of blue. It was a comparatively small assembly. In 1478, for example, it was composed of fourteen clerics, most of them bishops and abbots, seventeen earls and lords, two sheriffs, two lairds, and twenty burgesses ; in the following year the number rose to a hundred and four, but that was abnormal ; in 1492 ten clerics, twenty-four earls and lords, and nine burgesses attended. The lairds or smaller landowners, who formed so important an element in the English Parliament, rarely appeared : James I's scheme of county representation broke down almost from the beginning through their apathy. In 1458 it was ordained that no freeholder with less than £20 a year could be compelled to come to Parliament unless summoned by the King ; in 1504 the provisions of this Act were extended to barons and freeholders whose yearly revenue was less than a hundred marks. But the lairds were not excluded from Parliament ; they were simply allowed, probably at their own request, to absent themselves. When they did come back, half a century later, it was to make no little stir.

Altogether, in spite of the pomp with which it clothed itself, the Scottish Parliament had more dignity than real authority. It made excellent laws, but the frequency with which the same law was passed by Parliament or instructions given that a particular law was to be enforced shows that Acts of Parliament must have sat lightly upon the people of Scotland. It is significant, too, that no laws were more frequently re-enacted than those concerning the suppression of disorder in the realm.

Hitherto Parliament had been most active under a vigorous king, but now a disquieting symptom began to manifest itself. James IV seemed to be tinged with something of the Tudor absolutism. He went his own way in defiance of Parliament.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

The treaty of 1497 was made contrary to the wishes of all his subjects, and in the fateful years between the accession of Henry VIII and the battle of Flodden Parliament met only once.

### ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

But in the sixteenth century Scotland, like England, had to choose between despotism and anarchy, not between despotism and democracy. The strong rule of James meant that the King's writ ran and that courts of justice were held in the wildest and most remote parts of the mainland ; it meant, too, that the administration of justice was accelerated and cheapened. The same Parliament which set up sheriff courts in the Highlands ordained that a person despoiled could summon his despoiler to appear within fifteen days, not twenty-one days as before, while the sheriffs, who had often " haldin thair proces at sa grait soumes that the party mycht nocht pay therefor," were forced to reduce their exorbitant fees. The King frequently presided in person over the justice aires, while the Parliament deputed its judicial functions to a committee of ten presided over by the Chancellor, which sat at Edinburgh thrice a year for periods of forty days.

### EDUCATION

It was not only in the administration of justice that Scotland seemed to be advancing ; never before had art and learning flourished as they flourished now. The founding of the University of Aberdeen in 1495 added a third university to Scotland. In the following year all barons and freeholders of substance were ordered to send their eldest sons " to the sculis, fra thai be aucht or nyne yeiris of age and till remane at the grammer sculis quhill thai be competentlie foundit and have perfite latyne." Thence the scholars were to proceed to the university for three years to study law, that they might become competent sheriffs or judges. In 1505 the College of Surgeons at Edinburgh was founded, and two years later Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar set up the first Scottish printing-press.

## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

In spite of all this intellectual activity, in spite of the glorious achievements of her poets, Scotland was hardly affected at all by the Renaissance. The universities continued to devote themselves to the study of civil and canon law and scholastic philosophy. When we say that the first principal of Aberdeen University was a friend, and Alexander Stewart, the young Archbishop of St Andrews, a pupil of Erasmus we have made a complete statement of the relations between Scotland and the great scholars of the Renaissance. Dunbar, the greatest poet of his time, after Burns the greatest poet that Scotland has produced, speaks with the voice of Chaucer or Villon, not with the voice of Ronsard.

### SCOTTISH POETS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

But it would be as absurd to question the merits of the Scottish poets on this account as to refuse to see beauty in a mediaeval cathedral. And the great achievements of the Scottish poets cannot be denied ; achievements all the more remarkable when one remembers that with the death of Chaucer poetry seemed to have died in England and that years were to pass before Wyatt and Surrey broke the long silence. One or two figures still stand out clearly among the crowd of shadowy makars, whose only memorial now is a bare mention in Dunbar's muster-roll of dead poets. There is Blind Harry, the author of a long, highly coloured, and not over-veracious life of Wallace, and Gawain Douglas, who translated the whole of the *Aeneid* into Scottish verse and prefixed a prologue to each of the books. These prologues, with their detailed and minute pictures of nature, their delight in the feel of words and the feel of things, reveal one of the most characteristic elements in Scottish poetry.

### HENRYSON

One must stay a little longer to pay homage to the placid shade of Robert Henryson. He does not scale the heights or plumb the depths to which Dunbar attains, he does not achieve the master's manifold excellence, but one cannot read

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

his poetry without yielding to the charm of his tranquil cheerfulness, sometimes lightened by gentle flashes of humour, sometimes touched by a wistful sadness. It was he who retold with admirable spirit thirteen of the fables of Aesop, and in the telling transformed them into pictures of Scottish life. The town mouse becomes a guild brother and "ane fre burgess"; the fox and the wolf waylay the cadger, long a familiar figure on Scottish high-roads, with his pony and his creels; the wolf in another fable reminds him of the "sheriff stout," and the raven of a "fals crownar." Only in the morals appended to each fable, which are usually more ingenious than apposite, do his charm and humour forsake him. He is also the author of the charming little comedy of *Robene and Makyne*, the earliest pastoral poem in the language. His *Orpheus and Eurydice* is a graceful and picturesque poem, but only in his terrible *Testament of Cresseid* does he strike a truly tragic note. It is a sequel to Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*, written with an energy and vigour which the reader of that somewhat prolix poem wishes at times that Chaucer would display. Cressida had played her lover false; the high gods pronounced her doom:

"Thy greit fairnes and all thy bewtie gay,  
Thy wantoun blude, and eik thy goldin Hair,  
Heir I exclude fra the for evermair.

Quhair thow cummis, ilk man sall fle the place :  
Thus sall thow go beggyng fra hous to hous,  
With cop<sup>1</sup> and clapper lyke ane Lazarous.<sup>2</sup>"

So the fairest lady in all Troy became a leper, and sat in the loathesome throng that crouched at the city gate. One day when Troilus was returning from the field at the head of his knights, flushed with victory, he turned aside at the prayer of the leper-folk. Before him crouched Cressida, but he did not know her.

Than upon him scho kest up baith her ene  
And with ane blenk<sup>3</sup> it came into his thocht  
That he sumtime hir face befoir had sene;  
Bot scho was in sic plye<sup>4</sup> he knew hir nocht

<sup>1</sup> Cup.

<sup>2</sup> Leper.

<sup>3</sup> Flash.

<sup>4</sup> Plight.

## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

Yit than hir luik into his mynd it brocht  
The sweet visage and amorous blenking<sup>1</sup>  
Of fair Cresced, sumtyme his awne darling.

And because there was something in the loathly face of the leper that reminded him of his lost mistress he threw her a purse of gold and rode off, "pensive in heart."

Henryson wrote one or two meditative pieces besides, short poems that with all their moralizing preserve an old-world fragrance. One likes to think that the old schoolmaster who dreamt away his days in the shadow of the great abbey of Dunfermline is speaking of himself in these lines :

Within ane garth,<sup>2</sup> undir a reid roseir,<sup>3</sup>  
Ane awld man, and decripit, hard I sing :  
Gay wass the not, sweit was the voce and cleir :  
It was grit joy to heir of sic a thing.  
And as me thocht he said in his dyting,<sup>4</sup>  
For to be yung I wald not, for my wiss  
Of all this wORLD to mak me lord and king :  
The moir of aige the nerrer hevynis bliss.

### DUNBAR

Though Henryson has some things that Dunbar lacks, he cannot be placed beside that fierce, melancholy, many-sided genius. Henryson's instrument was one of few strings ; Dunbar showed himself a master of a new metrical form in almost every poem he wrote. Henryson was above all things the contemplative, kindly observer of a world from which he had never sought much ; Dunbar sought more from the world and found more, though he never found his heart's desire. When he left the quiet gardens and colleges of St Andrews in 1479 it was to put off the red gown of the student for the grey gown of the Franciscan friar. His manner of life at this time, according to his own confession, was hardly edifying :

In freiris weid<sup>5</sup> full fairly haif I fleichit,<sup>6</sup>  
In it haif I in pulpet gon and preichit,  
In Derntoun kirk and eik in Canterbury ;  
In it I past at Dover our the Ferry,  
Throw Piccardy, and thair the peple teichit.

<sup>1</sup> Glancing.

<sup>2</sup> Garden.

<sup>3</sup> Rose-bush.

<sup>4</sup> Speech.

<sup>5</sup> Clothes.

<sup>6</sup> Begged.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Als lang as I did beir the freiris style  
In me, God wait, wes mony wrink and wyle ;  
In me wes falset<sup>1</sup> with every wicht to flatter,  
Quhilk mycht be flemit<sup>2</sup> with na haly watter ;  
I wes ay reddy all men to begyle.

The grey robes did not sit easily upon him ; he drifted to Court, and in 1500 became Court poet, with a salary of £10 a year.<sup>3</sup> But he was a disappointed man. Like Burns, he knew that none of those with whom he mingled could equal his genius ; like Burns, he would not be content to let his genius be its own reward. Why should Genius be forced to remind the royal officials that the promised pension was overdue ? Why should Flattery and Imposture be rewarded with rich abbeys, while Genius cannot get “ane kirk scant coverit with heather” ?

Jok, that wes wont to keip the stirkis,<sup>4</sup>  
Can now draw him ane cleik<sup>5</sup> of kirkis,  
With ane fals cairt<sup>6</sup> into his sleif,  
Worth all my ballattis<sup>7</sup> undir the birkis<sup>8</sup> :  
Excess of thocht dois me mischief.

So the fundamental melancholy of the poet was increased by disappointed ambition, and so we miss the good-humour and contentment that are characteristic of Henryson’s verse. Save for one beautiful lyric, he wrote no love-poetry. But with these exceptions his verse is the reflection of every mood, from the most rapt devotion to the wildest revelry or the blackest despair.

His satires are almost a perfect reflection of the moving, many-coloured pageant of life at the Scottish Court, with all its brilliance and sombre shadows. The generous, self-indulgent King, the fair and wanton Queen, d’Aubigny, the greatest soldier in Europe, with minstrels and jesters, astrologers and grasping prelates, free-spoken ladies and partial judges, live once again in his pages. He is a master of the terrible and grotesque : his *Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins* is a piece of *diablerie* that has never been surpassed in the language.

<sup>1</sup> Falsehood.

<sup>2</sup> Exorcised.

<sup>3</sup> Increased in 1510 to £80.

<sup>4</sup> Cattle.

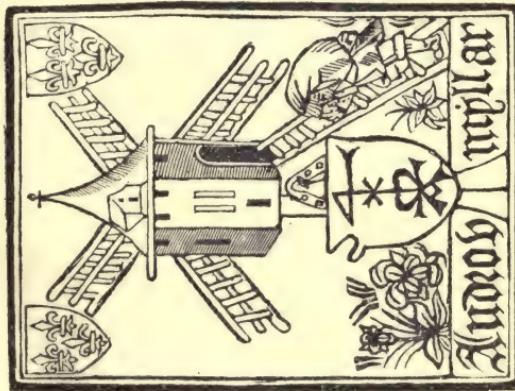
<sup>5</sup> Handful.

<sup>6</sup> Card.

<sup>7</sup> Ballads.

<sup>8</sup> Birches.

Here beginnys ane littil trette intitulit the golþyn  
targe compilit be Ædister William Dunbar.



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But it is his more personal poems that haunt the memory longest. In the Middle Ages pestilence and warfare made life short and uncertain—Dunbar lived to see the careless, merry Scotland that he had sung swept out of existence in a single day—and the poet, with his intense craving for life and beauty, protested more passionately than other man would have done against the swift and illogical end. In winter he sees a threat of what awaits him :

In to thir dirk and drublie <sup>1</sup> dayis,  
Quhone sabill all the heavin arrayis,  
With mystic vapouris, cluddis, and skyis,  
Nature all curage me denyis  
Off sangis, ballatis and of playis.

Syne Deid <sup>2</sup> castis up his yettis <sup>3</sup> wyd,  
Saying, " Thir oppin sall ye abyd :  
Albeid that thou were never sa stout,  
Undir this lyntall sall thou lowt <sup>4</sup> :  
Thair is nane uther way besyd."

This mood reaches its perfect expression in the famous *Lament for the Makaris*, with its burden like the clang of a passing bell :

I that in heill <sup>5</sup> wes and glaidnes  
Am trublit now with gret seiknes  
And feiblit with infirmitie :  
*Timor mortis conturbat me.*

Onto the ded gois all Estatis,  
Princis, Prelotis, and Potestatis,  
Baith riche and pur of all degré :  
*Timor mortis conturbat me.*

I see that makaris amang the laif <sup>6</sup>  
Playis heir ther pageant, syne gois to graif ;  
Sparit is nocht ther faculte :  
*Timor mortis conturbat me.*

Sen he has all my brether tane,  
He will naught lat me lif alone,  
On forse I man <sup>7</sup> his nyxt pray be :  
*Timor mortis conturbat me.*

This can stand beside Villon's immortal *Ballade des Dames du Temps jadis* and not suffer by the comparison.

<sup>1</sup> Gloomy.

<sup>2</sup> Death.

<sup>3</sup> Gates.

<sup>4</sup> Stoop.

<sup>5</sup> Health.

<sup>6</sup> Rest.

<sup>7</sup> Of necessity I must.

## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

### THE SCOTTISH NAVY

No stait in erd heir standis sickir<sup>1</sup> ;  
As with the wynd wavis the wickir,  
So wavis this warldis vanite,

sang Dunbar, with how much truth events were soon to prove. The King's star had reached its height. Not only had he made himself master in his own realm ; he had played no inconsiderable part in European politics. For the first and last time in history Scotland became a naval Power, and Wood and Barton were as dreaded then as Cochrane was afterward in the days of Napoleon. Once Sir Andrew Wood with two ships captured a squadron of five English vessels ; in another engagement, which lasted for the whole of "ane lang summer day," he overcame three English ships. The depredations of Dutch pirates were swiftly brought to an end by Andrew Barton, who swooped down on the coast of Holland, slew the pirates, and sent their heads in barrels to the King. The Portuguese fared in the same way. They had captured Scottish ships, and James demanded satisfaction. It was not given. The King thereupon issued letters to Andrew and John Barton, who straightway put out to sea and terrorized the Portuguese merchantmen. The King of Denmark, too, had received valuable help from the Scottish fleet on more than one occasion.

### SCOTLAND AND THE EUROPEAN CRISIS

The renown of James, therefore, had spread to lands where hitherto Scotland had been only a name, and the Great Powers of Europe, at that moment ranged in two hostile camps, began to bid for his support. Pope Julius II, who, having brought the French into Italy, was now anxious to drive them out, tried to win his favour with the gift of a diadem adorned with golden flowers and a sword with hilt and scabbard of gold set with precious stones. But the position of James, though glorious, was full of danger. The gift of Julius, nominally a

<sup>1</sup> Stands sure.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

reward for his orthodoxy, was really a bribe to detach him from the French alliance. On the other hand, he could not remain faithful to France and retain the friendship of England. The noble palaces that he had reared, his great ships and splendid park of artillery, had drained the royal treasury, and he was faced with bankruptcy. Scotland, in short, was an earthen pot swimming with the brazen vessels.

Even before the death of Henry VII there had been disputes between the two countries, but with the accession of Henry VIII it soon became apparent that, in James's own words, "in the warlde is nathing mair inconstant as constant peace between Inglysmen and Scottis." Henry persistently refused to deliver up Queen Margaret's jewels. In 1511 Andrew Barton's two ships were treacherously attacked and captured; Barton himself, sorely wounded, was taken to London as a prisoner. To the Scottish King's remonstrances Henry calmly answered that princes did not dispute about pirates. James saw that war must come sooner or later. That very year witnessed the launching of the *Great St Michael*, a war vessel far more powerful than any in the English navy, 240 feet long and 35 feet broad, with a hull 10 feet thick, and armed with over 300 large and small guns. Early in 1512 the Pope appealed to James to assist in preserving the peace of Europe. James retorted that the only disturber of the peace was England, and renewed the alliance with France. His policy has often been condemned because of its results. The knight-errant, with his simple ideas about honour, cuts a foolish figure beside Henry VIII or Louis XII; yet it is a question if his foolishness was not nobler than their wisdom. Nor, if we argue on the ground of profit and loss, have we any warrant for believing that his desertion of France would have secured the friendship of England. He had to choose between an alliance two centuries old and a friendship of yesterday. Why should he be called a fool because he lost his life and kept his honour?

Through the early part of 1513 events marched rapidly to the crowning disaster. Every day in January and February the King went to the castle of Edinburgh to watch Borthwick,

## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

the master-gunner, fashioning the great guns ; every day he went to the royal dockyard at Newhaven to see the ship-builders at work. The death of Julius II in February did not alter the European situation ; by the Treaty of Mechlin, passed a few weeks later, Pope Leo X banded England, the Empire, and Spain together against France. In May the French envoy arrived in Edinburgh, bringing with him not only papers from Louis XII, but a costly ring from his Queen, with a letter begging James, as her true knight, to advance three feet within English ground and strike a blow on her behalf. James and the bulk of his nobles declared for war ; a few, however, thought that it would be safer to keep out of the conflict.

Strange stories are told about what passed in Scotland after James had taken his resolution. While he was praying in the church at Linlithgow with all his nobles beside him, says Pitscottie, a man clad in a long blue robe girt about with a linen cloth, with a staff in his hand, appeared among the worshippers and made his way to the desk where the King knelt. Bending over him, he said : "Sir King, my mother has sent me to thee, desiring thee nocht to pass at this time where thou art purposit." Then before the King could recover from his surprise the stranger " vanished away as he had been ane blink of the sun or ane quihipe of the whirl wind and could no more be seen."<sup>1</sup>

### PORTEANTS OF DISASTER

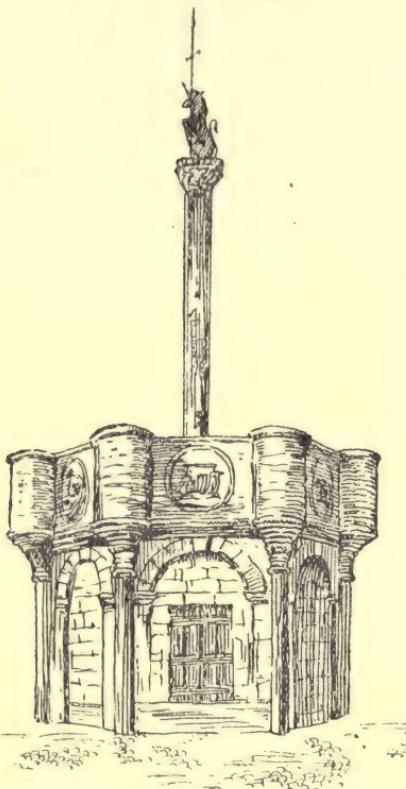
The black chapter of disasters opened on the 6th of June with the rout of the French army in Italy at Navara. At the end of the month Henry crossed to France and besieged Terouenne. James thought that his opportunity had come. His fleet was collected and ordered to sail to the help of the King of France. Unfortunately the admiral was not one of the tried Scottish captains, but the Earl of Arran, who sailed to the west coast, plundered a few villages in Ireland, and then

<sup>1</sup> This apparition of St John was probably arranged by some of the pro-English party to play on the superstitious feelings of the King and deter him from war.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

returned to the harbour of Ayr. There the splendid fleet, on which James had lavished so much care and money, lay useless till the end of the war. Disaster followed disaster. On the 16th of August the French army which had been dispatched to raise the siege of Terouenne was defeated ignominiously in the Battle of the Spurs.

A few days before this, however, James had summoned the armed forces of his kingdom to meet on the Boroughmuir, near Edinburgh. From all parts of Scotland they came, and soon there was gathered the finest army that a Scottish king had ever commanded, far larger and better equipped than the few thousand spearmen who followed Bruce to Bannockburn. But the air was heavy with presage of disaster, and strange tales went from mouth to mouth of mysterious lights in the heavens or of unearthly voices sounding in the streets. "In the meantime," says Pitscottie, "there was a cry heard at the



THE MARKET CROSS, EDINBURGH

Market Cross of Edinburgh at the hour of midnight." It so chanced that a citizen who was walking in the gallery in front of his house heard what seemed to be a company of ghostly heralds reading a proclamation. It was the summons of Pluto; innumerable names were read out of those who had to appear before him within forty days, names of earls and lords as well as of humble burgesses. The listener thrilled with horror, for he heard his own name, but, casting a coin over the balcony,

## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

he cried : " I appeal from the summons, judgment, and sentence, and take me all haill to the mercy of God." Within forty days Flodden had been fought ; of all those whose names had been called only he survived.

### FLODDEN

On the 22nd of August the Scottish army crossed the Tweed ; within a week the walls of the great castles of Wark, Etal, and Norham had crashed to the ground before James's splendid artillery. Another week was spent before Ford Castle, where, according to ancient scandal, James was beguiled by the charms of the châtelaine. Meantime the Earl of Surrey had mustered a great army from the northern counties, and, advancing to Wooler, challenged the King of Scots to meet him on the 9th of September near Flodden Hill. James, who seems to have learned his strategy from the *Morte Darthur*, accepted the challenge, and by so doing allowed his enemy to decide his plan of campaign. On the morning of the 9th of September Surrey crossed to the eastern side of the Till, thus putting the river between him and the Scots ; then he marched north, as if he meant to strike at Berwick ; but, wheeling round, he crossed the Till at Twizel Bridge, about five miles to the north of the Scottish camp on Flodden Hill. By this daring movement the English commander placed himself between the Scots and Scotland. His strategy has been praised by generation after generation of historians, who forget that if James had been well served by his scouts the English army could have been cut to pieces as it was crossing the Till, that defeat in the new position would have meant utter destruction to the English, and that, as events proved, Surrey was not able to cut off the Scottish retreat.

Between four and five in the afternoon the Scots from their station on the hillside saw long glittering lines of armed men moving slowly across the marshes and taking up their position in the valley beneath. The vanguard of the English army had appeared. At once the Scots moved to a ridge farther down the hill, only a quarter of a mile from the valley. They were

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formed into five divisions, some of them arranged in squares, others in wedges, about a bow-shot from each other. On the extreme left were the Borderers, under Huntly and Hume ; on the extreme right the Highlanders, under Argyll and Lennox, fretted at the delay ; while the flower of the army was ranged round the King's lion standard in the centre. On an eminence in the rear were ranged the batteries of sakers, culverins, and serpentines.

Now the English vanguard halted for a little, till the main body came up ; then the whole force advanced slowly against the Scots. Lord Thomas Howard was in command of the vanguard, now the right wing of the English army ; the Earl of Surrey, his father, led the main body ; the left was guarded by Sir Edward Stanley ; and a strong body of cavalry under Lord Dacre acted as a reserve. While the round shot from their cannon sang over their heads the Scots descended the hill silently, in perfect order. But their guns had been placed too high and failed to cover their advance, while the volleys from the English batteries ploughed through their ranks. The Scottish left wing and the English right seem to have been the first to meet ; the English lines, unable to withstand the impetuous rush of the Borderers, bent and broke. But the Borderers flung away the advantage they had gained ; instead of pressing home their attack they scattered in search of plunder and gave the English time to rally.

Meantime the fight was raging in the centre with a silent, awful frenzy. The King had placed himself in the forefront of the battle and had led his division far into the ranks of the enemy. On the right it did not fare so well with the Scots ; the Highlanders, galled by the English arrows, lost patience, charged the unbroken ranks of Stanley's pikemen, and were driven back shattered and demoralized. It was the crisis of the battle. Stanley's division advanced, swept the Highlanders from the field, crashed into the Scottish division which had been placed between the centre and the right wing and drove it back upon the centre. On the Scottish left the same thing happened. Lord Dacre led his cavalry to the rescue of the

## THE REIGN OF JAMES IV

English right wing, scattered the Borderers, and forced back the division of Crawford and Montrose upon the centre. Dacre now hurled his cavalry at the rear of the Scottish centre, Stanley attacked it in flank, while Surrey urged his despairing soldiers to make one last effort. The Scottish spearmen were beset on all sides ; the guns no longer played on them and the rain had wet the English bow-strings, but the hooked bills shattered their spears and made great gaps in their ranks. Still the Scots fought with the same silent fury ; though the circle round the King grew smaller every moment, none thought of surrender, none thought of flight. Night came down and found the circle still unbroken. Finally, under cover of darkness the Scots withdrew from the field, unmolested by Surrey's wearied troops.

The Scots had kept little more than their honour. Somewhere in the darkness their King lay dead, and with him were more than a score of earls and lords and ten thousand men of humbler degree. It seemed that the nation had suffered a mortal wound. From every town, from every hamlet in Scotland the wail of sorrowing women arose to heaven.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### THE POOR MAN'S KING

AT first it seemed as if Flodden were to be only the prelude to a series of blacker disasters that would overwhelm the country altogether. The clans swept down into the Lowland valleys, the English Borderers plundered at will beyond the Tweed and the Solway, and the burgesses of Edinburgh, fearing an immediate attack on their city, laboured with more haste than skill at the great stone rampart, fragments of which still attract the gaze of the curious. But the expected invasion did not come ; Surrey's troops had been so severely handled that advance was impossible.

Invasion was not the only danger, however. The noble and generous prince, popular as no king had been since Bruce, was slain, and a child of seventeen months reigned in his place. How great the King's power had been was evident after his death. The old miserable strife of noble against noble, even of bishop against bishop, began at once, and continued for fifteen years. Each noble tried to consolidate his power by letting his followers do as they pleased, till the complaint was made that the inhabitants of southern Scotland suffered more from their fellow countrymen than they had done at the hands of the English.

As had so often happened before, the chief troubler of the peace was one of the house of Douglas, in this case Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, a grandson of that Earl who had been one of the chief movers in the various conspiracies against James III. He had his full share of the ambition, the unscrupulous sagacity and strength which had become the chief characteristic of his house, he was the leader of that

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party, now rapidly increasing, which wished to abandon the traditional hostility to England, and his vast power in Scotland was increased by his marriage, barely a year after the battle of Flodden, to Queen Margaret. His chief rival was the Earl of Arran, a descendant of James II, the head of the powerful family of Hamilton. But Arran could not be trusted to remain any man's friend or enemy for more than a month at a time.

### A RULER OF SCOTLAND WHO KNEW NO SCOTS

If only Scotland could have found an able and disinterested ruler, strong enough to keep the warring factions in check till the King had attained to manhood, it would have been spared much misery. The Queen had become Regent after her husband's death, but as her second marriage bound her to the party of Angus, she was deprived of her office. But when, in answer to repeated appeals, the Duke of Albany landed at Ayr in the spring of 1515, it seemed that the much-desired ruler had been found. It was a curious choice. Jehan, Duke of Albany and Admiral of France, was a son of that Duke of Albany who had been banished in the reign of James III. High-tempered, ambitious, prodigal, he is the one brilliant figure in this sombre period. He sought to surround himself with something of kingly circumstance ; a troupe of actors diverted him, and six Italian trumpeters figured in his retinue —the King had none. Liberal allowances of claret and Gascon wine were made to him ; when he had supper at the house of a burgess in Edinburgh he took his own wine with him and made the Exchequer pay the cost. Falcons and merlins were sent to him from Orkney and Shetland, for he delighted in hunting and hawking. While the monthly cost of the King's household was only £127, Albany required £700, and this did not include the cost of wines, food for his horses, and the wages of his numerous servants. He had distinguished himself as a soldier, and his stay in Scotland was to prove that he possessed no small measure of courage and activity, but he knew nothing of the country he had come to govern, not even

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

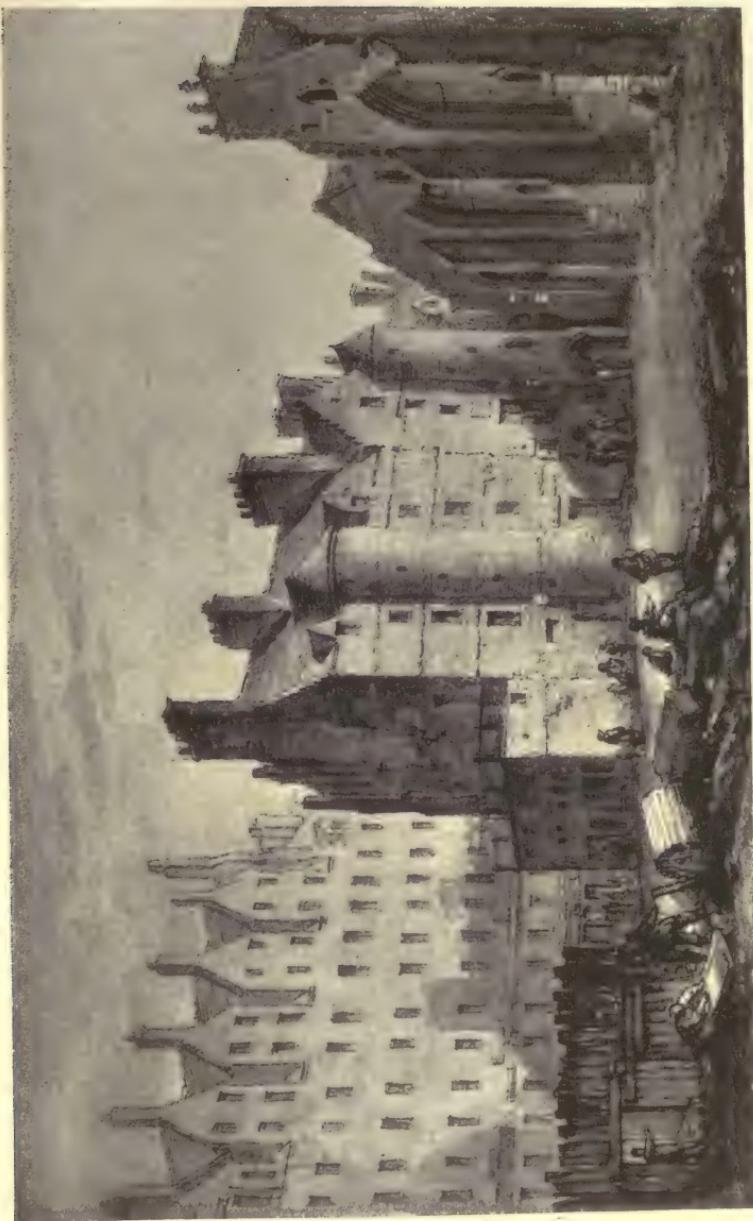
its language. When words failed him he threw his hat on the fire. French by birth and education and half French even by descent, he could not avoid caring more for France than for Scotland, or free himself from the suspicion that he was ruling Scotland in the interests of France.

### ALBANY AND THE HUMES

A careless jest, spoken soon after the Duke's arrival, provoked the hostility of Lord Hume, the Chamberlain, and so lost him one of his most powerful supporters. Queen Margaret was in Stirling Castle with her children, and the rumour spread that she intended to send her young son to the English Court. Albany acted with promptitude ; on a stormy night he appeared before the gates of Stirling and demanded the surrender of the young King. Margaret had to give way, and fled to England with her husband. Thence Albany proceeded to the Borders. Hume Castle surrendered to him, and Lord Hume was soon on his way to Edinburgh under the care of the versatile Arran. But Hume spent only a few days in Edinburgh Castle ; before the middle of October prisoner and guardian had fled together, and had joined Angus in signing a bond against Albany. The Duke at once marched against Hamilton Castle, but at the prayer of the aged Countess of Arran he pardoned her son. In spite of this, only a few weeks later Arran was holding the castle of Glasgow against Albany. A sudden march was followed by a sudden surrender, and in the spring of 1516 Angus and Hume followed the example of Arran and became reconciled to the Duke.

This was the first act in one of those sordid tragedies which were only too common in mediaeval Scotland. In September a Parliament met in the palace of Holyrood. Hither, among the other lords, came Lord Hume. His brother William was in the city, but had refused to enter the gates of the palace. At the Governor's request, Lord Hume sent his signet ring to his brother, who straightway hastened to the palace. No sooner had the doors clanged behind him than Albany's French guards rushed to their weapons and seized the two

PLATE XXXIX. THE OLD TOLBOOTH OF EDINBURGH





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Humes. They were tried, found guilty of treason, and beheaded.

The heads of the Humes were stuck over the Tolbooth in Edinburgh. Albany could flatter himself that he had cowed the turbulent nobility and could prepare for a prolonged visit to France. But only the second act of the tragedy had been played.

In June 1517 Albany sailed for France, leaving Scotland governed by a Council of Regency, to which both Angus and Arran belonged. A few months before his departure he had made Antoine de la Bastie, one of his French followers, captain of Dunbar Castle and Warden of the East Marches. On de la Bastie fell the vengeance of the house of Hume. In September 1517 news was brought to him that Langton Castle was besieged by rebels. At the head of a handful of horsemen he rode out to the rescue, to discover, when it was too late, that he had been trapped and that he was surrounded by the Humes. For a time it seemed that the speed of his horse would save him, but he lost his way and stuck fast in a bog. There he was slain by David Hume of Wedderburn, who cut off his head and carried it at his saddle-bow to the market-place of Duns, where he fastened it to a stake.

### 'CLEANSE THE CAUSEWAY'

This frightful deed put an end to the friendship between Arran and Angus. Arran was appointed Warden in place of de la Bastie, and when in February 1518 Parliament declared the estates of the Humes forfeited Arran was commissioned to carry out the sentence. Angus was furious at being passed over, and soon the nobles and prelates of Scotland were ranged under the banners of Arran or Angus. Angus made himself master of Edinburgh; the young King was brought to the castle, and a Douglas presided over the burgh council. Thither at the end of April 1520 came Arran and the Archbishop of Glasgow at the head of a great body of armed men. The gates of the city were barred behind them. Angus saw that a battle was imminent, and dispatched Bishop Douglas, who

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had long since bidden farewell to poetry, to act as mediator. He came upon the Archbishop of Glasgow in the Church of the Blackfriars, and implored him to use his influence on the side of peace. "My lord, by my conscience I know not the matter," answered the Archbishop, laying his hand on his breast. Bishop Gawain noted the tell-tale rattle of armour. "I perceive, my lord, your conscience be not good," he retorted, "for I hear them clatter." The combat could not be averted. Earls and militant bishops clashed together on the High Street under the shadow of St Giles'; more than seventy persons were slain, while Arran and the Archbishop had to fly for their lives through the reedy solitudes that bordered the Nor' Loch. Angus was now supreme, and those who loved their country turned their eyes to France and prayed for the return of Albany.

We yarne<sup>1</sup> thy presens, bot oft thou hes refusit  
Till<sup>2</sup> cum ws till, or yit till mak ws neir,  
Quhilik is the causs of thift, slauchter, and weir<sup>3</sup>:  
Approach in tyme our friendship to purchace,

cried Dunbar.

In November 1521 Albany reappeared in Scotland and Angus and his kinsmen were banished. But now a fresh danger threatened the country; Henry VIII saw no chance of detaching the Scots from the French alliance so long as Albany was Governor of Scotland, and demanded his removal. The Scottish Parliament could give only one answer to the insolent message of Clarencieux Herald. Henry retaliated by banishing all Scots from England, and in the spring of 1522 dispatched a fleet to the Forth. Albany led an army to the Solway; but the Scottish nobles had learned the lesson of Flodden only too well: they refused to advance upon English ground, and in the autumn Albany was forced to arrange a truce with the English Warden.

To avoid an invasion of England on a large scale had now become a fundamental principle of Scottish strategy. Not till the Civil War did a Scottish army again cross the Border. This

<sup>1</sup> Yearn for.

<sup>2</sup> To.

<sup>3</sup> War.

## THE POOR MAN'S KING

excess of caution had its defects ; it was to lead, a few years later, to a defeat almost as disastrous as Flodden and far more shameful.

### ALBANY LEAVES SCOTLAND

An attempt to conclude a final peace broke down, and Albany left for France to secure reinforcements. King Francis was sore beset by Henry VIII and the Emperor and could spare few men. With the greatest difficulty Albany escaped the English fleets, and a few hours after he landed on the west coast he heard that an English army had ravaged the Borders and despoiled the monastery of Jedburgh. In haste the Duke summoned an army and besieged Wark Castle. The outer and inner walls of the castle were forced after desperate fighting, Albany's officers and French troops leading the way, and one side of the castle itself was battered down. But a great storm of rain beat upon the besiegers, and the flooded river threatened to cut them off from retreat. The Scottish Borderers refused to support their comrades within the castle, and left them to be hanged by the garrison. Albany was furious ; in the following spring he left Scotland, never to return. In spite of his courage and energy, his rule had been a failure ; he was interested in Scotland not for its own sake, but because it was the ally of France ; when the Scottish nobles refused to strike a blow for France he left it to its fate.

### ANGUS AND THE YOUNG KING

Angus soon returned to Scotland. Before the end of 1526 he had by a series of adroit moves secured the appointment of a Secret Council composed entirely of his own adherents and had persuaded Parliament to declare that the King's "auctoritie riale is in his awn handis." As the King was only a boy of fourteen, a prisoner, moreover, in a palace where almost every officer was a Douglas, the extent of his "auctoritie riale" can easily be guessed. The change was disastrous to the King as well as to the country. Gone were the quiet days of which Sir David Lindsay has given so touching a picture :

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Quhen thou wes young, I buren thee in myne arme  
Full tenderlie, tyll thou begouth to gang ;  
And in thy bed oft happit <sup>1</sup> thee full warme,  
With lute in hand, syne, swetlie to thee sang :  
Sumtyme, in dansing, feiralie <sup>2</sup> I flang ;  
And sumtyme playand farsis <sup>3</sup> on the flure ;  
And sumtyme on mine office takkand cure. <sup>4</sup>

His books were thrown aside ; swaggering youngsters took the place of the wise and witty poet, and the King became a finished rake while he was little more than a child. That the clear mind and generous spirit of the youth should be soiled by debauchery did not trouble Angus ; from his point of view it was the best thing that could happen.

But the King's gilded fetters did not rest easily upon him. He appealed secretly to the Laird of Buccleuch. Buccleuch attacked Angus and his followers near Melrose, but was slain. A like fate befell the Earl of Lennox three months later at Linlithgow, and for two years James had to submit to the orders of Angus, who, in the pungent words of Pitscottie, " rullit the king as he pleissit and caussit him to ryde throw all the pairtis of Scotland under the pretence and colour of iustice to punisch theif and tratour ; bot nane was greattar nor was in thair awin companie."

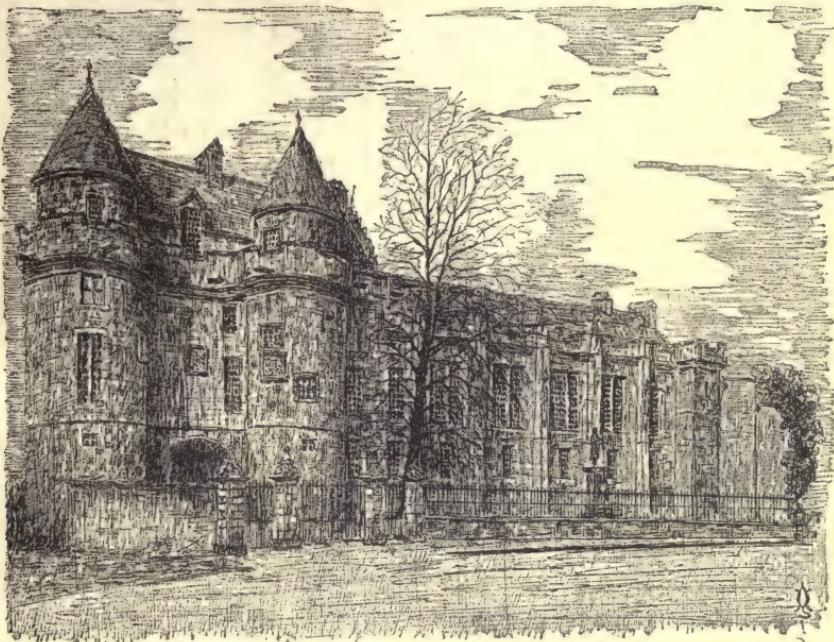
Not till the summer of 1528 did James have another opportunity to escape. He had been hunting and hawking by the banks of the Eden under the eyes of the Earl, his brother George Douglas, his uncle Archibald Douglas, and James Douglas of Parkhead, the Captain of the Guard. It chanced that Angus " wearied in Fife " and went into Lothian. A few days later Archibald asked leave to go to Dundee on business— " sum sayis he had ane gentillwoman thair quhom he rade to wessie," <sup>5</sup> adds Pitscottie—and George Douglas rode to St Andrews to see the Archbishop. The King, with Douglas of Parkhead, rode to Falkland, where he let it be known that he intended to hunt at seven next morning. He went to his chamber betimes, and when he was in bed called for the Captain of the Guard, drank his health, and said that they should have good hunting on the morrow. The Captain suspected nothing.

<sup>1</sup> Wrapped. <sup>2</sup> Wondrously. <sup>3</sup> Playing farces. <sup>4</sup> Taking care. <sup>5</sup> Visit.

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While he was sleeping James stole down to the stable, leaped on horseback, and by dawn had reached the Bridge of Stirling.

Within a few days the King was advancing on Edinburgh at the head of two thousand horsemen. Angus saw that the game was lost, and fled from Edinburgh. In September



FALKLAND PALACE

Parliament decreed that the Earl, his brother, and his uncle had forfeited life, land, and goods. The King himself advanced against Tantallon, the almost impregnable stronghold of the Douglases, to put the decree of forfeiture into execution. Angus did not await his coming, but fled to England. The house of Angus was ruined as irretrievably as the house of Douglas had been seventy years before.

### JAMES AS RULER

James, though little more than a boy, soon displayed that passion for order and justice that characterized his house.

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His habit of wandering about in disguise, if it was inspired by no lofty motives, at least let him know his people in a way impossible to a more precise and dignified monarch. If his reign ended in disaster one must at least remember that he was contending with forces whose strength not even the wisest could estimate. The Roman Church in Scotland was tottering to its fall ; and in spite of all his “ gay virtues ” James was scarcely the ideal defender of the ancient creed. And politics were beginning to be intertwined with religion ; it was difficult now to raise any enthusiasm in Scotland for the French alliance or to persuade the people that England was still a most dangerous enemy.

### THE HIGHLANDS AND BORDERS

But at first these graver problems did not perplex the young ruler. He devoted all his energies to restoring order in the Highlands and on the Borders. To what a pass things had come in the Highlands is shown by the doings of the clan Mackintosh. About 1527 Lauchlan Mackintosh, the chieftain, had been murdered by one of his kinsmen, who fled to an island on Loch-an-Eilan, in the Forest of Rothiemurchus, where he was slain by the enraged clansmen. As Lauchlan’s son was only a child, his brother Hector was made chieftain for the time and guardian of the boy. But the boy was a nephew of the Earl of Moray, who, fearing for his safety, carried him off and handed him over to the care of the Ogilvies, his mother’s kinsfolk. Hector was furious ; at his instigation his brother William harried the Earl’s lands and burned one of the Ogilvies’ castles with twenty-four Ogilvies inside. The King at once directed the Earl to slay all the men of the clan. Two hundred Mackintoshes were captured, but Hector escaped. The prisoners were led to the gallows and told that the man who revealed his chief’s hiding-place would be spared. Every man knew where it was, “ but neither horror nor fear of death would make them tell,” and every man went to his doom with a lie upon his lips. Hector reached St Andrews, and there, in the quiet streets of the cathedral city, he was stabbed by a priest.

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But James did not always need to resort to violence. The rumour that a military expedition against the Isles was being prepared, followed in 1531 by the demand that the offending chieftains should appear before Parliament and answer for their misdeeds, resulted in the submission of most of the island chiefs. But there were some who, in the words of Bishop Leslie, “nouther be exemple of otheris, nouther through feir of God culde, or fear of the king or of otheris, be brocht til obedience esilie.” The King accordingly prepared a fleet in the early summer of 1540, took command of it himself, and sailed through the Pentland Firth and coasted the Western Isles till he came to Dumbarton. He met with no resistance. The more contumacious chiefs were dragged before him and sent to the dungeons of Edinburgh Castle, and the Isles were annexed to the royal demesnes.

The Borders also felt the weight of his hand. In 1531 he led a great hunting-party into the south country, slew eighteen score harts, and hanged Johnnie Armstrong, the hero of the famous ballad, and forty-eight of his accomplices. His severity had hardly the desired effect; the Borderers were furious at this interference with their ancient profession, and many of them went over to the English side.

### THE COURT OF SESSION

The King's work was soon undone; the Highlands and Borders quickly relapsed into their old lawlessness. But one memorial of his love of justice remains to this day, in the shape of the College of Justice, or Court of Session, instituted in 1532. It was to be the supreme court for civil cases, and was to be a permanent body, sitting all the year round in Edinburgh. Fifteen “cunning and wise men,” chosen, not from the ranks of the great nobles and prelates, but from those “persouns maist convenient and qualifyit therfor,” formed the new tribunal.

The King knew well that it was one thing to draft laws and establish new courts, and quite another thing to secure obedient subjects and honest judges. “It is unprofitable and inutile

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to mak lawis and statutis for policy to be had," declared Parliament in 1535, "without the samyn be keptit." That ignorance might be no excuse for disobedience it was ordained in 1541 that those Acts of Parliament which concerned the commonweal should be printed. That the judges were sometimes only too "cunning and wise" appears from a statute of the same year declaring that "the lieges has bene gretlie hurt in tymes bigane be Jugis . . . quha hes noct bene alanelie<sup>1</sup> Jugis bot plane solistar,<sup>2</sup> partiale counsalouris assistaris and part takaris with sum of the partijs, and hes tane gret geir And profitt therefor," and ordering all judges to "do trew and equale Justice . . . undir the pane of tynsale<sup>3</sup> of ther honour, fame, and dignitie." The King did not hesitate to strike at offenders of high rank; more than one of his nobles was executed or shared the fate of Angus.

### JAMES AND PROTESTANTISM

But James had more difficult problems to deal with. He had to choose between Catholicism and Protestantism; he had to choose between the old alliance with France and the proffers of friendship made by the English King. Whatever his choice might be, he would forfeit the approval of almost one-half of his subjects. As far back as 1525 Parliament had protested against "the dampnable opunyeouns of heresy" spread "be the heretik Luther and his discipillis." Three years later Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, was burned before St Salvator's College, in St Andrews, and in 1532 the King, with the consent of Parliament, declared that he would maintain and defend the Catholic Church. From this position he never retreated, partly, declares Pitscottie, because his spiritual advisers assured him that much would be forgiven to one who supported the Church and stamped out heresy. 'The Gudeman of Ballengeich,' the hero of countless scandalous adventures, is hardly an apostolic figure; but he compares favourably with the Protestant champion who now crossed his path.

<sup>1</sup> Only.

<sup>2</sup> Open advocates.

<sup>3</sup> Loss.

## THE POOR MAN'S KING

Henry VIII's eagerness to convert his nephew to Protestantism was not due solely to anxiety about his spiritual welfare. In 1534 a "perpetual peace" had been made between the two countries, but Henry was not content with this : he wanted an alliance that would detach Scotland from her ancient friendships and reduce her almost to the rank of a suzerain state. If James could be persuaded to visit England he might be detained till he saw fit to alter his political and religious beliefs. If the Scottish King became a Protestant the alliance with France would die a natural death.

The trouble began in 1535, when Lord William Howard presented James with the insignia of the Garter and proposed that he should meet Henry somewhere in England. In the autumn of the same year Barlow, afterward Bishop of St Asaph, and Thomas Holcroft were dispatched to the Scottish Court. With them they bore an extraordinary treatise, composed by Henry himself, which they were evidently supposed to learn by heart and recite to the Scottish King. Texts and Biblical parallels were marshalled with all the skill of a professional theologian to support the contention that whatever interfered with absolute monarchy was evil and that the authority of the Pope must therefore be destroyed. "When God had created Adam and set him in Paradise," argued Henry, "what was it otherwise thenne a perfit demonstracion of a kinges majestie, to be in his realme as Adam was in Paradise, lord over all?" James was unmoved by the arguments ; he declared his willingness to meet Henry, but said that he would do nothing against that Church to which his fathers had given their obedience for more than thirteen hundred years.

In the spring of 1536 Henry renewed the attack. Barlow and Lord William Howard were dispatched to Scotland with another set of secret instructions. They were to point out to the King not only "the greate increase of thoner of God thereby ensued within this realme," but also "the innumerable riches that commythe and shall for ever com to his highnes" should he decide to throw off the Papal supremacy. As Lord William was "not soo furnished to treate in such matiers as touche

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

our religion," the Bishop was instructed to supply him with a few suitable arguments and texts. Henry warned the ambassadors, however, that it would be expedient for Lord William to refer theological problems to his colleague whenever it was possible and himself " harp upon the string of honour and proffit." They were also to attempt to turn the King's mind from his projected marriage with a French princess by "instilling into his harte," without making any definite assertion, "an opinion of the slipernes of the said Frenche men."

### THE KING'S MARRIAGES

The ambassadors did not make the impression that Henry desired. Though James promised to meet his uncle at Newcastle in September, he sailed for France at the end of the summer, and on New Year's Day he was married to Madeleine, the eldest daughter of Francis I, in the cathedral of Notre Dame. There was never such solemnity and triumph seen in France, declares Pitscottie, since the days of Charlemagne. Tournaments, plays, feasts, and the roar of cannon from every castle in the country celebrated this new token of the ancient friendship. The awestruck Scots thought that some of the pageants must be the work of necromancers, for dragons appeared in the air, and through the city ran great rivers of water, "and schipis fyghtand thairupon as it had beene the bullring<sup>1</sup> stremes of the sie, witht schutting of gouns lyk crakis of thunder." In May the King landed at Leith with his bride. The moment Madeleine found herself in her husband's country she bent down, took some earth in her hand, and kissed it. But she was not fated to be long a queen ; her frail, unearthly beauty was but a mark of disease, and eight weeks after she had kissed the soil of Scotland she was buried in the abbey of Holyrood.

Hardly a year later James married again. His bride was Mary of Guise, sister of the ambitious Duke of Guise and the supple Cardinal of Lorraine, who as a result of this marriage were enabled for a time to become the uncrowned rulers of

<sup>1</sup> Roaring.



PLATE XXX. JAMES V AND HIS QUEEN, MARY OF GUISE



## THE POOR MAN'S KING

France. For Scotland as well as for France the marriage had momentous results ; during six of the most critical years in the country's history Mary of Guise was regent.

### TROUBLE WITH ENGLAND

The relations between England and Scotland now steadily became more strained. Either monarch could find a *casus belli* in the frequent raids of the Border freebooters or in the uncertainty as to where the boundary between the two kingdoms actually lay. Did James protest against the inroads of Henry's subjects, he was at once reminded that certain English priests had taken refuge in Scotland and had not yet been delivered up, or he was told that he could easily settle all disputes if only he would visit Henry in person. It is true that in the spring of 1539 James, remembering "the reverence that a good nephew oweth to his uncle," suppressed some slanderous rhymes which had been made against Henry, and was rewarded with the present of a lion, but before the end of 1540 rumours of impending war were flying about. In December the Scottish Parliament issued detailed instructions as to the equipment and training of the troops. The only weapons to be used were "speris, pikis stark and lang of vj ellis of linth, leit axis, halberts hand bowis and arrowis, corsbowis culverings tua handit swordis." Muster-rolls were to be kept, and captains appointed for the men of each parish to "leir<sup>1</sup> thame to gang in ordour and beir ther wappenis." Henry retaliated a few days later by ordering the English Border fortresses to be strengthened.

If the frequent burnings of heretics had not shown Henry that James had no intention of changing his religion proof sufficient would have been furnished by the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament in March 1541. It was, indeed, admitted that "the unhonestie and misrule of kirkmen baith in witt, knawlege and maneris" had caused Church and clergy to be despised, but at the same time no one was allowed to impugn the authority of the Pope under pain of death

<sup>1</sup> Teach.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

and the discussion of theological questions was forbidden. But Henry was still convinced that James would give way. He spent some time in York at the end of summer, in daily expectation of a visit from the King of Scots, who, of course, did not appear. Henry's scanty stock of patience was exhausted ; he now left nothing undone that might goad James into war. The burning of a few barns by the robbers of Liddesdale was magnified into something like a deliberate invasion and redress demanded. A committee was sent north to rectify the boundaries of the two countries, which they did by plundering and evicting the Scottish Borderers whenever and wherever the fancy seized them. To the protests of James Henry's answer was that if he were very eager for redress he could easily come to England and discuss the matter there. In the summer of 1542 the English fleet was dispatched to watch the coast of Scotland, and captured twenty-eight merchantmen. At the end of August Sir Robert Bowes crossed the Border with three thousand men ; but the English Borderers fled at the mere sight of the Earl of Huntly's army, leaving their leaders in the hands of the Scots.

The raid was absolutely unwarranted, for the two countries were at peace, but Henry persuaded himself that he was the injured party and demanded the immediate surrender of the prisoners, with all their equipment. While the Scottish ambassadors were negotiating with Norfolk and the other English leaders at York, the English army, complaining loudly the while of the lack of beer, was stealthily moving nearer to the Tweed. Henry had set his heart on an invasion of Scotland, but his forces were short of provisions, Huntly and his men were on the alert, and when the English crossed the Tweed toward the end of October they did nothing beyond burning the town and abbey of Kelso.

The failure of the English invasion was the one gleam of success in the closing months of James's life. He seemed to regard himself as a doomed man : his nights were rendered miserable by awful dreams of one whom he had sent to the scaffold ; he knew, too, that his kingdom was in a perilous

## THE POOR MAN'S KING

state, for his two sons had died, leaving him without an heir. But even this success brought a sting with it. He urged his nobles to follow it up by invading England ; they, mindful of Flodden, flatly refused. Flodden would have been preferable to what followed. On the 24th of November James heard that his great army of almost twenty thousand men had allowed itself to be scattered by three thousand Englishmen at Solway Moss. Over twelve hundred prisoners, the artillery, and all the standards had been captured.

### DEATH OF THE KING

The King was mad with grief, for he believed that his people had forsaken him. From Lochmaben he fled to Holyrood, and thence to his pleasant hunting-seat of Falkland. There he would speak to no one save one or two of his most trusted friends, but brooded day after day on his disgrace, till "his mynde was neir game throuch dolour." The melancholy was followed by a deadly sickness. When a messenger announced that his Queen had borne him a child his gloom only increased, for he regarded it as a warning of his death. Anxiously he asked if it was a son. The messenger answered that it was a fair daughter. "Adieu, farewell!" moaned the dying man. "It came with ane lass, it will pass with ane lass." He referred to the crown of Scotland, which the daughter of Bruce had brought to the house of Stewart ; but his prophecy was not fulfilled. "And so," in the moving words of Pitscottie, "he recommendit himself to the marcie of Almighty god and spak ane lyttile then frome that tyme fourtht, bot turnit his bak into his lordis and his face into the wall. . . . He turnit him bak and luikit and beheld all his lordis about him and gaif ane lyttile smyle and lauchter, syne kissit his hand and offerit the samyn to all his lordis round about him, and thaireftir held up his handis to god and yieldit the spreit."

## CHAPTER XXIV

### THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

THOUGH the Stewart dynasty did not pass from the throne of Scotland till long after the death of James V, within twenty years of his death the old alliance with France was broken and the Roman Catholic Church crashed down into ruin. The events of 1560 changed the character of the nation to a far greater extent than did the union of the Crowns. Life remained as adventurous, short, and uncertain as it had been before, but much of its colour and variety seemed to have departed. The wayfarer no longer fell on his knees when he reached the hill-top and saw the towers and spires of St Andrews rising beside the grey northern sea ; no pilgrims knelt before the jewelled shrines, the procession of white-robed priests no longer wound under the massive pillars of the cathedral ; no longer did the fisher on the broad reaches of the Tay cross himself as the sound of a bell came borne over the water from Balmerino or Lindores. Of the abbey church of Balmerino only the foundations remain ; little more is left of Lindores ; two walls and the western doorway are all that has been spared of the greatest cathedral in Scotland. Not only in North Fife but in almost every district of Scotland was such destruction wrought, often through active intolerance, still more often through indifference to these beautiful memorials of an older faith. Nor was this all : all music worthy of the name disappeared from the services of the Church ; every word, every ceremony that might chance to remind the congregation of their earlier beliefs was ruthlessly banished ; holy-days were no longer observed—even Christmas and Easter were transformed by the Presbyterian ministers

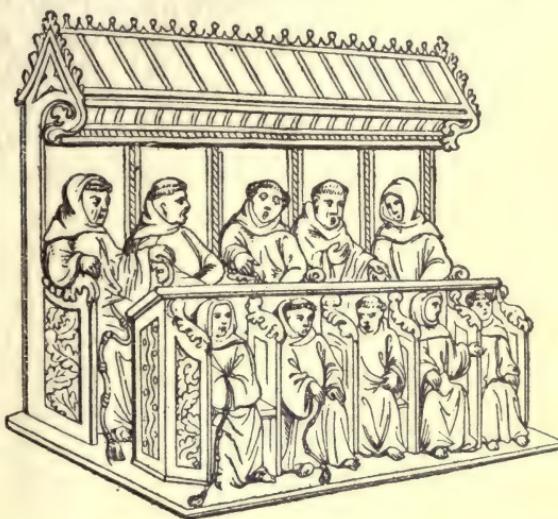


PLATE XXXI. ST ANDREWS CATHEDRAL, FROM THE WEST



## THE REFORMATION

into pagan festivals which it was sinful to observe. There are times when one remembers with satisfaction Boswell's account of Dr Johnson's visit to St Andrews Cathedral: "He was



A SEMI-CHOIR OF FRANCISCAN FRIARS

affected with a strong indignation, while he beheld the ruins of religious magnificence. I happened to ask where John Knox was buried. Dr Johnson burst out, 'I hope in the high-way. I have been looking at his reformations.'

### CHARACTER OF SCOTTISH PROTESTANTISM

The rapid spread of the reformed doctrines and the completeness with which they transformed the life of the country become all the more astonishing when one remembers that in Scotland they were presented in their barest and most uncompromising form. English Protestantism retained many of the trappings of the ancient Church, and so could make the same appeal to the eye and ear of the uninstructed worshipper; the Scottish Reformers scorned and feared those symbols which had so often lost their significance, and appealed only to the reason of their listeners. It is easy to see why a creed which

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

exalted the reality above the symbol should be embraced by a scholar like Buchanan or a mystic like Wishart ; it is hard to see at the first glance why it should be accepted as eagerly by men like James Stewart, the King's natural son, or by the average burgess and country laird. On the face of it the doctrines of the Scottish Reformers seemed far more likely to repel than to attract ; on the face of it the Catholic doctrines and ritual should have made a far more powerful appeal to the average man. Why, then, did Protestantism prevail ?

### THE PRE-REFORMATION CLERGY

The reason for the change is to be seen not so much in the strength of Protestantism as in the weakness of Scottish Catholicism. The Reformers had indeed a message to deliver to their followers, though it was pitifully distorted in the telling ; their mission was to proclaim the supremacy of the spiritual over the material. The old Scottish Church, on the other hand, had no purpose except self-preservation, and no message to proclaim save that tithes must be paid regularly under pain of excommunication.

One need not go to the daring satires of Dunbar and Sir David Lindsay for evidence of the utter corruption of the Church ; every word of their sometimes unspeakable charges is borne out by the Acts of Parliament or by the statutes passed by the Provincial Council of the Church between 1549 and 1559, in a vain attempt to avert destruction. Nothing can be plainer than the declaration of the last Parliament of James V, "The unhonestie and misrule of kirkmen baith in witt, knawlege and maneris is the mater and caus that the kirk and kirkmen ar lychtlyit<sup>1</sup> and contempnit," except perhaps the judgment of the Scottish Church on itself. The Scottish clergy, assembled in a Provincial Council at the end of 1549, admitted that "there appear to have been mainly two causes and roots of evils which have stirred up among us so great dissensions and occasions of heresies, to wit, the corruption of morals and profane lewdness of life in churchmen of almost

<sup>1</sup> Slighted.

## THE REFORMATION

all ranks, together with crass ignorance of literature and all the liberal arts."

As a partial explanation of this state of affairs it must be remembered that the average cleric did not regard the priesthood as a sacred vocation, but as a profession in which the privileges were many and the disabilities few. To a poor man's son the Church opened the only road to wealth and power ; the great noble consolidated his position by obtaining an abbey for a younger brother or a younger son. The king himself swelled the royal revenues by bestowing wealthy benefices on his illegitimate sons. James IV, for example, made his son Alexander, a boy of twelve, Archbishop of St Andrews. James V made one of his sons Prior of St Andrews when he was five years old ; another became Commendator of Holyrood while he was still an infant ; the rich abbeys of Kelso and Melrose went to a third, and the Charterhouse at Perth to a fourth. Learning and religious zeal were not the surest means of securing promotion ; the great prelates were for the most part men who had distinguished themselves in administration or diplomacy. It was, in fact, as statesmen, not as religious teachers, that the old Scottish clergy did any real good to their country. They alone received a fair education ; if they showed energy and ability, therefore, they soon found abundance of work in the Exchequer, in Parliament, in the Session, or at the Courts of foreign princes. In general they did their work well ; whatever their motives may have been, they consistently supported the independence of their country and preached distrust of England ; but when this is admitted one has exhausted all that can be said in praise of them.

Ignorance and sloth were the least of the failings of the average cleric. When there are flaws in the Latinity of the clerks who set down the statutes of the Church, it is only to be expected that the parish priest had often not the faintest notion of the meaning of the words which he repeated every day, and was quite incapable of instructing his people in the rudiments of their faith. The Catechism "in our vulgar

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Scottish tongue" which Archbishop Hamilton ordered to be published in 1552 and put in the hands of rectors, vicars, and curates was meant "as much for the instruction of themselves as of the Christian people committed to their care." The clergy were enjoined to read it every Sunday, but were warned that "they must prepare themselves . . . for the task of reading by constant, frequent, and daily rehearsal . . . lest they expose themselves to the ridicule of their hearers." They were to read as if they felt what they were saying, but on no account must they let themselves be drawn into an argument.

Many of the churchgoers—a rapidly diminishing body—did not hear a sermon from one year's end to the other. How could they, when the rector was auditing the royal accounts, or being thrashed at school, or, as the possessor of several benefices, living in a more commodious manse in a distant parish? He should have procured a substitute, of course, but frequently he grudged the expense. The fear of material disaster roused the Church to unwonted energy. In 1549 the Provincial Council enacted that bishops and rectors must preach at least four times a year. Ten years later, when utter ruin was a question only of weeks, bishops and rectors were ordered to preach not only four times a year, but "as often as they can do so conveniently." "Those who are young and unfit," it was added, "shall . . . qualify themselves therefore as soon as possible by studying in the public schools. . . . Elderly churchmen, however, who have passed their fiftieth year, and have not hitherto been accustomed to preach, will in like manner see to it that this duty is discharged by others, whom also they shall countenance and by their personal presence give greater honour and authority to the preaching." It may be argued, of course, that a priest who refused to gratify the Scottish passion for listening to sermons was not necessarily indolent, since from the Catholic point of view the ceremonies of the Church contain all that is essential to salvation, but it is only too evident that those clerics who never preached were remiss in the observance of their other duties. The clergy had to be exhorted to celebrate

## THE REFORMATION

Mass more often than they had been wont to do, to say their canonical hours and other divine offices daily, and to refrain from *open* violation of the fasts prescribed by the Church.

But even if the clergy had preached for three hours on end, as some of the Reformers could do on occasion, even if they had been most scrupulous in their observance of all the fasts of the Church, even if their top-boots and fantastic raiment of green and yellow had been exchanged for more seemly apparel, they would not have averted the hatred and contempt of the majority of their countrymen. How could men listen with patience to the eloquent friar whose intrigues were the talk of the neighbourhood, or what respect could they have for the decrees of the Provincial Council when they knew that the president of that council, “the most reverend lord, John, Archbishop of St Andrews,” had wrecked his constitution by vicious excess? It is little wonder that they sometimes “made perturbation in the Kirk” during the service or disputed over the price of oats and sheep in the church porch, and that there was a rapid increase in the popularity of books of vernacular psalms and hymns containing such spirited canticles as the following :

The blind Bishop he culd nocht preiche  
For playing with the lassis ;  
The sylie Freir behuffit <sup>1</sup> to fleiche <sup>2</sup> ;  
For almons <sup>3</sup> that he assis <sup>4</sup> ;  
The curat his creid he culd not reid :  
Schame fall the cumpanie.  
Hay trix, tryme go trix,  
Under the grene wod tree.

Unfaithfulness to the vows of chastity had grown so common that it hardly furnished the satirist with matter for a jest. It was commonly said that the cleric could not only marry, like the layman, but, unlike the layman, he could get rid of his wife and choose another whenever he pleased. The impudent laird did not complain too loudly when his daughter became the mistress of some great prelate, nor would he hesitate to urge his son to marry the bishop’s “niece,” well

<sup>1</sup> Behoved.

<sup>2</sup> Beg.

<sup>3</sup> Alms.

<sup>4</sup> Asks.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

knowing that the young lady would be richly dowered from "the patrimony of Christ." The three Provincial Councils which met after the death of James V denounced this widespread corruption, forbade clerics to have mistresses, to keep their children in their own houses, to bestow benefices on their sons or the wealth of the Church on their daughters. That they might "not seem to lay grievous burdens on their reverend suffragans and lower clergy while they were perhaps too freely indulgent to themselves," the two Archbishops consented to submit themselves to "the advice, inquisition, and reproof" of certain of their colleagues, who were required to "advise the foresaid most reverend Archbishops in a Christian and charitable manner." No attack made on the clergy in those "blasphematious rymes" which they detested so heartily was more damaging than their own frank admission that they regarded chastity as a "grievous burden."

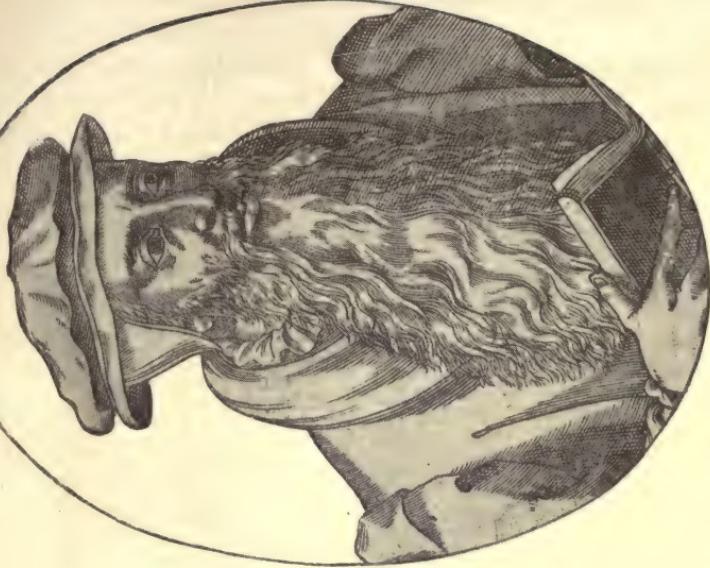
### ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE REFORMATION

The average man might not have troubled his head about the conduct of the clergy had they left him alone, but he grew tired of paying men he despised for services which they seldom rendered. If he refused to pay tithes he was excommunicated ; if he paid no heed to the sentence he forfeited all his goods to the Church. When he was dying the priest urged him to remember the Church in his will ; should he die intestate, one-third of his goods went to the Church. If the dead man had left no money, the best animal he possessed, often his one cow, was seized by the parish priest ; if he had not even a cow the best covering was dragged from his bed. If he had taken care to make his will and leave little or nothing to the Church the clergy were still certain to get a fair share of his property, for the will had to be proved in the ecclesiastical courts, where the proceedings were slow and expensive. It was only natural, therefore, that the average man should have been ready to give a trial to a less expensive form of religion.

It has still to be explained why the nobles attacked the Church with such fury. In some cases their zeal was due to

PLATE XXXII

CARDINAL BEATON.





## THE REFORMATION

religious conviction, but these cases were few. The lessons of the English Reformation had not been lost upon them ; they had seen the spoil of the Church change many a needy courtier into a wealthy and powerful nobleman. They knew that the Scottish Church was enormously wealthy ; they knew, too, that the clergy had ousted them from the highest offices and had almost complete control over the foreign policy of the country. The desire for wealth and power, then, made them support the peasant and burgess who wanted sermons which they could understand, or the wandering scholar who had heard the awful doctrine of predestination from the lips of Calvin.

### ARRAN AND BEATON

When King James died in 1542 the downfall of the Scottish Church seemed to be only a question of months. The foreign policy of the country, for which the clergy were popularly supposed to be responsible, had been discredited by the defeat of Solway Moss, and men began to ask themselves if this chronic warfare with England served any useful purpose. The motives of the clergy seemed quite plain : now that England had become a Protestant country it was only natural that they should strive to strengthen the connexion between Scotland and France ; few men saw that the friendship of Henry VIII was more dangerous than his open enmity. So it was not the far-seeing Cardinal Beaton who became Governor of Scotland in 1543, but the Earl of Arran, a man “reputed to bee of small witte or pollicie,” and so the Scottish Parliament sent ambassadors to England to arrange for the marriage of the infant Queen to Prince Edward. But in his haste Henry overreached himself. To his surprise Arran refused to commit himself to any plan that would compromise the independence of Scotland, and some word got abroad of Henry’s real purpose—to seize the fortresses in southern Scotland and take the young Queen to England. Before the end of the year the Governor had entrusted the direction of affairs to Cardinal Beaton, the man whom Henry most hated and

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

feared, the ancient league with France was renewed, and England and Scotland were again at war.

Henry's method of conducting the war opened the eyes of most of the Scots who had hitherto supported him. He began by seizing some merchantmen in the autumn of 1543; then in May 1544 he dispatched a fleet of two hundred vessels and



A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MAN-OF-WAR

a large army to Scotland. When Arran and the Cardinal saw the great fleet anchor off Leith and boats crowded with soldiers making for the shore they dispatched the Provost of Edinburgh to find out the cause of this unexpected demonstration. Hertford, who commanded the army, told the Provost that the Queen must be given up, or Edinburgh and Leith would be wasted with fire and sword. This impudent demand was refused. But the Scots had been taken by surprise. Next day the raiders were joined by a great force of cavalry that had come overland from Berwick; two days later Edinburgh was set on fire, and burned continually for four days. The strategic results did not justify this wanton destruction; at the news

## THE REFORMATION

that Arran was advancing from Stirling the fleet and army retreated, leaving a sullen and unconquered nation behind them.

### ANCRUM MOOR

Henry next incited the treacherous Earl of Lennox to capture Dumbarton, the gateway through which supplies and reinforcements from France could be poured into Scotland, but the governor of the castle refused to yield to the Earl's blandishments and Dumbarton was saved. In the following year another success encouraged the Scots. All through the winter the English Borderers had slain and pillaged till many of the Scots were thankful to wear the St George's cross, but the culmination was reached when Sir Ralph Eure and Sir Brian Layton burned Brumehous Tower, and in it the lady of the tower, "a noble woman and of a great age," with her children and servants. Vengeance for this atrocity was not long delayed. Arran, with Angus, Norman Leslie, and some hundreds of the men of Fife, came upon the raiders at Ancrum Moor. The English outnumbered their foes by about nine to one, but they had to advance over marshy ground, the setting sun shone full in their faces, and when they fired their guns a wind from the west almost smothered them in the smoke. As they fell back before the wild charges of the spearmen some of the Scottish Borderers who had been compelled to fight in the English ranks tore off their red crosses and fell upon their former comrades. The Scots were completely victorious ; Eure and Layton were among the slain.

### THE TRAGEDY OF THE CARDINAL

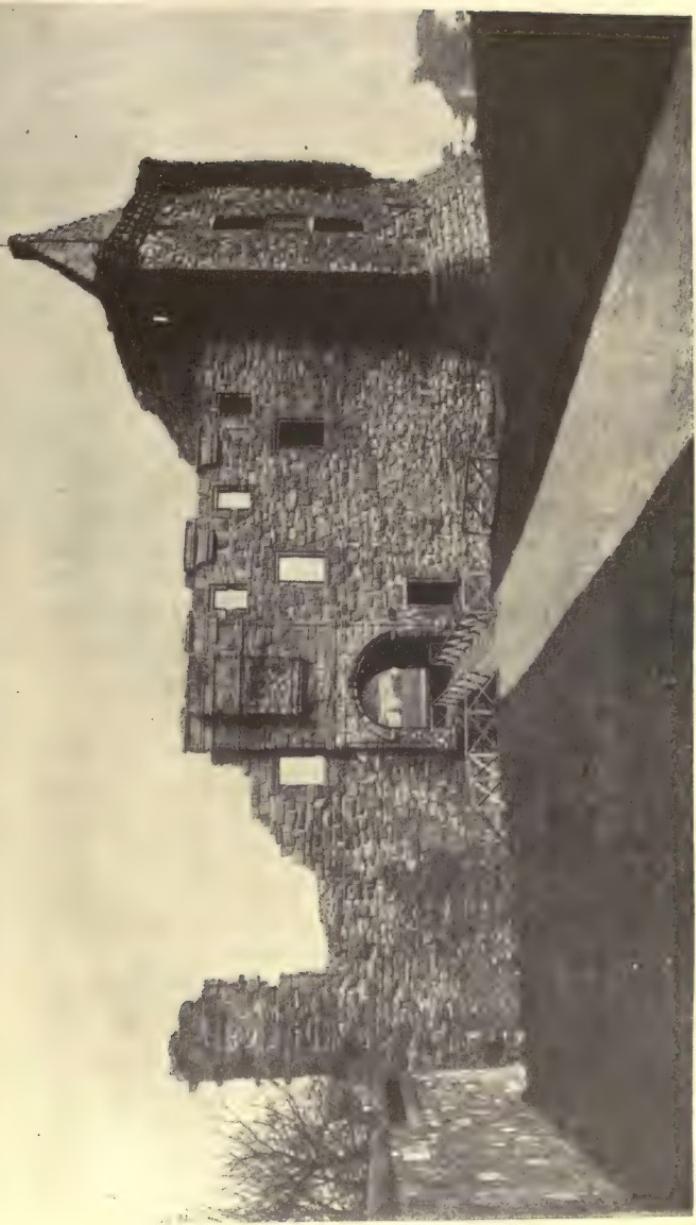
So far the policy of the Cardinal had been successful. But if Beaton had as keen a mind as any diplomatist in Europe, he had also his full share of the vices of the pre-Reformation clergy, and his looseness of life was combined with the most bitter intolerance of heretical doctrines. It may be that political motives drove him to the persecution of the Reformers ; but his attempts to remove the causes of disunion by stamping

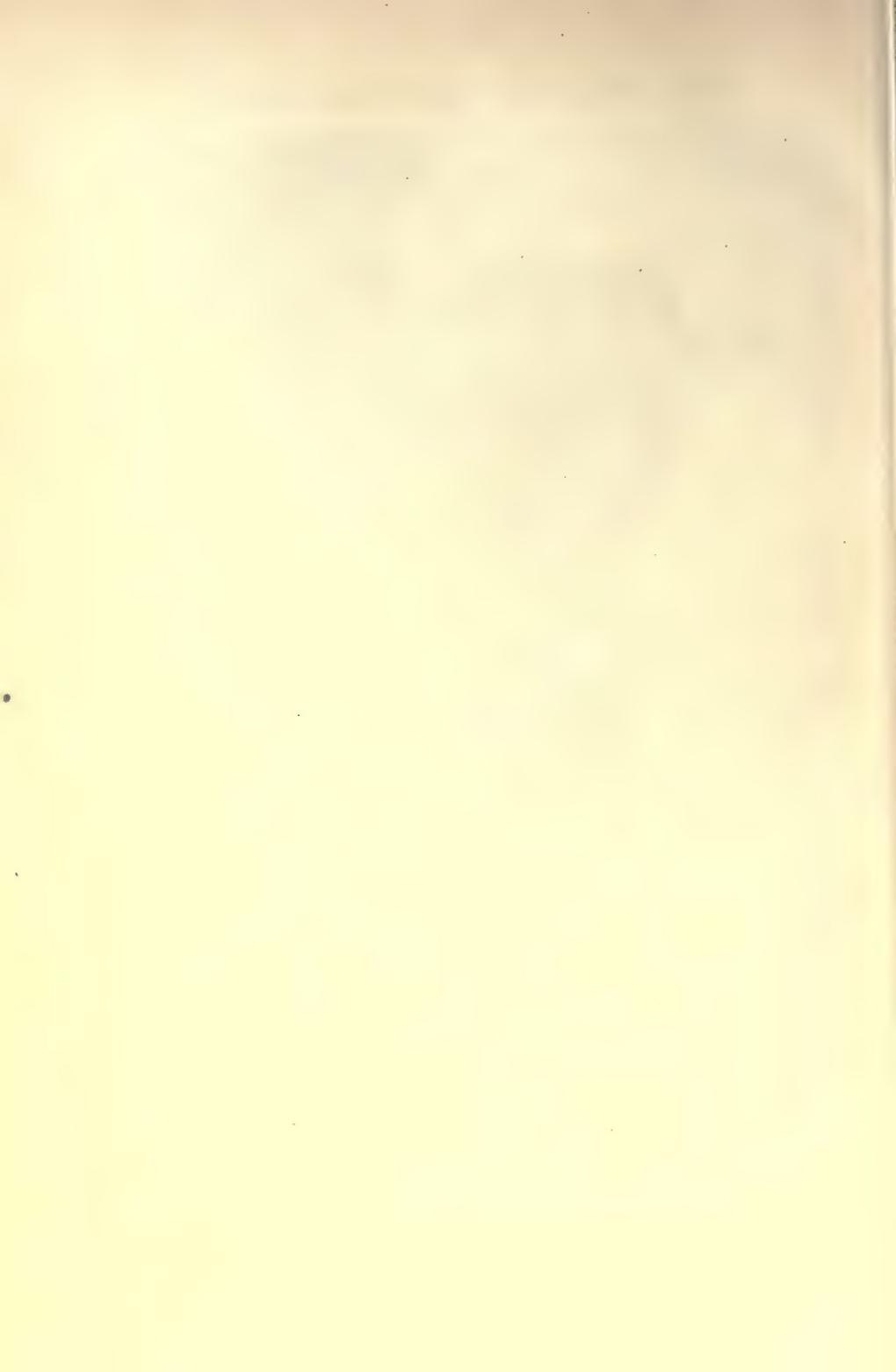
## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

out heresy simply resulted in his own destruction and the reappearance of the old divisions. On the 1st of March, 1546, George Wishart, the most gentle and human of the Scottish Reformers, was burned before the castle of St Andrews in presence of the Cardinal and bishops, who reclined on cushions while they watched his dying agonies. Barely three months later a handful of men, led by Norman Leslie and William Kirkcaldy of Grange, made their way into the castle, for though it was early morning the gates had been opened to admit some workmen. The workmen fled when they knew that there was mischief afoot ; the porter tried to raise the drawbridge, but was overpowered and thrown into the moat, and the conspirators hastened to the Cardinal's room. Two of them rushed at him and struck him once or twice, but James Melven, "a man of nature most gentill and most modest," says Knox, pushed them aside, exhorted the Cardinal to repent of the murder of Wishart, and then dealt the finishing stroke. "I am a priest, I am a priest !" exclaimed the dying man. "Fie, fie ! all is gone !" The rumour that something was amiss spread through the town, and the Provost at the head of the citizens rushed to the castle with cries of "Let us see my Lord Cardinal !" For answer the murderers lowered his dead body over the wall in a sheet. "And so they departed," says Knox, "without *Requiem aeternam* and *Requiescant in pace* song for his saule."

For fourteen months the murderers, who had been joined by John Knox and some men of less strictness of conduct, held the castle against the half-hearted attacks of Arran. At the end of July 1547 Leo Strozzi, Prior of Capua, sailed into the bay at the head of a fleet crowded with French troops. Arran hurried to meet him. Trenches were dug and guns posted in every position that commanded the castle, even on the Priory walls and the tower of St Salvator's Chapel. Within six hours a breach was made in the walls, "so that a hundred men might have passit in ower," and the garrison surrendered unconditionally. They were taken to France, where most of them, including Knox, were sent to toil at the galleys.

PLATE XXXIII. ST ANDREWS CASTLE FROM THE SOUTH





## THE REFORMATION

### THE BATTLE OF PINKIE

The death of Henry VIII in January 1547, followed a few weeks later by that of Francis I, made no difference in the attitude of Scotland to England and France. Hertford, now Duke of Somerset and Protector of England, was just as eager as his master had been for the marriage of Edward and Mary and the forcible union of the two kingdoms. At the beginning of September he led an army against Edinburgh, while a fleet of twenty-four vessels threatened the capital from the north. Arran immediately assembled a large army, and on the 10th of September attacked the English position at Pinkie. Everything went wrong. The Scots advanced too impetuously at first, with the result that their ranks fell into confusion and they were tired out before the fighting had well begun. The Scottish advance-guard, composed of spearmen, drove back the English cavalry ; their comrades, thinking that the battle was won, broke from their ranks and streamed after the flying horsemen. But the lighter vessels of the English fleet had taken up their position close inshore, and the Scots, caught between a terrifying cannonade from the English land batteries and a vigorous bombardment from the sea, cast away their weapons and fled. More than eight thousand slain were left on the field. Happily it was the last great battle between the Scots and the English.

But it was a costly victory for Somerset ; it gave a new lease of life to the moribund friendship between Scotland and France. In the following July the Scottish Government agreed that Queen Mary should marry the Dauphin, and a few weeks later she was sent to France. Even the strategic results of the victory were insignificant ; the English troops were driven from Edinburgh by a furious cannonade from the castle, and Somerset had to content himself with burning Leith and sending a ship to capture the castle of Broughty. This was the beginning of a tedious warfare, waged on the Scottish side mainly by French, German, and Italian mercenaries against mixed English and Italian forces, for the

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

possession of Broughty Castle and the fortified town of Haddington. Not till the spring of 1550 were the two countries again at peace.

### MARY OF GUISE

But Scotland was soon to be plunged into another kind of strife. The Queen-Mother never allowed herself to forget that she was one of the house of Guise and a Catholic. She saw that if the ambitions of her brothers were to be gratified, if Scotland was to be saved for France and for Catholicism, it would require another leader than the wavering Arran. All the influence of the French Court was brought to bear on the Earl ; he was bribed with the title of Duke of Châtelherault, his position as second person in the realm and heir to the throne was freely acknowledged,<sup>1</sup> and in April 1554 the Queen-Mother became Regent of Scotland. Her courtesy, her womanly charm, the insuperable difficulties of her task, and her tragic end have won her the pity of historians, but it must not be forgotten that the success of her policy would have been absolutely disastrous to Scotland ; it would have left Scotland, not the ally, but the dependency of France, governed by French officials and garrisoned by French troops, and would have stifled the growth of that religion which, for all its faults, was still the genuine expression of some of the noblest elements in the national character.

As early as 1556 the nation had an inkling of Mary's purpose. She persuaded Parliament to substitute a tax in place of universal military service in defence of the realm. In other words, the country would be garrisoned by foreign mercenaries paid with Scottish money. A deputation of three hundred gentlemen waited on her, however, and persuaded her to abandon this scheme. A year later there was a more serious quarrel. Spain and France were at war ; Mary of England naturally sided with her husband's country, and at the same time tried to secure the friendship of Scotland. While the ambassadors of the two countries were conferring at Carlisle there came a

<sup>1</sup> He was a grandson of Mary, the elder daughter of James II.

## THE REFORMATION

peremptory message from the King of France ordering the Scots to attack England at once. Almost every one in Scotland saw that the country had become the cat's-paw of France. One or two raids were made into the Border region, but when the main Scottish army had crossed the Tweed the nobles flatly refused to lead their men any farther.

### QUEEN MARY'S FIRST MARRIAGE

This was a heavy blow to the Regent's authority ; it was plain that unless something were done quickly Scotland would slip away from the French alliance. His crushing defeat by the Spaniards on the field of St Quentin made Henry II equally eager to maintain the ancient league. The marriage of Queen Mary, now a beautiful girl of fifteen, must take place at once. At the King's request eight ambassadors left Scotland for the French Court. It was a critical time both for France and for Scotland. Should the marriage take place and the Dauphin become King the influence of the hated house of Guise would be vastly increased ; through their young niece and her feeble husband the Duke and the Cardinal of Lorraine would rule France, Scotland, and perhaps England as well. For Scotland the result would be loss of independence. The request that the crown matrimonial should be given to the Dauphin and the claim that all Frenchmen were *ipso facto* naturalized Scotsmen were straws that showed how the wind was blowing.

On the 24th of April, 1558, Queen Mary was married to the Dauphin in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The Dauphin immediately assumed the title of King of Scotland, while the ambassadors were urged to secure the crown for him. There was some difference of opinion among the eight ; four of them, however, died suddenly on their way home to Scotland, and the others recommended the Scottish Parliament to send the crown to the Dauphin. But the Dauphin's advisers had blundered. Châtelherault protested strongly against a concession which would definitely exclude himself and his heirs from the throne, and the Protestants saw that a touch would send him over to their side. He was supported by the nobles,

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND



A FRANCISCAN FRIAR

whose suspicions were now thoroughly aroused, and though ambassadors were appointed the crown was not taken out of Scotland. This blunder was followed by a far more serious one. On the death of Mary Tudor at the end of the year, by the order of Henry II the Queen of Scots was proclaimed Queen of England and Ireland, and the arms of England were joined to those of Scotland and France on the tapestries which decorated her rooms. An insult like this let Elizabeth see clearly what the ascendancy of the French party in Scotland would mean to her; if ever the time came when Scottish Catholic and Scottish Protestant were swaying in doubtful conflict she would not let the opportunity slip.

### JOHN KNOX AND THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION

That time was now at hand. The stringent Acts against excommunicate persons, disturbances in churches, and scurrilous ballads and songs, passed by the Scottish Parliament in 1551 and 1552, along with the self-denying ordinances made by the Provincial Councils of 1549 and 1552, showed that the clergy were alarmed at the rapid spread of the reformed doctrines. After the Regent had quarrelled with the nobles in 1557 over the invasion of England, the Earls of Argyll, Morton, and Glencairn, together with a handful of country lairds, bound themselves "to manteane, sett fordward and establish the most



A DOMINICAN FRIAR

## THE REFORMATION



CARTHUSIAN MONK

"bloody beasts."

Protestant nobles were now called, found that his fiery eloquence and pungent humour made him an invaluable ally ; they found, too, that he was a man as strong as themselves, incapable of fear, and not to be shaken from his determination to "make Scotland over again in his own image."

In March the last Provincial Council of the Scottish Church was held in the Monastery of the Blackfriars at Edinburgh. Hither came the Lords of the Congregation and presented to the Regent a demand for certain reforms. The Council passed a series of statutes against the immorality and inefficiency of the clergy, but refused to listen to the demand that the vulgar tongue should be used for the prayers and ceremonies of the

blessed word of God and his Congregatioun."

At the beginning of 1559 the patriot's suspicion of France, the common man's contempt for the Catholic clergy, the theologian's zeal for the new faith, the eagerness of the nobles to seize the wealth of the Church and break the power of the Regent—all these streams, so different in their origin, united to form one mighty torrent. A popular leader was summoned from the Continent in the person of John Knox, a man absolutely convinced that salvation was to be found only in the doctrines of Calvin, that the Catholic Church was the "Congregatioun of Sathan" and that its rites were idolatry and its clergy

The Lords of the Congregation, as the



CISTERCIAN MONK

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Church. Again the Regent blundered ; when the sittings of the Council were over she summoned Knox and three of his fellow preachers to appear before her at Stirling. They fled to Perth, where they were joined by the Protestant gentlemen of the district. The Regent retaliated by declaring them outlaws.

On the second Sunday in May Knox preached a vigorous sermon against idolatry in the parish church of Perth. At the close of the service a priest injudiciously attempted to celebrate Mass, and drew upon himself the censure of a boy. He straightway cuffed the boy for his impertinence ; the boy flung a stone at the priest, missed him, but broke one of the images from the tabernacle. It was a signal to the crowd ; within a few minutes the church was stripped of all its ornaments. The rumour of what had happened quickly spread. The “raschall multitude” crowded into the church, but finding that there was nothing left to destroy they streamed off to the monasteries. “So was menis consciences befoir beattin with the worde,<sup>1</sup>” says Knox, “that thei had no respect to thare awin particulare proffeit, bot onlie to abolishe idolatrie, the places and monumentis thareof : in which they wer so busye and so laborious, that within two dayis, these three great places, monuments of idolatrie, to witt, the Gray and Black theves,<sup>2</sup> and Charter-housse monkis (a buylding of a wonderouse coast and greatness), was so destroyed, that the walles onlie did remane of all these great edificationis.”

### BEGINNING OF THE SCOTTISH WARS OF RELIGION

This was the signal for open war. The Regent, accompanied by Châtelherault, his brother the Archbishop of St Andrews, Lord James Stewart, the Earl of Argyll, and other nobles and prelates, marched against the town of Perth. But the Earl of Glencairn with two thousand westland men had joined the Reformers, and when the Regent came in sight of the town she found her way barred by a well-appointed army of three thousand men, each with a rope round his neck, as a sign that “ gif

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, moved by the Gospel.

<sup>2</sup> Franciscans and Dominicans.

## THE REFORMATION

he fled he could be hangit, and gif they overcome thair enemeis the frenchemen could be hangit thairwith." The ropes were not needed. After a conference the Regent was allowed to occupy the town, and the Protestant leaders made their way to St Andrews, accompanied by a turbulent mob eager to submit any church or monastery they encountered to a drastic 'reformation.' It was a reformation which left the monasteries of Lindores and Balmerino and the cathedral of St Andrews mere empty shells.

At St Andrews the Reformers were joined by the Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V, who had inherited a full share of the Stewart genius for handling men, and who was suspected of cherishing the belief that his ability and royal blood gave him a title to the throne. The Regent now moved her army to Falkland, and summoned Lord James and Argyll to appear before her. They refused ; the army which she sent to fetch them retired without striking a blow and she fled to Edinburgh. She was soon informed that the Protestants, having burned the abbey of Scone—surely the most sacred place on Scottish soil—and despoiled the churches of Stirling and Linlithgow, were advancing against the capital. It was useless to expect the citizens to resist, for, in their own words, they were "alluret with hope of a pray, of Libertie, and a nue kind of Lyf," so she hastened to Dunbar. Barely an hour afterward the Reformers entered the town. The usual scenes followed ; churches, monasteries, and the Regent's palace were plundered, the Mint was forced open and its contents were appropriated, while the insurgent lords proclaimed at the Market Cross that the government of the kingdom was now to be in the hands of a committee appointed by themselves.

The Regent's cause seemed utterly ruined. But Mary of Guise was a match for the wariest of her opponents. In July Henry II died and her daughter became Queen of France, and as France and Spain were now at peace she could ask what troops she liked from the French Government and be almost certain that her requests would be granted. Meantime

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she would occupy and fortify Leith and by a compromise seek to lull the suspicions of the Reformers. The laws against heresy were suspended on condition that the Protestants withdrew their armed forces from Edinburgh and promised to refrain from sacrilege. The insurgent leaders agreed; almost all the Protestants left Edinburgh, and the Regent's French troops entered Leith.

The Reformers soon saw that they had been fooled. In September reinforcements from France began to pour into Leith by the hundred, and engineers toiled at the fortifications of the town. At this critical time, however, Châtelherault joined the Protestant party, and a few days later he was followed by a far abler man, the subtle Maitland of Lethington, the wariest diplomat in Scotland. The insurgents now attempted to besiege Leith, but they were repulsed with heavy loss and retired to the west, while in November the garrison was reinforced by another thousand men from France.

### THE PROTESTANTS APPEAL TO ENGLAND

The fate of Scotland now depended on the fate of Leith. So long as the French party could hold such a base and keep the command of the sea there was no limit to the number of troops which could be sent into Scotland. By themselves the Scottish Protestants could neither capture Leith nor drive off the French fleets. There was only one way out of the difficulty: an appeal must be made to England. The negotiations were entrusted to Maitland of Lethington. It was the opportunity for which Elizabeth was waiting; she promised to send a fleet and an army to Scotland, and to carry on the war till every Frenchman had been driven from the island.

In January 1560 a fleet of sixteen English ships appeared in the Forth. The admiral's explanation that he was looking for pirates did not satisfy the Regent. Three months later an English army of eight thousand men with a train of heavy artillery crossed the Border and joined the Scots before the walls of Leith. The position of the Catholic party was now

## THE REFORMATION

hopeless. The Regent had dragged herself into Edinburgh Castle, stricken by a mortal sickness; in May the English fleet drove off a French fleet which was attempting to relieve the town; no more men could be spared from France because of the rebellion that had broken out, and though the French soldiers fought gallantly on their scanty allowance of horse-flesh and repulsed every attempt to storm the fortress they knew that the English lines had been gradually brought nearer and that the English batteries now commanded the interior of the town. At the beginning of June the Regent died.

### END OF THE 'AULD ALLIANCE'

King Francis, recognizing that Leith must fall sooner or later, had already sent two ambassadors to the English Court. Elizabeth dispatched them to Scotland, accompanied by William Cecil and the Dean of Canterbury. When the four ambassadors appeared in the English camp at Restalrig all the cannon, great and small, thundered out a welcome. It was the death-knell of the 'auld alliance'; on the 6th of July the Treaty of Leith was signed, enacting that all French soldiers had to leave Scotland within twenty days and that thenceforth no Frenchman could hold any public office in Scotland.

### FALL OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

With the departure of the French troops the last obstacle to the triumph of Protestantism was removed. At the Parliament which met in Edinburgh on the 1st of August it was decreed that the jurisdiction and authority of the Pope should be abolished, that any one who acknowledged his supremacy or issued decrees in his name should be banished and lose all his goods, and that all Acts of Parliament in favour of the Roman Catholic Church should be annulled. The Confession of Faith, a statement of the chief doctrines of Calvinistic Protestantism, was declared by Parliament to be "halsome and sound doctrine groundit upon the infallibill trewth of godis word," and the celebration of Mass or of baptism according to the ancient form was strictly forbidden.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

For the first offence against this Act the penalty was confiscation, for the second banishment, for the third death.

There were two groups of men in that Parliament worthy of attention, one the handful of prelates sitting sullen and fearful, not daring to lift their voices in protest, the other the knights and country lairds, over a hundred in all, crowding the benches and the floor of the house, urging on their leaders when these astute politicians grew weary in well-doing. For centuries no more than two or three of the lesser gentry had ever attended Parliament ; now they saw that what they had hitherto regarded as a burden was really a privilege and used their half-forgotten rights to remould the religion of their country.

## CHAPTER XXV

### MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

THE bewildering series of changes through which Scotland had passed in a period of less than eighteen months did not come to an end with the establishment of Protestantism. The death of Francis II in December 1560 made it certain that Mary Stewart would soon return to her own people and that a Catholic ruler would again direct the affairs of Scotland.

What effect Mary's return would have on her own country it was hard to prophesy. Neither Catholics nor Protestants regarded the Act of 1560 as a final settlement. The Catholics hoped that under a Catholic queen they would win back what they had lost ; the majority of the Protestants saw peril to both body and soul in any course that stopped short of the complete extermination of Catholicism. If the Queen showed undue favour to the Protestants she would lose the support not only of the powerful Catholic faction in Scotland, but of all her friends on the Continent ; if she attempted to suppress Protestantism she would plunge the country into civil war. This was only one of the many difficulties which confronted her. What was to be her attitude to her half-brother, Lord James Stewart, the idol of the Protestant mob, whose ambition was as great as his ability ? Or how was she to treat that hoary time-server the Duke of Châtelherault, who had supported the Reformers because he wished to gain the hand of Queen Elizabeth for his son, and who dreamt of the time when a Hamilton would sit on the throne of Scotland and England ?

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### MARY AND ELIZABETH

But Mary was more than Queen of Scotland ; long after she had exchanged Holyrood for an English prison she remained the centre of the schemes and plots of Catholic Europe. It is true that her husband's death deprived her of the prestige which she had enjoyed as Queen of France and struck a heavy blow at the power of the house of Guise, but to every true Catholic she was the lawful Queen of England, and to many less prejudiced judges she was the lawful heiress to the crown. It was impossible to believe in the validity of the laws of the Church and the legitimacy of Elizabeth at one and the same time, while even if one admitted that Elizabeth was the heiress of Henry VIII, one could not deny that only the will of Henry VIII kept Mary from being the heiress of Elizabeth. There was thus every possibility that some prince of Spain or the Empire would become a suitor for the hand of the beautiful widow of nineteen. This possibility Elizabeth could not contemplate calmly ; long before Mary set foot in Scotland the two Queens were bitter enemies.

This hostility of Elizabeth was not due only to injured vanity or purposeless jealousy. She could not forget that in 1558 Mary had assumed the title of Queen of England, or that Mary had persistently refused to ratify the Treaty of Leith. She saw what lay behind the apparently fair request that she should acknowledge Mary as her successor ; if she granted it then only one life stood between England and a sovereign who was both a foreigner and a Catholic, while there was just a chance that she might be seized with that illness which carried off the four Scottish ambassadors in 1558. Her policy, then, was to put every obstacle in the way of Mary's return, to make no promises with regard to the succession, to bribe—with due regard to economy—a section of the Scottish nobles, and—by delusive protestations of her own affection, if it were necessary—to head off every eligible suitor for the hand of her rival.



PLATE XXXIV. MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS



## MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

### THE CHARACTER OF QUEEN MARY

But the English Queen could not prevent Mary's return. A mist hid her galley from the English cruisers, and on the 19th of August, 1561, she landed at the pier of Leith. "The verray face of heavin, . . ." says Knox, "did manifestlie speak what confort was brought unto this countrey with hir, to wit, sorow, dolour, darknes, and all impietie." Three and a half centuries have passed since that day, but it is difficult to refrain from sympathizing with this girl of nineteen come to a kingdom divided against itself, where her chief counsellors were those whom she had most reason to fear. Of that beauty which was the marvel of the age there is little trace in the cracked and faded portraits which have survived, for that wit which dazzled friend and foe alike we must search painfully in the reports of spies and ambassadors, but something of the charm which witched the soul from Chastelard and moved Ronsard to write some of his noblest verse seems to remain. Men are still as fierce in denunciation of those who question her innocence as if she had smiled on them at Holyrood the day before ; even those who admit her guilt regard her as one like Helen of Troy, to whom all things may be pardoned because she is compact of beauty and enchantment. The charm remains, but so does the mystery. We have fairly full records of her deeds and sayings ; many of her letters have been preserved ; but we are almost completely in the dark as to the real meaning of her deeds and words. We may pile up lists of attributes, we know that she was capable of loving and hating with more than ordinary intensity, that she had a headlong, desperate courage which belongs to few women, that she had a girl's passion for masques and dances joined to a diplomatic skill which equalled that of Lethington and Cecil ; when all this is said the woman herself still eludes us.

### A SPLIT AMONG THE PROTESTANTS

The very manner of her reception gave some presage of future trouble. On the night of her arrival five or six hundred

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

of the citizens gathered outside the palace with decrepit fiddles and solemnly played and chanted psalms, to the disgust of her French followers. The zeal of the citizens did not stop there. On Sunday, the 24th of August, hearing that Mass was being celebrated in the Chapel Royal, they tried to break in and lay violent hands on the priest. They were only restrained by Lord James Stewart, who explained his conduct to his disillusioned admirers by declaring that he wanted to stop all Scotsmen from hearing Mass.

The proceedings of the Secret Council next day made it evident that the preachers and the 'rascal multitude' would get no support from the Protestant nobles. Maitland of Lethington, the diplomat who had engineered the alliance with England in 1559, was now the Queen's secretary; Lord James, whatever his secret ambitions might be, saw that it suited him best to support the Queen's authority in the meantime; every nobleman, except the crack-brained Earl of Arran, signified his approval of the decree that no innovation should be made in the state of religion and that no one was to meddle with the beliefs and observances of the Queen and her train. In vain Knox declared from the pulpit that "one Messe was more fearful to him then gif ten thousand armed enemyes war landed in any pairete of the realme"; in vain the Provost and bailies of Edinburgh declared that every fornicator, adulterer, priest, and friar must depart from the town within forty-eight hours; the zealous magistrates were lodged in the castle and a new Provost was appointed.

At the beginning of November there was more trouble. On All Saints' Day a solemn Mass had been celebrated in the Chapel Royal; immediately the preachers lifted up their voices in denunciation. A conference took place between the leading ministers and the Protestant nobles, who again declared their intention of letting the Queen hear Mass in her own chapel. The cause of the extreme Protestants suffered a more serious check a few weeks later. In December the third General Assembly of the Church was held in Edinburgh, but this time the nobles, contrary to their previous practice, held

PLATE XXXV. HOLYROOD ABBEY FROM THE SOUTH-WEST





## MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

aloof from the ministers, burgesses, and lesser gentry and met by themselves in the palace. The Book of Discipline, an elaborate exposition of Calvinistic theology and of the Presbyterian system of Church government, was submitted to them for ratification ; but, though they themselves had requested that it should be drawn up and had professed their acceptance of it, they now one and all cynically repudiated it.

### KNOX AND LETHINGTON

There was some justification for the attitude of both Knox and Lethington. Lethington's Protestantism was probably quite sincere so far as it went, but the crafty diplomat, the tolerant man of the world, only smiled when Knox declared that the Mass was idolatry and that all idolaters must die the death. Perhaps he suspected that Mary's denials of any desire to persecute the Protestants were extorted from her only by a knowledge of her weakness, and that she might yet be the leader of a great Catholic crusade ; he believed, nevertheless, that as his party was strong enough to prevent a Catholic reaction it could afford to be generous. He saw, too, that Knox's theory of conditional obedience to rulers would destroy the stability of any form of government. Knox's contention was that nothing short of the complete suppression of Popery would please God, who had already manifested His displeasure by sending sickness and bad harvests. But we must remember, as one explanation of Knox's hatred of compromise, that Protestantism was no longer sweeping triumphantly over every state in Europe. From Spain it had completely vanished ; in France it was fighting a losing battle ; it was soon to be crushed out in the Spanish Netherlands, as it had already been crushed in many of the states of the Empire. Men of a less vehement and headlong disposition than Knox would be ready to believe that compromise meant ruin and that Lethington and Lord James were either traitors or short-sighted optimists.

But nothing could shake the tolerance of the Protestant nobles. Until February 1562 the Catholic clergy, now relieved

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

by law from the disagreeable necessity of preaching four times a year, enjoyed the full amount of their revenues ; after that date they were docked of a third, which was divided between the Queen and the preachers. Farther than this the nobles would not go ; Mary could now rest assured that so long as she did not touch the established religion Knox and his friends could only utter empty threats.

### JOHN KNOX INTERVIEWS THE QUEEN

Each month saw the Queen's position in the kingdom grow more secure. She made progresses through her realm ; in the autumn of 1562 her army defeated the forces of the rebel Earl of Huntly at Corrichie. But now from all parts of Europe came suitors for her hand. Ambassadors from the King of Sweden had been politely dismissed, but courtiers still discussed the chances of Don Carlos, the heir to the crown of Spain, of the Archduke Charles, brother of the Emperor, or of the Duc de Nemours. Elizabeth was aware of her perilous position ; she did not want to find the forces of Spain or the Empire used to champion Mary's claim to the throne of England. The plan she devised was characteristic. She would amuse the suitors herself while she sought to gain Mary's affections for a candidate of her own choosing. She had an unexpected ally in the person of John Knox, whom she detested. Knox plainly declared to the Scottish Parliament that the vengeance of God would descend upon the country if a Papist and infidel became the husband of the Queen. Mary had the fearless preacher brought before her and complained with tears that never prince was so handled. "What have you to do with my marriage ?" she demanded, "or what are you within this commonwealth ?" "A profitable member within the same," answered the preacher complacently, and proceeded to repeat what he had already said to the Parliament. His description of the scene that followed reveals his character more clearly than pages of minute analysis could do. "At these words," he says, "owling was heard and tearis mycht have bene sene in greattar abundance

## MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

than the mater requyred. . . . The said Johne stood still, without any alteratioun of countenance for a long seasson, whill that the Quene gave place to hir inordinat passioun ; and in the end he said, ‘ Madam, in Goddis presence I speak : I never delyted in the weaping of any of Goddis creatures ; yea, I can skarslie weill abyd the tearis of my awin boyes whome my awin hand correctis, much less can I rejoise in your Majesties weaping. But seeing that I have offered unto you no just occasioun to be offended, but have spocken the treuth, as my vocatioun craves of me, I man sustean (albeit unwillinglie) your Majesties tearis, rather then I dar hurte my conscience, or betray my commonwealth through my silence.’

“ Heirwith was the Quene more offended, and commanded the said Johne to pass furth of the cabinet, and to abyd further of hir pleasure in the chalmer.<sup>1</sup> . . . The said John stood in the chalmer, as one whom men had never sein . . . and thairfoir began he to forge talking of the ladyes who war thair sitting in all thair gorgiouse apparell ; which espyed, he mearelie<sup>2</sup> said, ‘ O fayre Ladyes, how pleasing war this lyeff of youris, yf it should ever abyd, and then in the end that we myght passe to heavin with all this gay gear. But fye upoun that knave Death, that will come whitther we will or not ! And when he hes laid on his areist,<sup>3</sup> the foul wormes wil be busye with this flesche, be it never so fayr and so tender ; and the seally<sup>4</sup> sowll, I fear, shal be so feable, that it can neather carry with it gold, garnassing, targatting,<sup>5</sup> pearle, nor pretious stones.’ And by suche meanes procured he the cumpany of women.”

### ENGLISH INTRIGUES

But Queen Elizabeth had no need of the preacher’s help. In the autumn of 1563, a few weeks after this interview, she instructed Randolph, her ambassador in Edinburgh, to urge Mary to accept her guidance in choosing a husband. He was not to mention who the suitor was, but was to hint that if Mary yielded to Elizabeth’s wishes her succession to the

<sup>1</sup> Chamber. <sup>2</sup> Merrily. <sup>3</sup> Arrest. <sup>4</sup> Weak. <sup>5</sup> Adornment of jewels.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

English crown would be assured. Mary refused to marry a man whose rank—whose very name—was unknown to her, and in March 1564 Elizabeth was forced to confess that the husband whom she had chosen for Mary was none other than the Earl of Leicester. But Elizabeth showed no inclination to transform her vague hints into promises ; though she said that she was willing to pay the household expenses of the Earl and his royal consort, she would not pledge herself to admit Mary's title to the throne. The device was plain to Mary and her advisers ; if she married Leicester nothing more would be heard of the succession and Elizabeth would have the satisfaction of knowing that her rival could not marry a Catholic prince. In vain Lord James, now Earl of Moray, and Lethington told Cecil that he must state frankly in black and white what Elizabeth meant to do ; the most they could extort from him was a declaration that only if Mary married Leicester would her title to the English throne be considered. Moray and Lethington were not satisfied with this ambiguous document, and their suspicions were confirmed when they noticed that the precise Secretary had omitted to add his signature. Before the end of 1564 it was plain that Elizabeth had no intention of letting Mary marry her favourite.

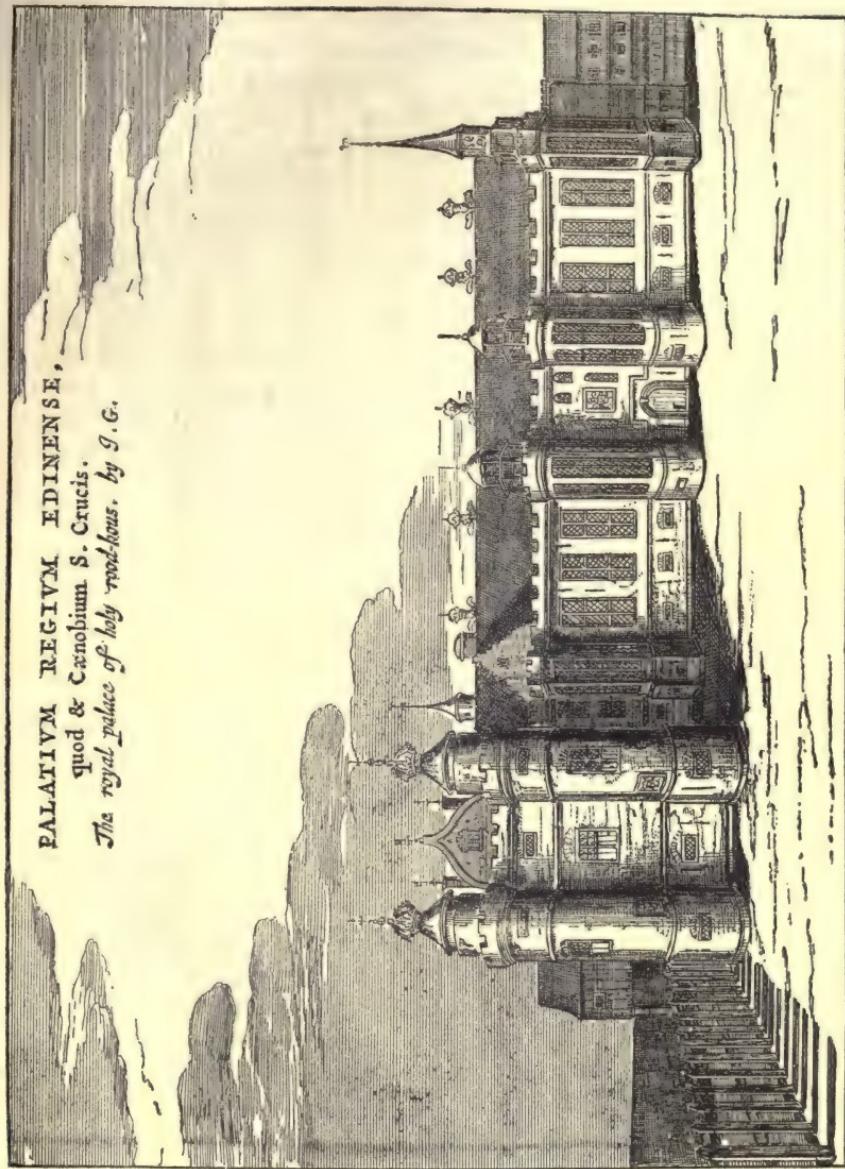
### THE MARRIAGE OF MARY AND DARNLEY

Leicester had proved a useful decoy. Philip could no longer conceal his son's idiocy from the world, but Elizabeth could not rest content until Mary was safely married. In the autumn of 1564, through the efforts of Elizabeth, the banished Earl of Lennox was allowed to return to Scotland ; in February 1565 he was followed by his son, Henry, Lord Darnley. A few days later Darnley was presented to the Queen. She whose nimble wit could baffle the craftiest diplomats in Europe fell madly in love with a debauched and insolent youth. In May she created him Earl of Ross ; in June he received the ill-omened title of Duke of Albany, and every one knew that within a few weeks he would be married to the Queen. Elizabeth protested loudly, ordered Darnley and his

PALATIVM REGIVM EDINENSE,

quod & Canobium S. Crucis.

The royal palace of holy rood-hous. by I.G.



HOLYROOD PALACE

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

father to return to England at once, and assured the Scottish nobles who opposed the match that they could count on her support. But her protests were hypocritical ; even if the match had not been deliberately planned by her, nothing could suit her better than that Mary should throw herself away upon Darnley.

The match had nothing to commend it. Darnley was a Catholic ; the marriage therefore incensed the Protestants, nobles and preachers alike. He was a Scottish nobleman, a descendant, like Châtelherault, of James II; therefore his marriage did not secure to Mary the support of any of the great Catholic Powers. His sudden rise was certain to provoke the envy, not only of Châtelherault, always jealous of his position as second person in the realm, but of the Earl of Moray. But Mary was blind, blind alike to the real character of Darnley and the perilous course on which she had embarked. Very early on a morning in July she was married to Darnley in the chapel of Holyrood, and took the first step on that path which led to Fotheringay.

### 'THE CHASEABOUT RAID'

It seemed that the marriage was to plunge the country at once into war. Neither Châtelherault nor Moray had been present at the ceremony. Mary suspected that they were meditating a rebellion, declared them to be outlaws, and at once led an army into the west. The rebel lords eluded her, and with six hundred horsemen forced an entrance into Edinburgh, but retired when the guns of the castle were turned upon them and rode off to the south. A few days later Mary returned, extorted ten thousand marks from the burgesses, and hastened after the insurgents. No help came from Elizabeth, for Elizabeth could not tolerate failure, so the rebel lords discreetly retired before the royal forces. Elizabeth gave them shelter in England, but did not recognize them. Châtelherault went to France ; when Moray appeared at the English Court he had to listen on bended knees to a long tirade from the indignant Queen.

HENRY STEWART, LORD DARNLEY  
*Copyright of H.M. the King*

PLATE XXXVI

WILLIAM Maitland of Lethington





## MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

### THE MURDER OF RIZZIO

But this was only a transitory gleam of good fortune. The mists soon cleared from Mary's eyes and she saw Darnley as he really was, arrogant, brainless, and vicious. He wandered about the palace like a spoilt child, doing nothing, for business of State could not be entrusted to fools like him, striking those who were not likely to strike back, grumbling because he had been refused the crown matrimonial, telling every one that the Queen had played him false with her Italian secretary, Rizzio. Here was clay that could be easily moulded. The Protestant nobles did not share his mad suspicions, but they feared the influence of Rizzio, who ever since the summer of 1564 had guided the policy of the Queen ; he was easily persuaded to sign a band for the murder of Rizzio, and to promise the restoration of the exiled nobles if only they would support all his schemes. The exiles held themselves in readiness at Berwick ; on the evening of the 9th of March, 1566, while Mary was sitting in her cabinet with Rizzio and one of her ladies, a band of men in armour, headed by Darnley and Lord Ruthven, burst in. After angry words had passed between Ruthven and the Queen the intruders laid hands on the unfortunate secretary, and though he ran to his mistress for protection, though she implored them in the name of God to spare him, he was dragged from the room and shamefully butchered. The doors of the palace were shut and the Queen imprisoned in her room, where she gave way to such an outburst of anger that her life seemed to be in danger. The rumour that all was not well spread through the town. The alarm bell was rung and the Provost and burgesses rushed down to Holyrood. But they did not know what had happened or what they could do, and when Darnley solemnly assured them that the Queen was safe they dispersed. The following evening Moray and the banished lords returned to Holyrood.

Danger was only a stimulus to a mind like that of Mary. Her transport of anger soon passed, and she was all smiles

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

even to the husband whom she now loathed and despised. It was easy for her to work upon the feeble Darnley. When on the evening of the 11th of March she was brought before her nobles she agreed to pardon all the murderers except Ruthven, but said that if she signed the pardon at once it would be invalid, as she was still a captive. She promised, however, to go to the Tolbooth on the morrow and there command Parliament to make an Act of remission. After she had drunk their healths, she asked that the keys of the palace might be given to her and that her own guard might watch her chamber. The nobles granted all her requests and left the palace. The Queen had outwitted them; at midnight she and Darnley galloped to the castle of Dunbar; three days later she summoned all noblemen, gentlemen, and substantial yeomen to meet her at Musselburgh. This was a device to get her enemies out of Edinburgh; they fled to Linlithgow, and on the 18th of the month Mary and Darnley returned to the capital.

### BOTHWELL

Mary had played her cards well, and the birth of a prince on the 19th of June should have strengthened her position still further. But she was about to make the crowning error of her career. Her hatred for Darnley had long been notorious; now it began to be whispered that she was more partial than became a faithful wife to the Earl of Bothwell. In spite of his Protestantism, in spite of his unsavoury reputation, in spite of his recent marriage, there was much in him to attract Mary. He was no mere vicious boy like Darnley, but a passionate, adventurous spirit, loyal beyond the fashion of the age, incapable of caution or fear. For the second time in her life Mary allowed herself to be swept off her feet by a blind passion. When news was brought to her that Bothwell had been wounded in an encounter with some Border thieves she galloped from Jedburgh to the castle of Hermitage, a distance of over twenty miles, and returned the same day. A violent fever seized her as a result of her exertions, and for a time her life was despaired of.

## MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

### THE MURDER OF DARNLEY

All this time Darnley had been absent in the west hawking and hunting with his father. When he heard that the Queen was ill he made his way to Jedburgh, but finding that he was “not so weill intertynijt as neid suld have been,” he left next day and returned to the west, where a few weeks later he was smitten with smallpox, or some more odious disease. At the end of January 1567 the Queen went to Glasgow and brought the poor wretch to Edinburgh, where he was lodged in an old religious house, known as the Kirk of Field, just outside the city wall. At two in the morning, ten days later, a loud explosion was heard. When the affrighted citizens reached the Kirk of Field they found the bodies of Darnley and his servant lying in a garden, while of the building itself not one stone stood upon another.

It was plain from the first that Darnley had been strangled and the house blown up afterward; it grew plainer as the days went by that Bothwell was responsible for the murder. It was evident, too, that justice would not be done. Moray, seeing that trouble was imminent, left for France, there to wait till his hour came. Though Lennox succeeded in bringing Bothwell to trial for the murder of his son he was forbidden to come into the court with more than his own household. As Edinburgh was crowded with Bothwell’s armed retainers the Earl did not venture to appear at the trial and the murderer was acquitted.

### MARY MARRIES BOTHWELL

Men noted with suspicion that the events of the 10th of February had not changed Mary’s attitude to Bothwell. Could it be that she too was privy to the murder? The question has never been answered; probably she was; at least she must have known after the event that her lover was the murderer of her husband. The majority of her subjects, it is certain, believed that she was guilty, and found confirmation of their belief in the events of the next few months. On

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

the 24th of April, as the Queen was returning from a visit to her infant son at Stirling, she was met by Bothwell with seven or eight hundred men, and carried off, a willing captive, to the castle of Dunbar. A few days later Bothwell divorced his wife, and on the 6th of May the Queen entered Edinburgh, Bothwell holding her horse's bridle the while to show that she was his prisoner. Little more than a week passed before Bothwell, now Duke of Orkney, was married to the Queen before a handful of nobles, with "nathir plesour nor pastyme."

A revolution was now only a question of days. The Queen's marriage with a Protestant damped the loyalty of the Catholics ; her infatuation for her husband's murderer grieved her best friends and caused exultation among her old enemies, who firmly believed that she had been unfaithful long before the death of Darnley and that she had been privy to the murder ; while the meteoric rise of Bothwell stirred up the jealousy of his peers. In the absence of Moray the Earl of Morton put himself at the head of the disaffected party. Hearing that Bothwell and the Queen had gone to Borthwick Castle, he rode thither with a few hundred horsemen ; but Bothwell escaped by night to Dunbar, leaving the Queen behind. Morton hurried to Edinburgh, where he was joined by others of the Protestant nobles. There an army of four thousand men was ready to do his bidding ; the citizens patrolled the streets, waiting for the attack from the castle which never came ; though no one had a word to say in praise of the Queen, the citizens' wives excelled every one else in the vigour of their denunciations.

### THE QUEEN ABDICATES

Meantime the Queen, with that desperate courage which distinguished her, disguised herself in men's clothing and galloped to meet her husband at Dunbar. An hour before midnight on the 14th of June messengers hurried into Edinburgh with the news that the Queen was advancing on the city at the head of an army. At once the drums summoned



PLATE XXXVII. LOCHLEVEN CASTLE



## MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

the soldiers to their stations, and a little after dawn on the following day the two armies came in sight of each other near Musselburgh. All day the armies marched and counter-marched about the slopes of Carberry Hill, till about eight in the evening the Queen sent a herald to the insurgent lords to demand a conference. Morton and his colleagues declared that the Queen and her husband must give themselves up if they wished to avoid bloodshed. At this the Queen's infatuation flamed up into a pure and noble passion ; she urged Bothwell to leave her and make sure of his own safety, then passed willingly into the ranks of her enemies.

The lovers never saw each other again. Bothwell escaped to Dunbar and sailed for Norway, closely followed by four ships. He evaded his pursuers, however, and reached the Norwegian coast, where he captured a ship of Lübeck. He was taken shortly afterward and carried as a pirate to Bergen, where he ended his days. His less fortunate wife was dragged to Edinburgh, and from Edinburgh to Lochleven Castle, where on the 24th of July, terrorized by threats of death, she resigned the crown to her infant son and appointed the Earl of Moray Regent.

### THE BATTLE OF LANGSIDE

Five days later Prince James was crowned. In August Moray returned to Scotland, and after professions of reluctance assumed the Regency. But there were signs that the Queen's cause was not yet dead. Châtelherault had been eager to witness the downfall of Mary ; he was not so eager to see the high office to which he had the prior claim conferred on a royal bastard. Though he still absented himself from Scotland, he encouraged his kinsmen to form a coalition with some of the West-Country nobles and to open negotiations with the imprisoned Queen. Even then Mary's plight was desperate enough, for the castle in which she was imprisoned was situated on a narrow island in the middle of a loch and seemed to afford no chance of escape. But the brother of the seneschal had fallen a victim to her charms ; aided by a boy, he stole

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

the keys of the castle, locked all the doors behind him, led Mary to the waterside, scuttled all the boats but one, and rowed the Queen across to the shore, where a band of horsemen was waiting to receive her. Mary rode to Hamilton Palace, and found herself in the midst of an army of five thousand men, commanded by Lord Claud Hamilton, Châtelherault's youngest son.

On the 3rd of May the Regent was told that the Queen had escaped on the previous night. At once he gathered an army of three thousand men and hurried to Glasgow, thus anticipating the Queen, who had planned a sudden descent on Dumbarton, and now discovered that her road was blocked. But the attempt was worth making, for Dumbarton was not only an almost impregnable fortress—it commanded the main trade route to France. The Queen took the risk, and on the 14th of May advanced to Langside, then a country village about a mile from Glasgow, where she found the Regent's forces drawn up for battle. In less than an hour the fighting was over. Mary's infantry in the vanguard allowed themselves to be entrapped in a narrow lane enclosed by walls; the cavalry would not come to their assistance, and the infantry recoiled in confusion. The main body, seeing this, fled without striking a blow. "Thaireftir," remarks the chronicler, "wes nathing hard bot crying of deid pepill." Escorted by a handful of horsemen, Mary fled to Dumfries. But she recognized that there was nothing left to hope for in Scotland; on the 19th of May, 1568, she bade farewell to her followers at Dundrennan Abbey and embarked in the vessel that was to bear her to England.

Thus she passes from Scottish history, as inscrutable a figure as when she set foot on the pier of Leith seven years before, doomed herself to misery, doomed to drive to ruin or death all who loved her or whom she loved. Of the nineteen years of exile and imprisonment, when all the forces of the Catholic reaction rallied about her, of the noble heads that bowed to the axe because of her, of the last grim scene in Fotheringay, this history will say nothing; it is more fitting matter for a historian of England or of Western Europe.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### JAMES VI IN SCOTLAND

THE flight of Queen Mary did not bring relief to Scotland ; it merely closed the first act of a drama of assassination, famine, pestilence, and civil war. It was the old story ; the King was a child of two, and the Regent, for all his energy and courage, could gain no recognition of his authority from many of the most powerful nobles. But there were novel features which raised this struggle above the level of the familiar faction fight and made it of international importance. Though those nobles who called themselves the 'Queen's lords' and clamoured for the return of Queen Mary were in many cases Protestants, though their actions were governed mainly by jealousy of Moray and a desire to have a greater share in the plunder of the Church, there is little doubt that their victory would have meant a renewal of the alliance with France and the downfall of Protestantism in Scotland. Queen Elizabeth saw this plainly enough ; she saw, too, that the triumph of the Counter-Reformation in Scotland would be disastrous for England, and supported the 'King's lords' through thick and thin. Thus while she refused to bring any definite charge against Mary as a result of the inquiries held at York and Westminster in the winter following her flight, the restraint under which the exiled Queen was kept grew more and more strict. At the same time one must not regard the 'King's lords' as truly representative of Scottish Protestantism. With the ideals of the average Presbyterian minister or educated layman they had no sympathy. They did not wish to see the establishment of a system of Church government which gave councils of

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

ministers unlimited control over the conduct of the individual member, whatever his rank might be ; still less did they want to see the Protestant Church of Scotland inherit the wealth of the Roman Catholic Church and use it solely for the provision of adequate salaries for ministers, the foundation and upkeep of schools, colleges, and hospitals, and the relief of the poor. That concern for their newly acquired estates which kept them hostile to Catholicism also made them look with suspicion on an aggressive form of Protestantism. But the Scottish clergy, though under no delusions about the religious zeal of the ' King's lords,' saw quite clearly that the existence of Protestantism was bound up with their success, and supported them consistently.

### ARREST OF LETHINGTON

To contemporary observers it seemed that the ' King's lords' had little chance of success. The bulk of the nobles, including the Hamiltons and the powerful Earl of Huntly, were arrayed against them, and at the end of the summer of 1569 there were rumours that Lethington's conduct had been ambiguous. On the 3rd of September, when the ' King's lords ' were sitting in council at Stirling, a man burst into the chamber, fell on his knees, and accused the Secretary of being guilty of Darnley's murder. Lethington was at once arrested, taken to Edinburgh, and lodged in a citizen's house. It was the common belief that this dramatic accusation had been planned by the Regent and Morton. But the device was foiled in an equally sensational manner. Kirkcaldy of Grange, now Governor of Edinburgh Castle, entered the town by night, presented a forged warrant to the guards, and carried Maitland back with him. It was now plain to the Regent that he had to strive with both the craftiest diplomat and the ablest soldier in Scotland.

### MORAY ASSASSINATED

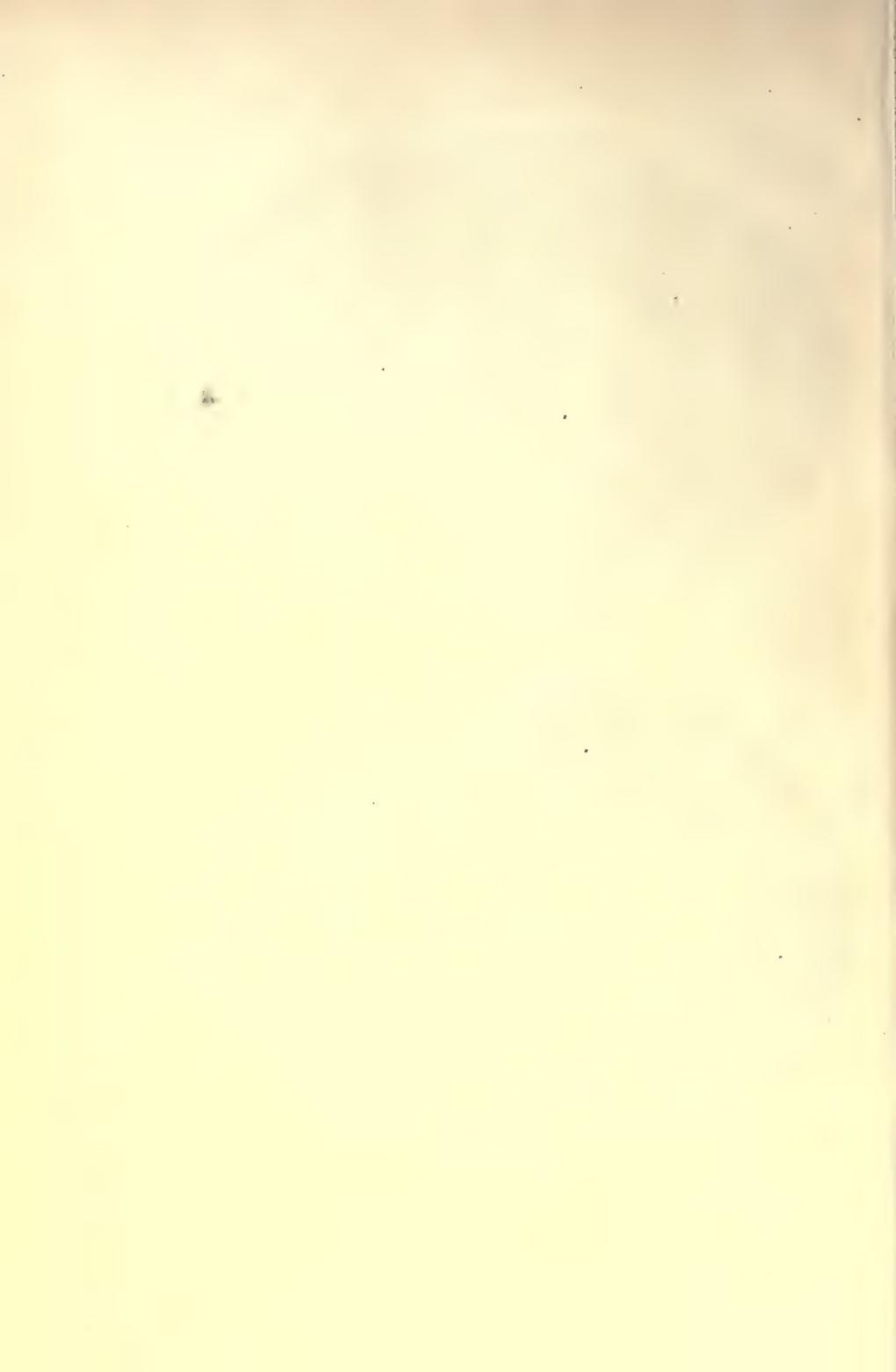
Moray's energy and military skill could effect little. A summons to the lieges to follow him to the Borders produced

THE EARL OF MORTON

PLATE XXXVIII

THE EARL OF MORAY  
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## JAMES VI IN SCOTLAND

only a hundred men. When the day of Lethington's trial approached he found Edinburgh crowded with the armed retainers of the 'Queen's lords,' and prudently resolved to take no steps against him. He marched against Dumbarton Castle early in 1570, only to discover that reinforcements had arrived from France a few days before. There was nothing for it but to return to Edinburgh. When he reached Linlithgow he was warned that James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh had lately arrived at a house belonging to the Archbishop of St Andrews, himself a Hamilton, and that this incident portended no good. He had at first intended to leave the town by the gate at which he had entered, but changed his mind. As he came near the suspected house he saw that the stair in front of it was hung with sheets ; he knew that something was wrong and tried to gallop past, but the streets were crowded and he was forced to slacken his pace. A spurt of flame came from a boarded window, a shot rang out, and Moray reeled on his horse. His followers saw that he was gravely wounded, and though he was able to walk to the castle he died that night. The assassin escaped from the house by a back door, flung himself on a horse, the property—like the musket—of "the reverend Father in God, John, Bishop of St Andrews," and fled to Hamilton, where he was received with great rejoicing by his kinsfolk.

The death of Moray brought consternation among the rank and file of the Protestants. His faults were forgotten ; they remembered only that "he wes the defendar of the weidow and faterles," who "saw that the puire had justice ass weil as the rich." He was buried with royal pomp in St Giles'. Knox moved three thousand people to tears with the recital of his virtues, and George Buchanan, the greatest classical scholar in Europe, composed his epitaph. Rumours of compromise were in the air, but the Protestants had no reason to fear a premature agreement. The English and French ambassadors sedulously widened the breach, while Elizabeth sent various inexpensive expeditions to Scotland and secured the office of Regent for the Protestant Earl of Lennox.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

### THE REGENCY OF LENNOX

Almost imperceptibly the tide began to turn. Very early on an April morning in 1571 Captains Cunningham, Crawford, and Home clambered up the Rock of Dumbarton with the help of ladders and captured the castle before the guards knew that anything extraordinary was afoot. This was a serious blow to the 'Queen's lords,' for the fortress commanded the western sea-route between Scotland and France.

A few days later the remarkable career of Archbishop Hamilton had a fitting termination ; he was found guilty of complicity in the murder of Darnley and Moray and hanged at the market cross of Stirling. Thus died the last Catholic Archbishop of St Andrews.

### THE SIEGE OF EDINBURGH CASTLE

It was plain to all men, not least to Kirkcaldy of Grange, that everything now depended on the fate of Edinburgh Castle. For months he had been recruiting men and pouring food and munitions into the stronghold, till now it was highly doubtful if any force the Regent could muster would be able to take it. But if the 'King's lords' could not take the castle by assault they could starve it out, and until the closing stages of the two years' siege that was the policy which they adopted. On the other hand, it was difficult to make the blockade effective ; even after they were threatened with the penalty of death the country-folk continued to smuggle in provisions, and the besiegers had seldom a force large enough to deal with a foray from the castle. Such sallies were frequent, for Kirkcaldy of Grange was a soldier of remarkable ability, bold in conception, swift in execution, a firm believer in the principle that a daring attack is the surest defence. To what lengths he was prepared to go was soon manifest.

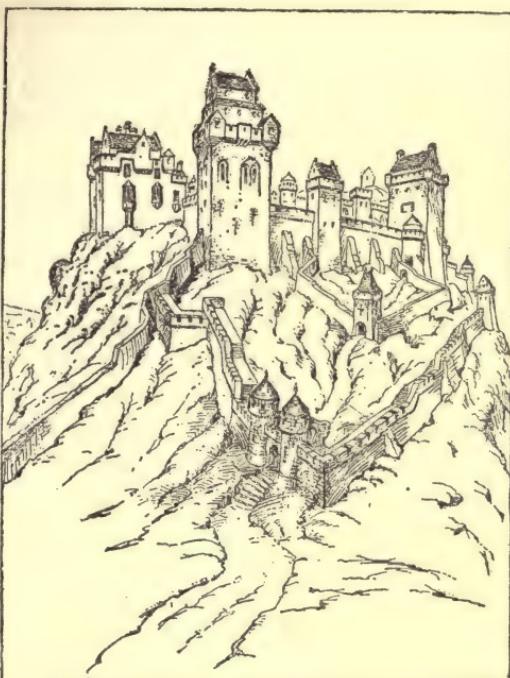
On the 28th of August the King's party met in Parliament at Stirling. The King, a child of five years, was there, " cled maist magnificentlie with rob royall," and recited a little speech. But the summons of forfeiture against the Hamilton ;

## JAMES VI IN SCOTLAND

and the election of the Lords of the Articles wearied him and he tried to poke his finger through a hole in the tablecloth, asking at the same time what house this was. One of the nobles explained that it was the Parliament. "Then," said the King solemnly, "this Parliament has a hole into it."

### RAID ON STIRLING

The superstitious soon had reason to remember this speech. On the evening of the 3rd of September Huntly left Edinburgh at the head of four hundred horsemen, mostly Borderers, and, riding all night, came to Stirling before four o'clock next morning. None of the 'King's lords' dreamt that they were at hand. A traitor opened the gate to them, and, galloping wildly up the narrow streets with shouts of "A Hamilton! A Hamilton!" they shot down the few burgesses who tried to oppose them and made their way to the lodgings of their chief enemies. The doors of the Regent's house were burst open, and he surrendered on the promise that his life would be spared. The rest of the 'King's lords' were easily captured, though when the Earl of Morton was charged to yield he "debated the same manfully," till his house was set on fire. So far the raid had been a complete success, but the shops and stables of Stirling



EDINBURGH CASTLE, BEFORE 1573

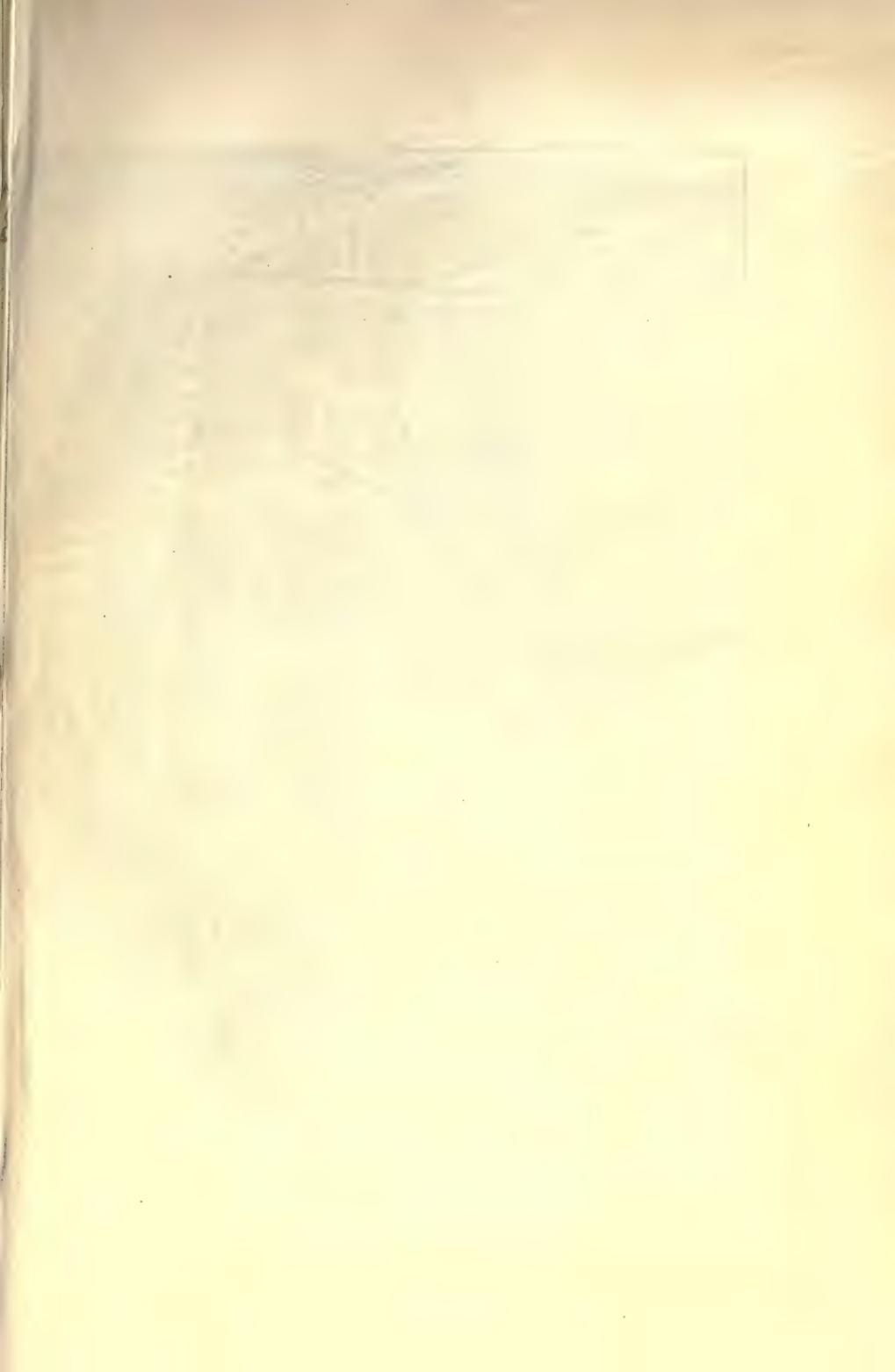
## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

presented too many temptations to the Borderers, who dispersed in search of plunder. Meantime the uproar and the bursts of flame in the town had shown the garrison that something was wrong, and, dragging out one or two cannon to a point of vantage, they soon cleared the main street. Huntly, with the remnant of his horsemen, tried to fight his way to the city gate, but he was assailed so furiously by the burgesses that he was forced to let his prisoners go. In the confusion, however, the Regent was mortally wounded by a pistol-shot.

### THE REGENCY OF MAR

But this famous raid did not hasten the end of the struggle. It did not weaken the ‘King’s lords,’ for Lennox had been forced by Queen Elizabeth “to accept a charge upon him that he was not able to perform or guide,” and was better out of the way. On the other hand, Morton, by far the ablest of the ‘King’s lords,’ was passed over in the election of the new Regent and the office given to the Earl of Mar. For another year the civil war continued, with steadily increasing ferocity on both sides. In November 1571, for example, Adam Gordon, one of the most chivalrous of the Regent’s opponents, burned the place of Towie, careless of the fact that the lady of the house, her daughters and servants, were within. In the early days of the war each battle was followed by an exchange of prisoners; now prisoners were usually hanged. “At this time,” says Pitscottie, “all the realme of Scotland war at divisioun, for na man that met ane uthir be the way durst schaw him his mynd nor quhais man he was so this realme stuid in ane miserable estait baith of hounger the swerd and civill veir daylie.” And sober country gentlemen like Pitscottie, who hated Queen Mary almost as much as they hated the Pope, began to suspect that “the kingis lordis tuik nane regaird to the common weill of the cuntrie nor to the kingis honour nor proffeit nor yit to the mantinance of the glorie of god nor the trew kirk thairof bot to thair awin particular proffeit.”

At the end of July 1572 a truce was proclaimed through the





THE SIEGE OF EDI





## JAMES VI IN SCOTLAND

efforts of the English and French ambassadors, and negotiations began. Kirkcaldy of Grange insisted not only that his followers should receive complete absolution for all their past deeds, but that he should be granted twenty thousand marks. Morton stirred up the ‘King’s lords’ to reject his proposals, and Mar, heavy at heart because the last chance of peace seemed to have disappeared, retired to Stirling, where a few days later he died. “The maist caus of his deid,” says the old chronicler, “wes that he lufit peace and culd nocht have the same.”

### THE REGENCY OF MORTON

Morton, though he was detested by his own party as much as by his avowed opponents, could no longer be denied the place to which his ability entitled him, and in November he was appointed Regent. With all his faults, of which avarice was the most notorious, he was yet the man for the occasion, one who detested half-measures and saw that the future of Scotland was bound up with that of England. Edinburgh

Castle had to be taken; the forces of the ‘King’s lords’ were unequal to the task; an appeal must therefore be made to Queen Elizabeth. Elizabeth was not slow to respond; in January 1573 she dispatched an ambassador to Scotland with £10,000, and promised more effective support. The ‘Queen’s lords’ saw that they were beaten, and in February the majority of them agreed to recognize the authority of King James and the Regent. Not so Kirkcaldy of Grange and Lethington. Confident in the strength of their lofty fortress,



AN ARQUEBUSIER

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

they demanded that the terms which they had proposed in the previous autumn should be accepted. Morton sent an urgent message to England ; for a fortnight English engineers, pikemen, hagbutters, or arquebus-men, and gunners, poured into the town, and at the beginning of May the castle was completely surrounded by batteries of cannon. After a week's cannonade the great tower of the castle fell, though in the meantime Kirkcaldy's hagbutters had picked off many of the English gunners. Two days later the besiegers tried to storm the castle ; for thirteen hours the fighting continued, but the garrison drove back every attack.

### THE CASTLE SURRENDERS

In spite of this success Kirkcaldy knew what the end would be, and on the 29th of May gave up the castle. Lethington and he were taken to Leith, where Lethington died suddenly —so suddenly that he was thought to have perished by his own hand. A worse fate was reserved for the gallant Kirkcaldy ; he was found guilty of treason and hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh.

With the fall of Edinburgh the Scottish Wars of Religion, which had continued intermittently for fourteen years, came to an end. There were Catholic plots and risings in plenty during the next twenty years, but never again was the country aflame from end to end, with father fighting against son and brother against brother ; never again was Protestantism so nearly submerged. In France, in Flanders, in Ireland, the battle was still raging bitterly ; only a few months before the news of the massacre of St Bartholomew had sent a thrill of horror through the length and breadth of Britain, and militant Catholicism was fated to win back still more of the ground that it had lost, but the fall of Edinburgh Castle was a sign that in Scotland the Counter-Reformation had exhausted its force.

For eight years Morton, detested though he was by every section of his countrymen, continued to be the virtual ruler of Scotland. In 1578 a coalition of the nobles hostile to him did, indeed, force him to resign the office of Regent, but his

## JAMES VI IN SCOTLAND

fall was only temporary ; within three months he had regained all his former power. His policy, as he himself enunciated it, was to maintain the friendship with England, pacify the disturbed parts of the kingdom, and reduce the finances of the country to order. Unfortunately his political wisdom was equalled by his avarice and selfishness ; the poor people said openly that there was no man in Scotland with property whom the Regent did not rob sooner or later, and the clergy saw clearly what they had long suspected, that he was but a lukewarm Presbyterian.

### THE REFORMED CHURCH OF 1560

The affairs of the Church were indeed in a perplexed condition. It is a common belief that on a certain day in 1560 Catholicism suddenly vanished from Scotland and Presbyterianism as we know it to-day suddenly appeared. But the Scottish Church of Knox's time was passing through the stage of experiment and differed in several important respects from the Scottish Church of later times. The service was still liturgical. In one or two cases the English Book of Common Prayer was used, though Knox's Book of Common Order was in general use. At the same time the most important part of the service was the sermon, which was usually of considerable length, and often contained pungent criticisms of prominent statesmen or of the King himself. The General Assembly, composed of ministers and laymen, regulated the affairs of the whole Church, but the organization of the individual churches into presbyteries and synods, each ruled over by its own ecclesiastical court, had been carried out in only a few districts. Those who held office in the Church were divided into five grades : superintendents, whose chief duty was to organize and strengthen the Church in districts where it had little hold ; ministers ; readers, who did not preach, but simply read the Scriptures ; elders, who were responsible for the discipline of the individual churches ; and deacons, who collected and administered the funds of their churches. The readers, elders, and deacons were laymen.

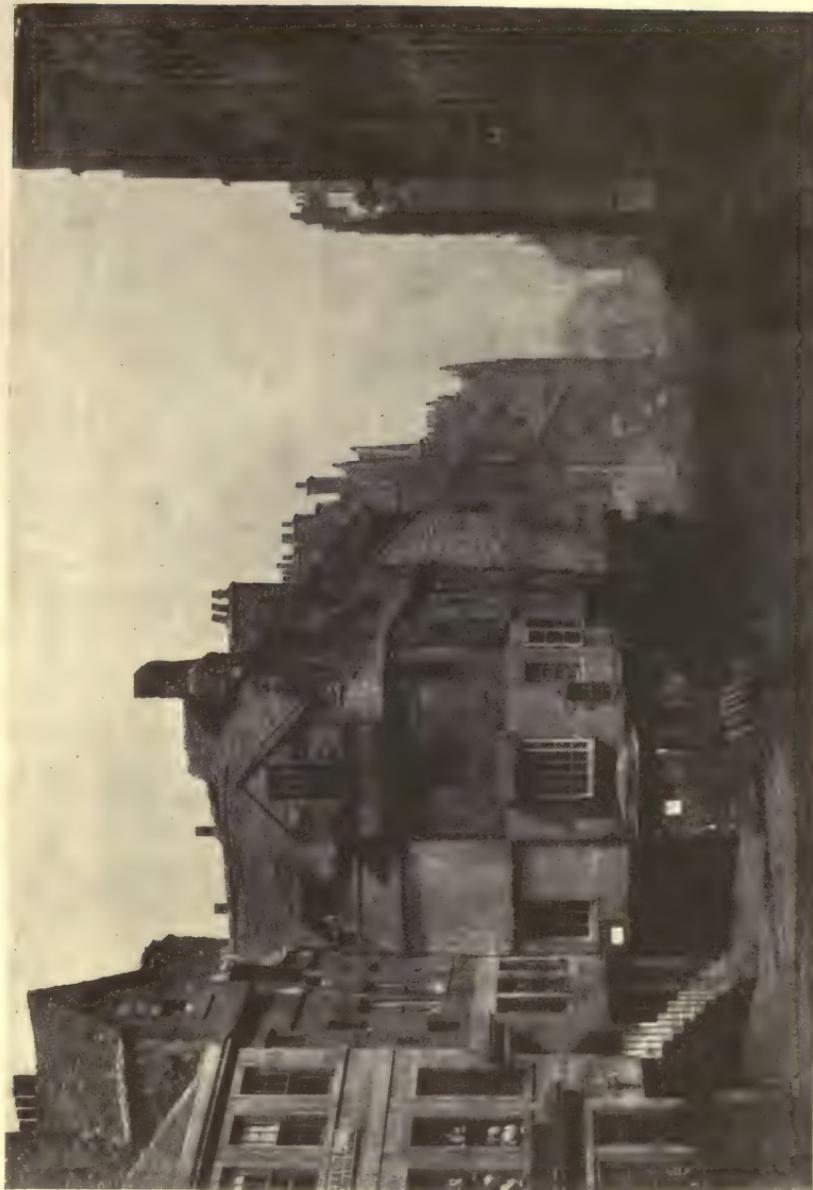
# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

## MORTON'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY

Such was the constitution of the Scottish Church in the twelve years after 1560. One is therefore somewhat astonished to find from the Acts of the Scottish Parliament that in spite of the statutes against priests and the papal authority bishops, abbots, and priors attended Parliament by the dozen. The explanation is that these seeming clerics were laymen who had acquired certain Church lands. When Colonel William Stewart, for example, acquired the lands of the Priory of Pittenweem he was known as the Commandator of Pittenweem, though he remained a colonel. The tenants, however, frequently objected to this arrangement. The old worldly and dissolute ecclesiastics did at least do something in return for the revenue which they received ; the new lords—"these Achans," as Pitscottie calls them—did nothing at all except, in many cases, make the conditions of tenure much harsher. That they should have some difficulty in collecting their revenues was only to be expected, and the Regent, who had acquired the lands attached to the Archbishopric of St Andrews, shared their wish for some change in the existing system. Again, the Regent regarded the difference in religious beliefs as the greatest obstacle to that union of England and Scotland for which he was working with all his powers.

Morton's schemes met with little opposition. As early as January 1572 he persuaded certain commissioners of the Church to agree that the old ecclesiastical titles should be conferred on some of the clergy, and a few days later made John Douglas, a professor of theology, Archbishop of St Andrews. His example was followed by most of the nobles who held benefices, and the people paid their dues far more readily than they had done before. But the prelates were allowed to retain only a small fraction of their revenues. They exercised no supervision over the other clergy ; their duty was simply to make money flow more rapidly into the coffers of their patrons. The irreverent straightway called them 'tulchans,' a nickname which Pitscottie explains. Just as a cow which had lost her

PLATE XXXIX. JOHN KNOX'S HOUSE





## JAMES VI IN SCOTLAND

calf was given "ane tulchen . . . or scho wald<sup>1</sup> gif milk, ane calfis skin stoppit<sup>2</sup> with stra, so had the lordis ane counterfett bischope in the habeit of ane religious man, thocht<sup>3</sup> he had na knawledg of the cuir nor office, bot knawing weill that the peopill seand<sup>4</sup> his presentatioun vald pay thair tiendis.<sup>5</sup>"

### DEATH OF KNOX

Knox might have resisted these changes, but Knox was dying. James Melvill saw him in St Andrews that year, walking slowly to the parish church wrapped up in furs and leaning on a staff. He was so weak that he had to be lifted into the pulpit, "whar he behovit to lean at his first entrie, bot or he haid done with his sermon, he was sa active and vigorous that he was lyk to ding that pulpit in blads<sup>6</sup> and flie out of it." On the very day that Morton was proclaimed Regent Knox died, and for two of the most critical years in its history Presbyterianism had no champion of first-rate ability.

The institution of 'tulchan' bishops was the first of several ingenious devices. Soon after Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland it had been decided that those who held Church lands should give up a third of the revenues derived from these estates, and that the money should be used to provide salaries for the ministers and meet the expenses of the Court. In 1573 the Regent announced that in future he would collect the money and distribute it to the ministers. That the distribution would be conducted with an undue regard for economy was apparent in the following year, when Morton introduced a scheme for making one minister do the work of four parishes on one man's salary.

### THE SECOND BOOK OF DISCIPLINE

But a worthy successor to Knox had now appeared in Scotland. This was Andrew Melvill, who, after learning all that St Andrews University had to give him, had gone to the Continent, where he spent ten years, the first two in Paris as a student and the remainder in Poitiers and Geneva as a

<sup>1</sup> Before she would.

<sup>2</sup> Stuffed.

<sup>3</sup> Though.

<sup>4</sup> Seeing.

<sup>5</sup> Tithes.

<sup>6</sup> Dash it in pieces.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

professor. In learning he far excelled Knox ; indeed, among Scottish scholars he was second only to the great Buchanan ; he excelled Knox too, if it were possible, in courage and intemperate speech. Melvill soon became the leader of those who desired to see the office of bishop abolished and the unequivocal recognition by Parliament of a national Church organized on Presbyterian lines. The plan of the reorganized Presbyterian Church was laid down in the Second Book of Discipline, presented by the General Assembly to the King in 1578. The grades of superintendent and reader were to be abolished—the superintendent being perilously like a bishop. Doctors or teachers of theology, however, were to be recognized. The affairs of each church were to be regulated by a kirk session, composed of the minister and elders ; churches, again, would be organized into small groups known as presbyteries, governed in similar fashion by a court of ministers and elders. All the presbyteries of a certain district were to form a province, regulated by a synodal assembly or synod, while the General Assembly remained as the supreme ecclesiastical court. The synods and the General Assembly, like the lower courts, contained both ministers and laymen. All this simply concerned the internal organization of the Church, but two of the proposals were certain to lead the Church into conflict with the State. One was the demand that the whole property of the Roman Catholic Church should be handed over to the Reformed Church ; the other was the contention that the spheres of the Church and the civil Government were distinct. This latter proposal, on the face of it, did not seem likely to provoke a conflict, but the interpretation of it was peculiar : not only was the King forbidden to alter the constitution of the Church ; he was expected to ratify the decrees of the Church and support its ordinances with the secular power, while the Church claimed the right of deciding what was within its sphere and what was not. Suppose, for example, the King opened negotiations with France or allowed the French ambassador to make a long stay at his Court ; the Church at once protested on the ground that France was a

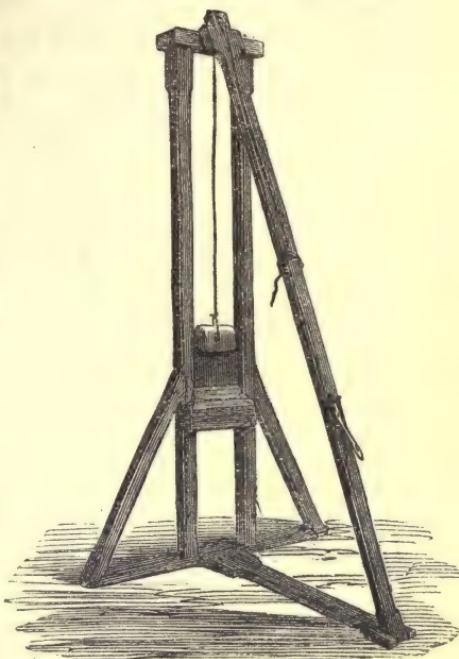
## JAMES VI IN SCOTLAND

Catholic Power. In effect, therefore, the demand that Church and State should be distinct was a demand that the Church should be supreme, a demand which King James saw no other way of answering than by bringing the Church under the control of the State.

### THE FALL OF MORTON

But though Morton saw that the discussion of the Second Book of Discipline was postponed the ministers were soon to discover that they could have more dangerous enemies than Morton. In the autumn of 1579 Esmé Stewart, Lord d'Aubigny, a nephew of the Regent Lennox, who had spent all his life in France, arrived at Edinburgh. He gave no reason for his coming, and soon after his arrival professed conversion to Protestantism, but few doubted that he was a secret envoy from the French Court, sent to detach Scotland from its friendship with England and secure the restoration of Catholicism. The charm of his manners, the "French fashions and toys" that he introduced, and his gay companions soon "bewitched the youth" of the King. In March 1580 he was made Earl of Lennox, though the lawful Earl was still alive; in June he was admitted to the Privy Council; in September he became Lord High Chamberlain; and at the end of the year he felt confident that he could measure his strength against that of Morton.

On the last day of the year James Stewart, Captain of the Guard, made his way into the Council Chamber and, falling on his knees, declared that Morton was guilty of the murder



'THE MAIDEN'

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

of Darnley. Morton was arrested at once. Queen Elizabeth, knowing that the *entente* between Scotland and England was in peril, protested most vigorously, and ordered an army to assemble on the Borders. The Scottish Parliament at once imposed a tax of £40,000 for the defence of the kingdom. Elizabeth gave way, and on the 2nd of June, 1581, Morton was beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh by 'the Maiden,' the instrument which he had himself introduced into Scotland.

### THE RAID OF RUTHVEN

Elizabeth's fears had some justification. For more than a year after the death of Morton, Lennox, now a Duke, and Captain James Stewart, now Earl of Arran, directed the affairs of Scotland. Under their guidance the country drifted away from its friendship with England back to its old friendship with France. But their policy was by no means popular in the country, and they were speedily involved in a quarrel with the Church, which had all along regarded their ostentatious Protestantism with suspicion. On the death of the 'tulchan' Archbishop of Glasgow Robert Montgomery, Minister of Stirling, was appointed to the vacant benefice. The ecclesiastical courts straightway forbade him to take office, followed up his defiance by excommunicating him, and when questioned by the Privy Council denied that they were responsible to any civil court. At the same time some of the nobles, the Earls of Gowrie, Mar, and Glencairn, Lord Lindsay, and the Master of Glamis, being jealous of the influence which the two adventurers had gained over the King, and fearful of the way in which it might be used, had formed a league against Lennox and Arran.

In August 1582, when the King was on a hunting expedition near Perth, he was invited to the castle of Ruthven, which belonged to Gowrie. He went there, it so happened, unaccompanied by either Lennox or Arran, and found that he was a captive in the hands of Gowrie and his friends. No violence was offered to him ; the object of the conspirators was simply to slip into the places of Lennox and Arran and reverse their

## JAMES VI IN SCOTLAND

policy. Lennox was banished to France, where he died a few months later, Arran was imprisoned, friendly relations with England were re-established, and freedom of speech in churches and ecclesiastical assemblies was recognized.

### THE KING'S ESCAPE

But the King wept with rage when the black-robed divines excommunicated him from the pulpit, and sighed for his gay companions. On the 27th of June, 1583, he slipped quietly from Falkland to the castle of St Andrews, where, surrounded by friends, he could make his own terms with the confederate lords. Arran was brought from his retirement, and soon wielded all that power which before he had shared with Lennox. At first the Gowrie faction made no protest ; Gowrie, indeed, retained his place on the Privy Council for some time after Arran's restoration to power ; but in the spring of 1584 they planned another sudden stroke, the capture of Stirling Castle. On the 17th of April Mar and the Master of Glamis did actually succeed in getting possession of the castle ; but everything went wrong : Gowrie had been captured in Dundee two days before, the country did not rise in their support, and news was brought to them that the King was marching from Edinburgh at the head of twelve thousand men. Accordingly they deserted the castle and fled to England, leaving Gowrie to die beneath the headsman's axe.

Arran now began to carry out his ecclesiastical policy and strip the Church of every shred of power or independence. Already Andrew Melvill had fled to England, preferring exile to the filthy dungeons of Blackness. In May the storm burst. It was decreed in Parliament that the royal power was supreme over all estates, both spiritual and temporal, that the King was competent to judge all persons, whether spiritual or temporal, in all matters, that no ecclesiastical court could sit without the King's command or consent, and that the judgments of such a court were not binding unless they were ratified by the King. The King's power in general would be exercised through bishops, who, unlike the 'tulchan' bishops, were to

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

have full power to direct the affairs of their dioceses. That was not all : criticism of the King, his parents, or his ancestors in pulpit or elsewhere was forbidden. All ministers, professors, and schoolmasters were required to sign a declaration promising obedience to all these decrees and undertaking to be submissive to the King and his bishops. If they refused they were to be deprived of their offices and declared incapable of holding them ever afterward.

### AN ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND

It was a hollow triumph. Many of the ministers refused to submit and fled to England, where they joined themselves to Argyll, Angus, Mar, and the other exiled lords. The exiles were treated hospitably, for Elizabeth regarded them as important pieces in the game of diplomacy. It is true that Arran had deserted his old policy and was now working secretly for an alliance with England ; in spite of that Elizabeth did not trust him, and thought that the stability of any alliance would be most surely guaranteed by his dismissal from office and the return of the exiled lords. Negotiations for an offensive and defensive alliance between the two kingdoms were pushed forward, and on the 31st of July, 1585, a Convention of the Estates assembled at St Andrews declared that as the Catholics had joined in a most un-Christian confederacy against the true religion it was necessary that a league should be formed with all princes sincerely professing the evangel, and especially with the Queen of England, as the crowns of the two countries were "naturallie Jonit be blude and habitatioun, of ane religioun." The league was to be defensive and offensive, and James was promised a pension of £5000 a year.

The fall of Arran came hard upon this treaty. Four days earlier, at a Border court held by the Scottish and English Wardens, Lord Francis Russell had been mortally wounded. Elizabeth accused Arran of instigating Ker of Ferniehurst, the Scottish Warden, to murder Russell, demanded that Ker should be delivered to her, and, anticipating a refusal, let slip the exiled lords. On the 17th of October they crossed the

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Border and began to advance on Stirling. Arran hurried to the castle, that he might organize the defence, but no one wanted to fight; when the exiled lords appeared before the walls of the town on the 1st of November little resistance was offered to them, and their banners were soon flying in front of the castle. Arran fled when he saw his enemies enter the town. Four days later the exiled lords kissed the King's hand and were admitted to their places on the Privy Council.

Arran's romantic career had a curious end. He became Captain James Stewart once more, retired into private life, and was forgotten at that Court where he had once been more powerful than the King. A few years later he was murdered in a private quarrel, but even the exact date of his death is unknown.

## SCOTTISH RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND

The stability of the new alliance was proved by the conduct of the Scottish Government in the fateful year of the Armada. The execution of Queen Mary in 1587 had shaken the alliance. Catholics and Protestants alike were furious, and it was suspected that the Scots might listen to the overtures of Spain. But the King and his ministers, knowing that the ruin of Scotland would follow the ruin of England, refused to be drawn into a war of revenge and prepared to repel any descent of the Armada upon the Scottish coasts. From that time onward the relations between the two countries grew more friendly, though in 1596 an extraordinary incident almost caused a rupture. A notorious Border freebooter, Kinmont Willie, was arrested by the English Deputy Warden within the Scottish border on a day of truce and carried off to Carlisle Castle. Straightway Scott of Buccleuch, the Scottish Warden, gathered a band of eighty horsemen, galloped across the Border, forced his way into Carlisle Castle, and rode off with his prisoner before the garrison had recovered from its surprise. A few years before this would have provoked a war; now, after a few weeks of recrimination, both countries agreed that it did not furnish sufficient cause for a breach of friendship.

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James, indeed, would do nothing to jeopardize his succession to the English throne. His decrees relaxing customs regulations in favour of English merchants, forbidding raids into England, or prohibiting the sending of help to the Irish rebels show how studiously he set himself to win the favour of Elizabeth. His efforts were not wholly successful. Though the increase of his pension to £7000 was not a sign of displeasure, yet to the end of her life Elizabeth refused to recognize him as her successor.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### SCOTLAND AT THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

FTER the fall of Arran the direction of affairs passed into the hands of the Secretary, Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane, a younger brother of the more famous Maitland of Lethington. In 1587 he became Chancellor, a position which he held till his death in 1595, and under his sage and moderate rule the more clamant grievances in the Church were redressed, the administration of justice was improved, and the prestige of the Crown increased. But the ten years of Maitland's ascendancy can be called quiet only in comparison with more troubled periods. From 1589 to 1595 the powerful Catholic nobles in the north, the Earls of Huntly, Errol, and Angus, were either plotting against the King or in open rebellion. They were not powerful enough to overthrow the King ; on the other hand, the King, with his depleted treasury and standing army of only forty men, was not powerful enough to crush them. Much to the disgust of both Queen Elizabeth and the Scottish clergy, James was satisfied if he could keep his enemies quiet.

Nor were the three Catholic Earls the only enemies with whom the King had to deal. Far more dangerous, just because he was far more impetuous and irrational, was Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell. One could guess what other men might do under certain conditions ; Bothwell's conduct was always incalculable : he puzzled his contemporaries just as much as he puzzles the modern historian. In April 1591 he was confined in Edinburgh Castle on the charge of consulting with witches and plotting the death of the King ; two months

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later he escaped, and though the King followed him to the Borders he succeeded in eluding his pursuers. He bewildered the citizens of Edinburgh by suddenly appearing among them and disappearing before they could lay hands upon him. Finally, on the 19th of December he appeared at the door of the King's bedroom in Holyrood with a band of "homicides, oppressors, and thieves," who first tried to set the chamber on fire, then battered with hammers at the Queen's door, and then, having failed to lay hands on either the King or the Queen, rushed out of the palace, butchering the servants who tried to turn them back. The Parliament found Bothwell guilty of treason, but as he was still at large the sentence did not keep him from trying to break open the back door of Falkland Palace in the summer of 1592 or making his way into Dalkeith Palace a few weeks later. Neither of these ventures was successful, but his fourth attempt put the King's life in his hands. Early in the morning of the 24th of July, 1593, he and his accomplices appeared in the King's bedroom. When the King saw the enemy who had so persistently sought his life he cried, "Treason! treason!" whereupon Bothwell knelt before him and begged for mercy. "Nay," cried the King, flinging himself in a chair, "you have dishonoured me. Strike, traitor, and make an end of thy work, for I desire not to live any longer." Meantime, as others of Bothwell's accomplices had seized the gates and the outer court of the palace, he could dictate his own terms to the King. Very unwillingly James presided at a court convened to find Bothwell innocent of offences which the judges knew he had committed; very unwillingly a few days later he promised to pardon the Earl and restore him to his estates.

But James would not admit the validity of a promise which had been extorted from him by force. In September Bothwell was informed that only if he left the realm could he get the benefit of the King's promise of pardon. So, although he had once threatened to become the champion of the Presbyterians, he joined the Catholic Earls in their last rebellion, and, like them, was forced to flee from the country in 1595. They were

## SCOTLAND UNDER JAMES VI

soon allowed to return ; Bothwell wandered through France and Spain to Italy, where he died in poverty many years afterward.

### THE POLICY OF JAMES VI

James was now almost thirty years old, learned beyond what was customary with kings—George Buchanan had been his tutor—his mind full of quaint and ingenious devices for the better government of the country. It is the fashion to decry him as a pedantic doctrinaire, who applied doubtful principles to groups of facts which he had not investigated and did not understand. We shall be nearer the truth if we call him an opportunist, a man more like Charles II than Charles I, cunning, patient, industrious, rarely revealing his true purpose till he was ready to carry it out. Nor can we deny him a considerable share of political wisdom ; he certainly did not understand England, but he knew Scotland through and through, and his political theories were gathered as much from peculiarly painful experience as from books. Any one can pick holes in his theory of absolute monarchy or accuse him of sharp practice in his dealings with the Church ; any one can apply twentieth-century remedies to sixteenth-century needs. But it was plain to James, as it had been to every other sovereign of Scotland who knew his business, that only when the King was respected and feared, only when all his counsellors were hangable, did the wheels of government run smoothly. Similarly, his treatment of the Church was dictated simply by political motives. The ministers, with their judicial and legislative powers, had a tremendous hold over the mass of the people ; when these same ministers criticized the policy of the sovereign in the pulpit, openly expressed disbelief of some of his statements, and tried to force his hand by excommunicating rebels with whom he was negotiating, their influence became a grave danger to the State. In essence, the policy of James was identical with that of his ablest predecessors ; the only difference was that, being a man of a rather timorous temper, with no taste for warfare,

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he preferred to work by cunning, to split the ranks of his opponents and lure his adversaries on into difficult positions rather than resort to an open display of force.

There is little doubt that James's real wishes were often overruled by the Chancellor, especially in matters concerning the Church. In 1592 Maitland used his influence to secure the definite recognition by Parliament of the Presbyterian system of Church government. Kirk sessions regulated the affairs of each church, and were responsible to the presbytery of the district ; the decisions of the presbyteries, again, could be revised by the synods, while the synods had to carry out the decrees of the General Assembly. The power of excommunication was left in the hands of the ecclesiastical courts.

When the Chancellor died in 1595 the King felt that he was at last free to govern the country according to his own theories. He declared that he was resolved no more to use great men as Chancellors in his affairs, but only such as he could correct and were hangable ; he removed all officers of State connected with the Treasury and the Exchequer, appointed in their places eight Commissioners of the Exchequer, popularly known as the 'Octavians,' and laid his plans for the subversion of Presbyterianism. His policy was peculiarly skilful ; carefully avoiding any appearance of making the first move, he waited till his impetuous opponents blundered into a difficult position, and then acted with lightning rapidity.

### THE KING AND THE CHURCH

The efficiency with which the 'Octavians' discharged their duties of reducing the finances to order made them hated by the courtiers ; that some of them had been Catholics gained for them the distrust of the ministers, who were already groaning over the leniency with which the King had treated the Catholic Earls. The discontent soon became vocal. In November 1596 David Black, the Minister of St Andrews, was summoned before the Privy Council for preaching a sermon which the King regarded as seditious. Acting on the advice of his colleagues, he protested that the Privy Council was not



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competent to sit in judgment upon him, whereupon the King ordered him to enter into ward in the north until his punishment was finally settled. For some weeks the struggle dragged on, the King showing his determination to put an end to seditious speeches, the representatives of the Church refusing to surrender the right of free criticism, till on the 17th of December, "that accursed wrackfull day to the Kirk and Comoun weill of Scotland," while the King was sitting with his judges in the Tolbooth, a tumult broke out in the streets of Edinburgh. How it came about no one knew, though some suspected that it had been engineered by that faction of the courtiers who desired the overthrow both of the Church and the 'Octavians.' No one was hurt ; the magistrates, after some delay, quieted the uproar and escorted the King to Holyrood, while the citizens, after waiting for an attack which never came, went home and took off their armour.

It was only a trifle, but it gave the King his opportunity. Next day, after forbidding any courts of justice to be held in Edinburgh and ordering the judges and other royal officials to be ready to accompany him wherever he chose to take them, he rode off to Linlithgow. There, a few days later, the Council ratified all the acts establishing the King's spiritual and temporal supremacy, declared that those who refused to give their written consent to this would be deprived of their benefices and would receive no benefice, pension, or stipend in future, and found the "rascall multitude" who had taken part in the tumult and the "seditious ministers" who had instigated the riot alike guilty of treason.

The King returned to Edinburgh in the early days of 1597 ; but his visit brought no comfort. The resignation of the 'Octavians,' a doubtful change at the best, could not make up for the decrees passed by Conventions of the Estates, in which only the nobles and high officials were present, forbidding any ecclesiastical court to meet in Edinburgh again, declaring that in spite of all their protestations of innocence the magistrates were responsible for the riot, and ordering the Court of Session to sit at Perth in future.

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### THE PERTH ASSEMBLY

This last decree revealed the King's purpose beyond any possibility of doubt ; Edinburgh was to be degraded from its proud position of capital of the kingdom and the place of honour given to Perth. James followed up this blow by summoning a Convention of the Estates and a General Assembly to meet at Perth at the beginning of March 1597. As the extreme Presbyterians came chiefly from Edinburgh and Glasgow and the adjacent districts and as the northern clergy were somewhat jealous of the overbearing 'Popes' of Edinburgh this choice of Perth as a meeting-place was an astute move on the part of the King. "Coming to Perthe," says James Melvill, "we fand the ministers of the Northe conveined in sic number as was nocht wount to be sein at our Assemblies and everie ane graitter courteours nor uther. Sa that my eis saw a new sight, and eares hard new voces ; viz. flockes of ministers going in and out at the king's palace, let at night and betymes in the morning." The King had no difficulty in getting what he wanted from the Assembly. The ministers first agreed that though they had not met at the time and place specified by the previous Assembly, but simply because they had been summoned by the King, yet they had been lawfully convened and possessed all the powers of an ordinary Assembly. They further agreed that it was lawful for the King to propose any alteration in the constitution of the Church, that no ecclesiastical court could meet without his consent, and that no minister could reprove him from the pulpit until he had first complained to the presbytery, synod, or Assembly.

This triumph was followed a few days later by a second. The magistrates and bailies of Edinburgh, fearing the ruin of their city, terrified, too, by threats of confiscation and imprisonment, submitted to all the King's demands, confessed their faults on their knees, and paid him a peace-offering of £20,000. The King saw that he was not compelled to stop there. He had now no fear that the Edinburgh ministers would be

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supported by the citizens, and the device of convening Assemblies in the northern towns could be repeated with advantage. In November he persuaded the Parliament to consent to all ministers provided with prelacies having a vote in Parliament; in March 1598 an Assembly convened at Dundee agreed that the Church should be represented in Parliament, and that the representatives should be equal in number to those clerics who sat in Parliament before 1560. This foreshadowed the introduction of Episcopacy. Some of the clerics were indifferent; some had been cowed by the King's sudden display of energy; some were of opinion that representation in Parliament in the form first proposed by the King would strengthen the Church and give it more control over the national policy. Only a few of the extreme Presbyterians protested, and if the recent Acts of Parliament and of the Assembly meant anything they could easily be silenced. Still the King knew that even the loyal atmosphere of Dundee would not make an Assembly consent to the introduction of bishops as such, and summoned a Convention of university professors and representatives of synods to meet him at Falkland in July 1598. Even this body was not as compliant as he could have wished; it consented to the introduction into Parliament of ministers chosen by the King from lists submitted by the ecclesiastical courts, but it refused to call them bishops and declared that they must be accountable to the General Assembly.

### THE GOWRIE CONSPIRACY

The King did not try to force matters. He waited, and in 1600 his opportunity came. On the 6th of August an astounding story was brought to Edinburgh. It was said that on the previous day, as the King was going from Falkland Palace to hunt, he was accosted by Alexander Ruthven, a younger son of that Earl of Gowrie who had been executed in 1584, who told him that his brother, the Earl, had discovered a pot of gold. James rode off at once, followed at some distance by his nobles. Perth was soon reached, and, accompanied by

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young Ruthven, the King disappeared within Gowrie House. His nobles rode up, found the Earl of Gowrie in the courtyard, and after waiting for some time were assured by the Earl that James had left the house. At that moment a wild cry was heard, and, looking up, the nobles saw at a window above them the King's face, flushed and distorted. Some minutes elapsed before they could make their way to him, when they found him standing by the dead body of the Earl, while a few yards farther off lay the corpse of his brother.

The Earl, though little more than a youth, was possessed of singular gravity and learning ; he was, moreover, one of the few nobles who showed much attachment to Presbyterianism, and only a month or two before he had in a speech of unusual boldness urged Parliament to refuse a grant of money to the King. He had become the idol of the extreme Presbyterians, who regarded him as a future champion, and it is little wonder that when the five ministers of Edinburgh were told that they must give thanks in public for the King's marvellous delivery from two assassins they flatly refused either to preach a thanksgiving sermon or to believe the story.

We know now that Gowrie had actually been plotting against the King, though he intended to kidnap him, not to murder him, but many of the circumstances were so extraordinary that there was some excuse for the scepticism of the ministers. It was a serious blunder. The recalcitrants were at once summoned before the Council, and before the 11th of September all but one, Robert Bruce, confessed that they had erred. The King was not satisfied ; at an ecclesiastical Convention held in Holyrood in October he declared that they should be excluded permanently from their churches in Edinburgh. As this gave rise to much contention James Melvill, the most determined opponent of Episcopacy on the Convention, was sent to find out if they would resign their charges voluntarily. When he had gone the King appointed three ministers Bishops of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness respectively.

The remainder of the King's stay in Scotland saw a steady increase in the subserviency of the Church. The Assembly

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met when and where the King pleased ; as ministers who showed any sign of independence felt the royal displeasure sooner or later, the King had no difficulty in making it carry out his wishes. But one must not regard the changes as more sweeping than they really were. The introduction of Episcopacy was purely a political move. The bishops differed in many respects from the English bishops : they were not consecrated, but derived their title and authority solely from the King ; they enjoyed none of the wealth of the pre-Reformation bishoprics ; there was no sacrament of the Church which only they were allowed to perform. Nor did the King's policy affect in the least degree the doctrines or ceremonies of the Church ; for him the one thing essential as yet was that the Church should not interfere with the State.

### THE UNION OF THE CROWNS

But a momentous change in the King's fortunes was at hand. On the evening of the 26th of March, 1603, a horseman galloped up to the palace of Holyrood. He was Sir Robert Carey, who had ridden from London in three days and two nights to tell the King that Queen Elizabeth had died. But James was not yet satisfied. For months he had been haunted by the fear that he would have to fight for his heritage, and he had gone the length of importing armour for ten thousand men into the kingdom. Two days later, however, came messengers from the Privy Council with the tidings that Elizabeth had nominated him as her successor and that he had been proclaimed King.

### SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURE

Now, before the last farewells are said and a King of Scots crosses the Tweed to sit on the throne of England, let us glance at the condition of the kingdom which he was about to leave. There had been little change in the external appearance of the country during the last century. The more settled parts were still unbroken by hedges, and the only trees to be seen were the little plantations round the houses of the country

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gentlemen. In the towns the proportion of stone houses had increased, but space was so valuable that in many cases they encroached on the streets, already too narrow. Nor was this an age of great architectural achievement ; the average country gentleman, at feud with the neighbouring laird, exposed to attacks from bands of Highlanders or gipsies, living in daily expectation of a new civil war, still built his house for protection rather than for beauty and comfort. Thus it is that, with exceptions like Falkland Palace and the new palace within the walls of Stirling Castle, Scottish sixteenth-century architecture shows little trace of the influence of the Renaissance ; thus it is that the Tudor mansion, with its great windows of glass, its profuse ornamentation, its spacious gardens surrounded, not by moats and ramparts, but by hedges or frail brick walls, was unknown in Scotland. The Reformation, too, had left its mark on Scottish architecture. Since images and ornaments were snares of the Devil, four bare walls and a roof made the most satisfactory kind of church. Not only were no new churches of any aesthetic value built ; the mutilation and destruction of the old buildings went on steadily. For the elaborate ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church large structures had been necessary, but as the voice of a single preacher could not carry to every corner of a great cathedral through the intervening pillars and screens, these buildings were either subdivided among three or four preachers or deserted for smaller ones. The church of St Giles in Edinburgh, for example, was partitioned off into four parish churches. To this day the church of St Mary in Dundee is shared by three congregations, one in possession of the nave, a second in the transepts, and a third in the choir ; and in Glasgow Cathedral, as the readers of *Rob Roy* will remember, one preacher held forth in the choir and another in the crypt. At St Andrews the cathedral was forsaken altogether ; at Dunblane and Dunkeld only the choir was used, while the nave was allowed to fall into decay. The neglected buildings were regarded as quarries from which an unlimited supply of hewn stone could be drawn, and

PLATE XLI. STIRLING CASTLE FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

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soon only a heap of ruins marked the place where a stately cathedral or monastery had stood for centuries.

### LAWLESSNESS AND VIOLENCE

Though the Reformation swept so much beauty out of existence it was powerless to destroy that lawlessness and violence which perplexed all those who sought the good of the nation. Robberies and assaults increased, and even disturbed the quiet of churches and universities. In 1594, for example, we have Parliament declaring that "becaus the bursaris<sup>1</sup> studentis and maisteris of collegis ar grytumlie<sup>2</sup> drawin frome thair studies and oftymes incurris greit skaith and perrell thameselfs and dois damnage unto utheris throw thair licentious libertie In resorting nicht and day to frie burghis armed with suordis pistolettis and utheris wapynnis," the magistrates of these burghs are required to take the arms from the students and professors and do with them as they please. Parliament, it will be observed, does not say how the students are to be caught and deprived of their weapons. That the tremendous thrashings which were dealt out in those days even to university students did not always produce a submissive spirit is shown by an anecdote which James Melvill relates. When he was teaching in Glasgow University one of the students was insolent; Melvill, to use his own words, "paid his debt, but indeed far within his demerit"; a few weeks later the student lay in wait for Melvill and tried to murder him. A more extraordinary incident took place in 1595. The boys of Edinburgh High School had returned from the vacation, but as they did not consider their holiday long enough they barred the masters out and held the school against all comers. The magistrates were sent for, and one of the bailies summoned the pupils to surrender, whereupon a boy named Sinclair fired at the bailie from a window and killed him on the spot. As Sinclair was of gentle blood he escaped with a few weeks' imprisonment.

From an Act of Parliament of 1587 it is evident that Divine

<sup>1</sup> Bursars, holders of scholarships.

<sup>2</sup> Greatly.

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service was sometimes interrupted by such disturbances as "slauchter, blude, mutilatioun, schuiting of hagbuttis and pistolettis," and that excommunicate persons occasionally "spared not to put violent hands" on a minister. Since every man had to attend church with fair regularity to avoid suspicion of Popish sympathies, the result was that, in the words of a later statute, "commounlie all revenges of querrellis and deidlie feidis Is now execute in kirkis and kirkyairdis at the tyme appoyntit to the service of God and teaching of his haly word." There were few families of any standing that did not boast at least one good-going feud. To take only one example, the Earl of Huntly was at feud with the Laird of Grant; into this quarrel the Earl of Moray was drawn, and as there were many people in the Highlands who had reason to hate Huntly Moray was soon joined by the Earl of Atholl and the Macgregors and Mackintoshes. In 1592 the feud culminated in the peculiarly brutal murder of Moray by Huntly, but as the Queen was suspected of having looked too fondly on the handsome young Earl, James took no steps to punish the murderer.

The King, however, was not always so complaisant. In 1587, for example, when he was young and optimistic, he devised a quick and easy way to end all feuds for ever. All the noblemen who were at variance were invited to a banquet at Holyrood, where the King drank to them thrice and vowed to be the mortal enemy of the man who first lifted a hand against his neighbour. Next day the King and the reconciled nobles marched in procession to the Castle. On their return they sat down at a long table placed beside the Market Cross, which was hung with tapestry, and drank to each other, while trumpets blew and musicians sang and fireworks broke down the gallows, which stood near at hand. But the feuds did not cease. One of the last Acts passed by the Scottish Parliament before James left for England forbade duelling under pain of death, as it had "ingenderit great Inconveniences within this Realme."

The regions where disorder most prevailed were, of course, the Highlands and Borders. The inhabitants of these parts

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are described in one statute as “delyting in all mischeiffis and maist unnaturallie and cruellie waistand<sup>1</sup> heryand<sup>2</sup> and destroyand ther awin nyghtbouris and native cuntrie people, Takand occasioun of the leist truble that may occur in the inner pairtis of the realme quhen thai think that cair and thought of the repressing of ther Insolence is onywayes forgett to renew thair maist barbarous cruelties and godles oppressionis.” In an earlier Act the difficulty of dealing with them is explained : “The saidis clannis of theifis for the maist pairt ar companeis of wikit men, coupled in fellow schippis, be occasioun of thair surnames, or neir duellingis Togidder or throw keping societie in thift or Reset of thift, not subjectit to the ordiner course of justice nor to ony ane landislord that will mak thame answerabill to the lawes bot commonlie duelland upoun sindrie mennis landis aganis the guid will of thair landislords.”

Statute after statute was passed against the offenders ; expeditions were dispatched against the rebellious clans. A party of Lowland ‘adventurers’ even attempted to plant colonies in Lewis and the adjacent isles—having been seduced, as they put it after a few years’ bitter experience, “be report of certane personneis maid of the great fertilite and commoditeis of the saidis Iyllis, nocht being acquent therwith as they ar now, quhairof to thair greit lois they haif fund the contrair be experience.” But legislation was of no effect. A few days before King James left for England two hundred women rode into Stirling on white palfreys, clad in black and each bearing on the point of a spear a bloodstained shirt. They were the widows of those who had been slain in Glenfruin under the banner of Colquhoun of Luss, and they came to demand vengeance against the Macgregors.

### THE REAL CAUSE OF THE TROUBLE

The truth is that statutes were useless when there were no police or regular soldiers to see that they were carried out. It

<sup>1</sup> Wasting; -*and* in Old and Middle Scots is equivalent to -*ing*.

<sup>2</sup> Harryng.

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is true that every male subject between the ages of sixteen and sixty was required to follow the king, properly equipped and provisioned, whenever a proclamation to that effect was issued. But as the soldiers got no pay and had to provide their own food and weapons they could not be kept together for much more than three weeks at a time, and so it was impossible to station permanent garrisons in the Highlands. The daring sheriff who seized a Highlander discovered that he had to contend single-handed with the deadly hatred of the whole clan, and sooner or later found it prudent to stop making arrests. After a criminal was arrested, too, there was usually some difficulty in disposing of him, for prisons were few and small. Usually he was released after he had given a pledge or after some one had become surety that he would stand his trial when required. If he did not appear on the appointed day after three blasts had been blown on a horn from the Tolbooth window he was 'put to the horn,' or outlawed. It is needless to say that Scotland swarmed with outlaws, from great nobles who had plotted the death of the King to small tradesmen who refused to pay their creditors. The difficulty of dealing with these outlaws was increased by the fact that there was no machinery for compelling them to submit to justice and that the criminal courts sat only at Edinburgh. Their goods could be confiscated, it is true, but then many of them were in the happy position of having no goods.

### THE LAW COURTS

An attempt was made in 1587 to remedy this state of affairs. Justice aires, instead of being held at intervals of a few years, were to be held once every six months. Eight experienced judges from the Court of Session were to be appointed, two of whom were to be assigned to each quarter of the realm. At the same time, in each shire "honourable and worthie personis," country gentlemen or members of the burgh councils, were appointed King's Commissioners and Justices. Their duties were to arrest and ward all persons who had to stand their trial at the next circuit court and present them to the

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judges in aire. They were also empowered to meet four times a year and try cases of minor importance.

The disrespect shown to the King's judges was not altogether without justification. In 1579 Parliament complained that the Lords of Session were often "young men without gravitie knawledge and experience," not sufficiently wealthy to be immune from the temptation of taking bribes, and announced that in future all who received bribes would be degraded from their office. Each vacancy in the College of Justice was to be filled by "ane man that feiris god, of gude literature, undirstanding of the lawes, of gude fame, haveing sufficient leving of his awin," who was required to pass an examination set by his fellow judges before he took his seat on the bench. To this day each new Lord of Session has to go through the formality of a public examination by his seniors. In spite of this, moved by the "plaintis and lamentationis . . . of sic enor-miteis corruptionis and delayis usit in the sessioun and college of Justice," the King in 1584 appointed a commission to find out if the complaints were true, and if necessary remove any unfit judges, and in 1592 it was necessary to pass a statute declaring that no Lord of Session was to be admitted to the bench unless he had a private income of a thousand marks<sup>1</sup> and was not less than twenty-five years of age.

## THE PRIVY COUNCIL

Much of the judicial work of the kingdom was now done by the Secret Council, or Privy Council. It is probable that the kings of Scotland always had a small, informal council of nobles and high officials to whom they went for advice ; it is probable, too, that after 1326 the decrees of this assembly of nobles and officials still had the force of Acts of Parliament ; during a minority, also, the Regent was often assisted by a Council of Regency, to which the name Secret Council was sometimes given ; but it is not till the reign of Queen Mary that we find these informal or temporary councils unmistakably transformed into a permanent Council, meeting regularly and

<sup>1</sup> Equivalent to £55 11s. in English money of that period.

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often, sitting in the capital or accompanying the sovereign, governed by a definite procedure, and acting through a special set of officials.

Generally the Privy Council consisted of about thirty members, almost half of whom were permanent officials. In 1592, for example, Parliament decreed that the Council should consist of nineteen noblemen and gentlemen, besides the Chancellor, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Treasurer, the Comptroller, the Collector-General, the Vice-Chamberlain, the Master of the Wardrobe, and the Almoner. The Master of Requests, Secretary, Justice-Clerk, Advocate, and Clerk of Register were also members, but, being busy men, they were required to attend only when they were sent for. Two ministers and two burgesses were allowed to attend the Council if any matters touching the Church or the burghs were discussed, but they could not vote. The sessions of the Council began at eight in the morning and lasted till dinner-time. The King frequently presided in person, but the duty of bringing forward the business and collecting the votes usually devolved upon the Chancellor.

The powers of the Council were large. Though it did not usurp the place of Parliament, its decrees had the force of Acts of Parliament. It frequently confirmed old statutes, gave instructions for their better observance, or altered the penalties attached to them. Though its legislative work was usually concerned only with matters of detail, it sometimes drafted new laws, which were ratified afterward by Parliament. It also acted as a court of justice, especially in matters which affected the king directly; contumacious ministers, for example, were frequently brought before the Council. As it was much more expeditious in its working, and as it did not hesitate to use torture, it was more feared than the ordinary courts. One result of this was that when the ordinary courts proved powerless to suppress some form of crime the offenders were warned that if they persisted in wrongdoing they would be brought before the Council. It was evident that its great and vaguely defined powers and the small number of its

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members would make it, like the English Privy Council of the same date, an instrument of the highest value to a sovereign who aimed at making his will supreme over both Parliament and the courts of justice.

### CONVENTIONS OF THE ESTATES

The Privy Council could be assembled at five minutes notice, for only half a dozen of the members were required to constitute a Council ; the date of Parliament had to be fixed weeks beforehand, its assembling involved much vain ceremonial, and even after it had met two days always elapsed before any serious business could be done. The Council, therefore, just because it could assemble quickly and get to work at once, was of much more use than the Parliament in times when rapid decision was necessary. At the same time the Council had not the authority of Parliament, especially in financial matters, so often it invited a few burgesses to join it, and thus resolved itself into a Convention of the Estates. The league with England in 1585, for example, was not made by the whole Parliament, but by a Convention consisting of ten nobles, ten clerics, four officers of State, and thirteen burgesses, and it was expressly stated that the Convention was acting on behalf of the whole of the estates, which could not be summoned because the matter was urgent. Like the decrees of the Council, the decrees of the Convention were usually confirmed by a subsequent Parliament. To take the same example, the league with England was ratified by Parliament in 1586.

### PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

One important change was made in the constitution of Parliament itself. The Act of 1426 requiring representatives of the freeholders in the counties to attend Parliament had long been a dead letter. It is true that in the eventful years which preceded the return of Queen Mary to Scotland Parliament had been crowded with country gentlemen, but once Catholicism was overthrown and the spoils divided they

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disappeared. The question was brought forward several times, and finally in 1587 it was agreed that the Act of James I should be ratified and that the freeholders in each shire having land worth over forty shillings a year should elect two representatives. These county members, or barons, as they were called, were to have the same number of representatives on the Committee of the Articles as the other estates, and their expenses were to be met by their constituents. In 1592 the barons, having in the meantime paid £40,000 for the privilege, made their appearance in Parliament.

### POVERTY AND POOR LAWS

One weighty matter which perplexed almost every Parliament was the poverty of the country. We have already seen that in the Highlands and on the Borders poverty produced disorder and disorder produced more poverty ; in addition, the Reformation and the Wars of Religion had left their mark on the more settled districts. The most bitter strife, we must remember, took place in the wealthiest part of the country ; the siege of Leith and the far longer siege of Edinburgh Castle must have paralyzed the trade of the capital. The doors of the monastery no longer stood open to the traveller ; the hospitals and almshouses were allowed to fall into ruin, while their revenues went into the pocket of some avaricious noble—"ane deid assuritlie that in na pairt of christendome, ye not amangis the verie turkis wald be sufferit."

The result was that every parish in the kingdom swarmed with "ydill and strong beggaris and vagaboundis," some of them men whose cottages and fields had been destroyed in the wars, some of them "vagabond scholars" of the universities, some labourers "leving ydillie and fleeing laubour," with crowds of gipsies, palmists, magicians, fortune-tellers, minstrels, singers, and tale-tellers. By an Act of Parliament of 1575 all such persons were ordered to be scourged and burned on the right ear with a red-hot iron. The vagabond might escape this if any one undertook to keep him in his service for

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a year, though if he ran away from his master he would be branded. If he ran away a second time and was "found to have fallin agane in his ydill and vagabound trade of lyff" he was condemned to "suffer the panis of Death as a theif." Any one who gave alms to a vagabond was to be fined five pounds.

At the same time Parliament recognized that there was some connexion between disorder and poverty. In the latter half of the statute the elders and deacons of each parish were required to prepare lists of all the poor in the district who had been born there or had lived there for the past seven years, to find out how much it would cost to maintain them, and to take an adequate weekly contribution from the parish. Poor people who had been resident in the district for less than seven years were to get a testimonial from the deacons and elders permitting them to beg their way to their own parish, "thair to be put in certane abyding places and sustenit upoun the commoun almons and oulklie contribute.<sup>1</sup>" Any beggar's child between the ages of five and fourteen to whom any subject took a liking might be bound to him.

But for long the Act remained a dead letter. Only in Edinburgh were the provisions for the relief of the poor put into action, and as there were hardly any prisons in the country the sturdy beggars continued to wander on every highway. In 1593 Parliament confessed that the Act of 1575 had not taken effect and described the situation in picturesque and forcible language. "Thevis, lymmaris<sup>2</sup> and sornaris<sup>3</sup> ar sa multipleit and growin to sic bauldnes That thay spair not To pas and wander over all pairtis of the Realme severalie or in cumpanyis togidder armeit with swerdis hacquebutis<sup>4</sup> pistollets and utheris waponis Invasive . . . sumtymes disagysit<sup>5</sup> with fals bairdis or in lynning clraithis or in fuillis<sup>6</sup> garmentis, begging and extorting not onlie meit drink and victuallis bot money and in cais of refuse<sup>7</sup> awaiting in thair placeis of resset<sup>8</sup> quhill thay may steill and reif<sup>9</sup> the same in the nicht

<sup>1</sup> Weekly contribution.

<sup>2</sup> Rogues.

<sup>3</sup> Beggars who extort food and shelter by force.

<sup>4</sup> Hagbuts, or muskets.

<sup>5</sup> Disguised.

<sup>6</sup> Fools'.

<sup>7</sup> Refusal.

<sup>8</sup> Resort.

<sup>9</sup> Rob.

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Compelling baith gentlemen and yiemen eftir thair dailie labouris To stand on thair feit all nicht for saulftie of thair awne gier. In quhilk kynde of trade ar sindrie fenyeing<sup>1</sup> thame selffis passing in pilgrimage to chappellis and wellis, and the counterfute Idill lymmaris and harlottis falslie calling thameselffis egipitianis<sup>2</sup> Being nathing ellis bot thevis witcheis and abusaris of the people." Judges were now allowed to hold courts for the trial of these vagabonds when and where they liked, and to fix the penalty at their discretion. Four years later, however, the Act had to be ratified again, and the administration of poor relief was taken out of the hands of various commissioners who had been appointed and vested solely in the kirk session of each parish.

### ECONOMIC REGULATIONS

Poverty was not confined to the 'idle limmers'; almost every inhabitant of the country, not excepting the King himself, suffered from it. Money was scarce, home industries were insufficiently developed. Though there were fairly abundant supplies of oats and barley and lavish supplies of fish, mutton and beef, wheaten bread and similar commodities were far from plentiful. The prices compared favourably with those for the same articles in England, but as there was less money this did not help very much. Unfortunately Parliament usually began its reforms at the wrong end. When money was scarce it debased the coinage. In the time of Robert Bruce a pound Scots was of exactly the same value as an English pound; just before the Union of the Crowns its value in English money was twenty pence. Similarly, when it was found that beef, mutton, and salt were dear the export of cattle, sheep, and salt was prohibited. Cattle and sheep continued to be smuggled across the Border, but the salt trade was almost ruined, and its export had to be permitted again, under certain conditions. Again, Scotland produced great quantities of raw wool, but very little cloth, and Parliament tried to encourage the native woollen industry by forbidding the export of the raw material.

<sup>1</sup> Feigning.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. gipsies.

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## TRADE MONOPOLIES

It is true that Parliament sometimes passed statutes for the encouragement of certain industries, but these enactments have a doubtful ring. While they were perhaps designed for the welfare of the nation in general, they were certainly framed with an eye to the king's private profit in particular. In 1581, for example, Robert Diksoun was granted a monopoly of the manufacture of silk in Scotland ; six years later three Flemings who had come to the country to make " searges, growgrams, fusteanis, bombesies," and other fabrics, and to instruct the lieges in these industries, were given permission to live in the country free of taxes for five years and exercise their craft provided that their apprentices were only " scottis boyis and madinnis," and that they paid customs duties on their goods just as if they had been imported from the Continent. But nothing came of this plan and the privilege lapsed. In a statute of 1599 we hear of Eustatius Roogh, a Fleming, who must have been a remarkable person. He had invented a new kind of stove, an economical form of malt-kiln, and "ane singular remeid never usit in scotland befoir for evill wenting<sup>1</sup> of chimnayis." James, who was fond of such novelties, and also in need of money, gave Eustatius a licence "to big,<sup>2</sup> reform and renew all and quhatsumevir killis and stoiffis<sup>3</sup> and to amend and reforme all evill wenting chimnayis."

## FOREIGN COMMERCE

The foreign commerce of Scotland was still small in bulk and hampered by various restrictions. Not only was the export of certain commodities without a special licence prohibited ; towns which were not free burghs were forbidden to trade with foreign countries, and traders who were not merchants were forbidden to send goods abroad. The western seaports sent salt herring, coal, and spirits to Ireland, and in return got yarn, hides, and silver. Some of the ships from the

<sup>1</sup> Venting.

<sup>2</sup> Build.

<sup>3</sup> Kilns and stoves.

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eastern ports carried to Bordeaux coarse linens and woollens, raw wool, skins, and fish, and brought back wines, prunes, and nuts ; others sailed to the Baltic with cloth and fish and brought back flax, hemp, iron, pitch, and tar ; others, again, crept along the English coast and exchanged linen, yarn, and salt for wheat and beans. The greatest number of ships went to the Low Countries, where at the town of Campvere, near Flushing, a staple had been established. All Scottish ships had to touch there, and the shippers were required to show to the Conservator of Scottish Privileges the bill of lading which they had got at the home port, and swear to him that they had no contraband on board.

### EDUCATION

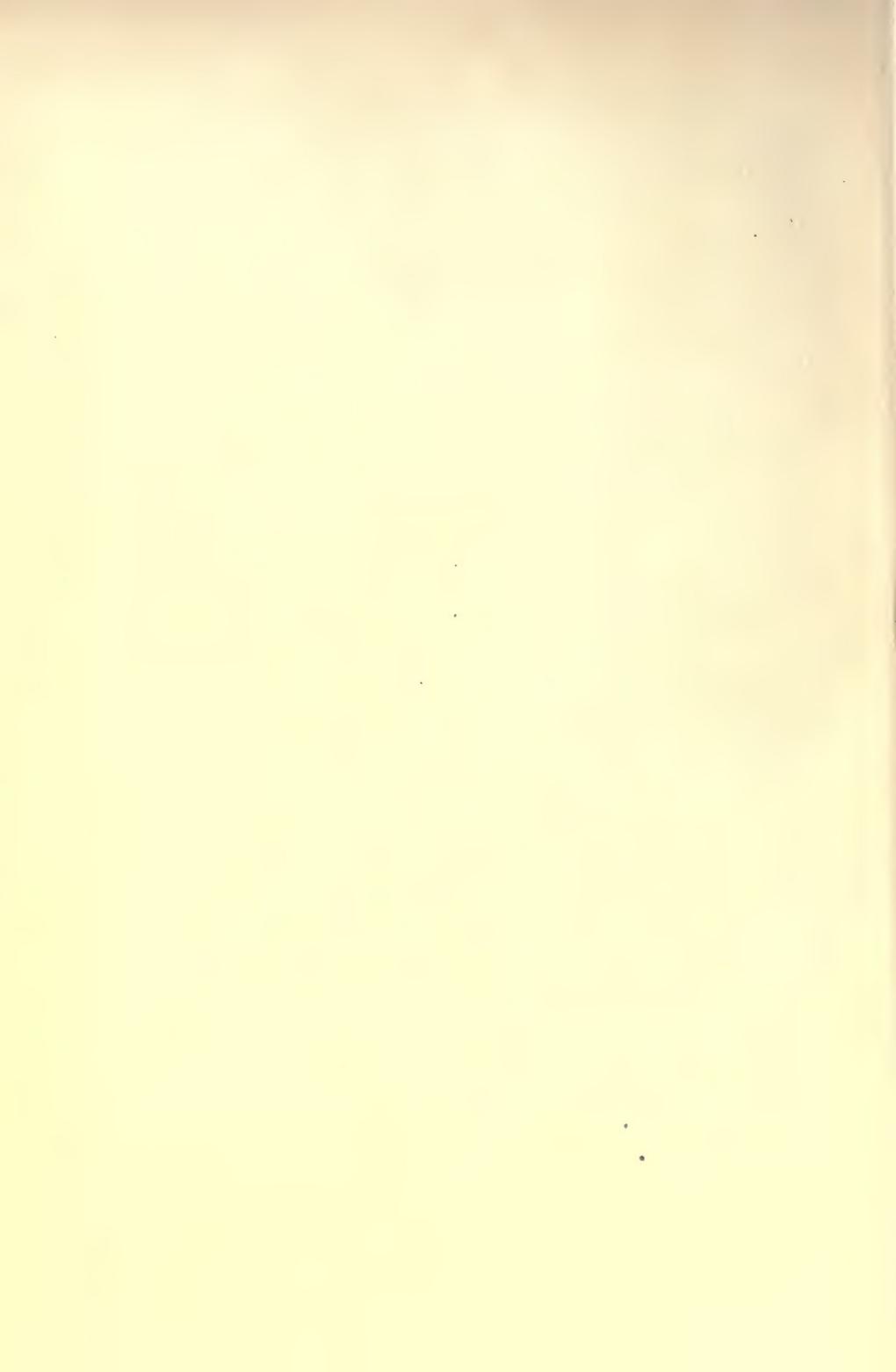
In spite of the poverty of the country and the loss of revenue which the universities sustained at the time of the Reformation, education does not seem to have suffered. In 1582 a university was founded at Edinburgh, in 1593 the Earl Marischal founded a college in Aberdeen, while during Andrew Melvill's tenure of office sweeping reforms were introduced at St Andrews University. From the diary of Andrew Melvill's nephew, James Melvill, much can be learned about the education of a Scottish youth of the middle class. When he was about seven James Melvill was sent to a small private school taught by a minister. "We leaned ther," he says, "the Rudiments of the Latin grammair, withe the vocables in Latin and Frenche. . . . We procedit ferdar to the Etymologie of Lilius, and his Syntax, as also a lytle of the Syntax of Linacer ; therwith was joyned Hunter's Nomenclatura, the Minora Colloquia of Erasmus and sum of the Eclogs of Virgill and Epistles of Horace ; also Cicero his epistles ad Terentiam"—not a mean list when one considers that the youth left this school when he was twelve. "Ther also," he continues, "we . . . be our maister war teached to handle the bow for archerie, the glub for goff, the batons for fencing ; also to rin, to loope,<sup>1</sup> to sweum, to warsell.<sup>2</sup> . . . A happie and golden

<sup>1</sup> Leap.

<sup>2</sup> Wrestle.



PLATE XLII. ST MARY'S COLLEGE, ST ANDREWS



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tyme indeid." From this school young Melvill went to the Grammar School of Montrose, where he stayed for about two years, and among other things read the *Georgics* and Terence's *Phormio*. When he was fourteen or fifteen he went to the University of St Andrews, and entered on a four years' course of philosophy. The lectures were delivered in Latin, and during the early days of his attendance the youthful student was so perplexed by the language and the unfamiliar arguments that he often interrupted the lecture by bursting into tears. In his first and second years at the university he studied logic, following Aristotle at a considerable distance ; in his third year he read Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Physics* and graduated as Bachelor of Arts ; in his fourth year he read the *De Caelo* and completed his course. In addition he listened to lectures on Cicero's *De Legibus* and on Justinian's *Institutes*, while throughout he studied music under the instruction of one of the college servants who had been trained by the canons in the cathedral. "I wald haiff gladlie bein at the Greik and Hebrew toungs," he concludes, "but tha languages war nocht to be gottine in the land." Andrew Melvill's tutor in philosophy thought it wonderful that he should study Aristotle in the Greek text.

After Andrew Melvill's return to Scotland Greek and Hebrew were introduced into the universities, and from his uncle's instruction James was able to make up his early deficiencies. But though zeal for the study of the ancient tongues spread rapidly men were interested in them simply because they were the languages in which the Bible had originally been written, and so fled from the arid wastes of scholastic philosophy only to make their way to the gloomy realms of Calvinistic theology. There were notable exceptions, of course, scholars and poets like Buchanan and Drummond of Hawthornden who loved Greek for the beauty enshrined in it, but for the most part the revival of learning in sixteenth-century Scotland produced, not poets and men of letters, but theologians.

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## SCOTTISH LITERATURE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Literature, in fact, seemed to disappear from Scotland in the dark years which followed the disaster of Flodden. It is true that we have the tremendously coarse and tremendously vigorous satires of Sir David Lindsay, who described the failings of the pre-Reformation Church with such utter and amazing candour that he was regarded almost as a prophet and read with approval by the most precise and blameless pietists ; but Lindsay was only a satirist, a satirist, too, who wielded the mace better than the rapier. There is also the great figure of Buchanan, the finest classical scholar in Europe, the finest writer of Latin verse since the Silver Age. But Buchanan's extraordinary powers proved his undoing. He wrote in perfect Latin that all Europe might be his audience, and so missed the fame that would surely have been his had he written in the vernacular. To-day his plays, his poems, and his great *History* are read only by one or two curious students. In the closing years of the century, too, one Ben Jonson, the son of one of the Johnstones of Annandale, that fierce, hard-riding Border clan, was making something of a name as a dramatist in London ; but in spite of his Scottish blood Jonson belongs wholly to English literature.

If one wants to find poetry that reflects truly the tumultuous life of Scotland in the second half of the sixteenth century one does not go to the pages of Buchanan or Jonson or to the slender sheaf of graceful verse written by Montgomerie or Sir William Alexander ; one turns rather to such a book as the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, of which numerous editions were published in the reign of James VI. The first two parts contain metrical translations of the Psalms or statements of doctrine done into verse, the third consists of "prophane sangis" that have been transformed into "godlie sangis for avoyding of sin." Few things show more plainly the hostility of the Scottish Reformers to mere beauty than their readiness to distort these old songs, with their haunting refrains, into grotesque and irreverent compositions, which cannot be read



PLATE XLIII. GEORGE BUCHANAN



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now without a smile. Here is an example of what was once a sprightly love song :

Johne, cum kis me now,  
Johne, cum kis me now,  
Johne, cum kis me by and by  
    And mak no mair adow.  
The Lord thy God I am  
That Johnе dois the call ;  
Johnе representit man  
    Be grace celestiall.

The Reformers succeeded only too well. Of these old songs, some of them doubtless coarse enough, some of them merely

Dallying with the innocence of love  
Like the old age,

only a few lines remain embedded in the more modern verse, like the capital of a pillar from a ruined church built into the rubble of a farm steading. From the little that is left we can estimate how much we have lost, for these fragments thrill one with their sad, unearthly beauty.

A different side of the national life is reflected in the ballads. The date of the oldest Scottish ballads is still a disputed point ; some would move it as far back as the end of the thirteenth century ; what cannot be disputed is that a number of our finest ballads were composed in the closing years of the sixteenth century. It was a period when the reflective poet had no time to reflect, and when the poet who could compose a moving tale of adventure was overwhelmed with material. The slaughter of Moray by Huntly inspired one of the most touching laments in the language, the burning of the House of Towie was celebrated in the grim ballad of "Edom o' Gordon," and the rescue of a Border freebooter from Carlisle Castle moved some unknown poet to give to the world the inimitable "Kinnmont Willie." Buchanan's odes are forgotten, his Latin psalms no longer trouble the Scottish schoolboy, while these old ballads, written by men whose very names have perished, move us still with their stark truthfulness and the fearless, adventurous spirit that breathes through every line.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### CHURCH AND KING

IT is easy to over-estimate the importance of the Union of 1603 and to forget that it was nothing more than a Union of the Crowns. Scotland remained, just as much as England, an independent sovereign state, with its own Parliament and Privy Council, its own courts of law and national Church. As yet Scotland, like England, had no standing army. When in the second half of the century a standing army was raised it was recruited in Scotland, commanded by Scotsmen, and maintained out of the Scottish revenues. The customs systems of the two kingdoms were distinct. In Scotland the customs dues were generally lower, and the Union did not affect the commercial treaties between France and Scotland. But a heavy price had to be paid for this independence. In the eyes of the English law every Scotsman was a foreigner who could enjoy none of the privileges of citizenship, a tariff wall hampered the trade between the two countries, and Scotsmen were excluded from the English colonies. In these circumstances the closer connexion involved a greater risk of friction. The King was alive to this danger, and set his heart on a real union. To the English Parliament which met in March 1604 he declared : “ What God hath conjoined let no man separate. I am the husband and all the whole Island is my lawful wife. . . . I hope, therefore, no man will be so unreasonable as to think that I, that am a Christian King under the Gospel, should be a polygamist and husband to two wives.” The Parliament, though less interested in James’s wisdom than in his folly, nominated forty-four commissioners to draw up a Treaty of Union, and at the

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end of October they were joined at Westminster by the thirty-one Scots Commissioners. Early in December the draft of the treaty, in which Bacon had no small share, was completed. It provided for the abolition of all hostile laws and the establishment of free trade between the two countries, with one or two restrictions. All the *post nati*, those born after the Union, were to be subjects of both kingdoms ; all the *ante nati* were to be allowed to acquire lands, goods, or offices in either kingdom, with the exception of places in Parliament or high offices of State.

### PROPOSALS FOR A CLOSER UNION

Meantime James had announced that in future he was to be known as the King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and ordered the same coinage and the same flag to be used in both kingdoms. But neither the Scots nor the English were eager for a closer union. The English Parliament, more interested in the question of the royal prerogative, did not discuss the treaty seriously till February 1607. What the average Englishman thought of his northern fellow subjects is evident from the speeches delivered against the treaty. "Suppose one man is the owner of two pastures," said a member, "with one hedge to divide them, the one pasture bare, the other fertile and good ; a wise owner will not quite pull down the hedge." Sir Christopher Piggott went farther ; he admitted that there were "well-deserving Scots," but many of them were "murderers, thieves, and rogues." "They have not suffered above two kings to die in their beds these two hundred years," he continued. "Our King hath hardly escaped them ; they have attempted him." The daring knight was sent to the Tower, and James more than once ordered the members to make haste, but four months of discussion led to nothing more than an Act for the repression of disorder and "the utter abolition of all memory of hostility." A few weeks later the Scottish Parliament gave its approval to an elaborate Treaty of Union, but declared that it was to be suspended till the English Parliament passed a similar

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measure. The treaty was sent to the King with a letter in which the members confessed that they had "no greate nor earnist desyre or thirst of it," but were acting solely to please the King. There the matter dropped. The King obtained a decision from the English judges that those born after the Union were naturalized subjects of both kingdoms, and with that he had to be content.

### ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

During the greater part of the seventeenth century, then, the sole connecting link between the two kingdoms was the sovereign. It followed that the sovereign must have full control of the executive of the smaller kingdom if friction between the two countries was to be avoided. This is what happened. The Privy Council usurped more and more of the power of Parliament, and both Parliament and Privy Council existed simply to carry out the King's wishes. The protests and disputes with which his English subjects troubled the King were unknown in Scotland, as he took care to inform the English Parliament. "This I must say for Scotland," he declared, "and may truly vaunt it: here I sit and govern with my pen: I write and it is done; and by a Clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now—which others could not do by the sword." The members of the Council were nominally appointed by the King in Parliament; in reality they were chosen by the King alone, while before the end of his reign a blow was struck at the independence of Parliament. The real business of Parliament, it has already been said, was done by the Lords of the Articles, who, with the exception of the high officials, were chosen in equal numbers by their respective estates. After the introduction into the Scottish Church of bishops with a place in Parliament the King gave orders that the Lords of the Articles were to be chosen in a different way. The nobles were first to elect eight bishops; the bishops were then to elect eight nobles; finally bishops and nobles were to choose eight 'barons'<sup>1</sup> and eight burgesses. The eight

<sup>1</sup> The name always given to the county members. See p. 386.

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officers of State completed the Committee. When we remember that the bishops were appointed by the King the meaning of the new scheme is apparent.

With one great exception James's paternal rule was a success. In the Border country—no longer 'the Borders,' but 'the middle shires'—the inhabitants suddenly became peaceable and law-abiding, for Sir William Cranstoun at the head of twenty-five well-armed horsemen scoured the country from Jedburgh to Annan, making "a quick dispatche of a grite many notable and notorious thevis and villanes by putting thame to present death without preceeding tryall." The King's Guard, too, was transformed into a sort of mounted police, who made the sentence of outlawry more than a legal fiction.

At the same time a serious attempt was made to pacify the Highlands. In 1609 the leading chiefs met Bishop Knox at Iona and agreed to the Band of Icolmkill. Churches were to be repaired and more ministers introduced; the chiefs were to send their sons to be educated in the Lowlands; bards and beggars were to be suppressed. While the establishment of inns was recommended the importation of wines and brandies was forbidden. It was a step in the right direction, the first attempt at constructive reform instead of simple repression; but it was not nearly sufficient. Three years later the Orkneys and Shetlands were finally annexed to the Scottish Crown, but in 1614 serious rebellions broke out in both Orkney and the Western Isles. On the whole, however, Scotland was more tranquil in the second half of James VI's reign than it had been since the days of James IV.

### JAMES AND THE CHURCH

Only in one matter did James blunder badly in his treatment of Scotland, and even then the deluge did not come in his day. He had succeeded in appointing bishops, and these bishops had taken their seats in Parliament; he had more than once postponed the meetings of the General Assembly; but he had not transformed the Church of Scotland into an episcopal Church. The bishops had no special function in the

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Church; in the provincial synods and presbyteries they had no authority over their fellow ministers. To strengthen the hands of the bishops and to bring the ceremonial of the Scottish Church into some degree of conformity with the English ritual was the object of James's ecclesiastical policy during the last twenty-two years of his reign.

As before he "walked delicately," waited for his opponents to make a false move, and then seized his opportunity. It soon came. A General Assembly had been appointed to meet in Aberdeen on the 2nd of July, 1605, but had afterward been postponed. In spite of this a handful of ministers assembled. A letter from the Privy Council was given to them by the Laird of Lauriston warning them of the King's displeasure if they persisted in holding an Assembly. The ministers, arguing that they had no right to consider the letter until they were constituted as an Assembly, appointed a Moderator and declared the Assembly duly constituted. No business was done beyond adjourning the Assembly till September, and the ministers quietly dispersed. But Lauriston now announced that on the previous day he had expressly prohibited the meeting of the Assembly by a proclamation at the market cross of Aberdeen, and the Council summoned the offending ministers to appear before it. They protested that the Privy Council was not competent to judge an ecclesiastical cause and declined to appear; the King retaliated by ordering six of them to be tried for treason. The offenders were found guilty, and in October 1606 were sentenced to banishment for life. In the same year another piece of sharp practice relieved the King of two of his most troublesome opponents. Eight ministers, including Andrew Melville and his nephew James, were summoned to London to confer with the King and some of the leading Anglican clergy. The Melvills hesitated long before they went, and not without reason. Neither of them ever set foot in Scotland again. For an epigram written on the furnishings of the altar in the Chapel Royal—closed books, empty chalices, and unlighted candles—Andrew Melville was cast into the Tower, where he remained for four years. He was then allowed to leave the

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country, and died at Sedan in 1622. His nephew was more fortunate, for his last days were spent in Berwick, within sight of Scotland.

### ESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPACY

The King's path was now clear. In the summer of 1606 he had persuaded Parliament to repeal the Act of 1587 whereby the Church lands had been annexed to the Crown, and thus provided the new bishops with a revenue befitting their station. In December each presbytery received a letter from the King containing the names of those persons whom the King wished to be sent to an Assembly at Linlithgow. This was a mere parody of free election. The Linlithgow Assembly passed willingly an Act for the creation of perpetual moderators of presbyteries. The appointment of moderators was thus taken out of the hands of the presbyteries and vested in the General Assembly ; but, what was more ominous to the strict Presbyterian, in one presbytery in each diocese the office of constant moderator was given to the bishop. This was not the end ; the Act was not published for some months, and when it did appear the cry was at once raised that it had been doctored. The Assembly was declared to have sanctioned the appointment of bishops not only as moderators of one presbytery within each district, but as perpetual moderators of the synods.

The next step was taken three years later, when an Assembly met in Glasgow. The utmost care was taken to make the results of its deliberations agreeable to the King. The Bishop of Orkney brought with him a company of ministers from Orkney, Caithness, and Sutherland, " who had never seene the face of a generall Assemblie," and who were liberally reimbursed for their travelling expenses. To a Southland minister who complained that he had got nothing the Bishop replied : " Ye have done no service to his Majesty, for ye voted *Non liquet*." The stipends of some ministers were increased, one who had once been a Presbyterian stalwart got a pension, while the more intractable were warned by Dunbar, the Chancellor,

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that opposition would be severely dealt with. The King had no reason to be dissatisfied ; the Assembly declared that though it was expedient that a General Assembly should meet every year it could meet only if the King gave his consent. Bishops were to become moderators of the diocesan synods ; without their consent no minister could be ordained or deposed, nor could any sentence of excommunication be pronounced. The very name ‘presbytery’ was abolished, “as odious to his Majestie,” and circumlocutions like “the ministry of the bounds” were substituted. Three bishops straightway went to London to be consecrated by their Anglican brethren. Two years later the creation of a Court of High Commission for the Province of St Andrews and a second for the Province of Glasgow completed the ruin of the Presbyterian system.

So far the King had triumphed. His most fearless opponents were dead or in exile ; moderate men had grown tired of the struggle, and listened readily to the argument that the Church should not be riven asunder because they could not bring themselves to make one or two trifling concessions. It was a plausible argument, this appeal for charity and toleration, and it won over some of the noblest spirits in the Scottish Church, but one cannot forget that each concession was followed by a demand for a larger one. One may regret the intolerance of the average Presbyterian, but when the man who practised tolerance was outwitted every time by the man who preached it we cannot think it strange that tolerance should cease to be regarded as a virtue.

### THE FIVE ARTICLES

It must not be forgotten that these changes affected only the government of the Church and made no practical difference to the average layman. It is true that few laymen now sat in the General Assembly, but the ecclesiastical revolution had not touched the pockets of the wealthier class and the kirk sessions wielded their old power over the evil-doer within their bounds. Save for the absence of political allusions from the

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sermon, no difference could have been noticed in the services of the Church. The Scottish bishops, in fact, saw plainly that any attempt to impose Anglican ceremonies on the Church would destroy the work of the last fifteen years, and made half-hearted attempts to combat this new development of the King's policy.

At the end of 1616 the King announced that, moved by "his naturall and salmond-like affection," he was about to pay his long-promised visit to Scotland. The preparations scandalized the precise. An organ was fitted up in the chapel of Holyrood, a place was enclosed for the choir, and images of the Apostles and the evangelists were erected. But the people of Edinburgh objected to the images, and the bishops persuaded the King to have them removed.

On the 16th of May, 1617, while the cannon thundered from the castle, the King rode into Edinburgh. The very next morning the Anglican service was said in the chapel of Holyrood, "with singing of quiristours, surplices, and playing on organes." The chief object of the King's visit was now apparent. At a convention of ministers which assembled at St Andrews in July he rated the bishops for their lack of energy in furthering his designs and submitted five articles suggesting changes in the ceremonial of the Church. Private baptism and private communion were to be allowed, communicants were to kneel as they received the sacrament, confirmation was to be instituted, and the great festivals of the Church were to be observed. The convention declared that it was not competent to deal with such questions, and remitted the matter to an Assembly, which met at St Andrews at the end of October, almost three months after the King had left Scotland. The Assembly would do no more than give a qualified assent to two of the articles. Another Assembly which met at Perth in August 1618 saw the matter completed. Spottiswoode, the Archbishop of St Andrews, declared that it was simply a question of pleasing or displeasing the King. Though he disliked the articles himself, yet for the sake of peace he urged the Assembly to give way to the King.

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The articles were adopted, and three years later were confirmed by the Scottish Parliament.

James had gone too far this time. From the beginning the articles were disregarded, and the bishops were neither willing nor able to punish breaches of the law with severity. Churches where the communicant was required to kneel were deserted ; in others the sacrament was administered both to those who sat and those who knelt ; in one church the sacrament is said to have been administered in five different ways. Few attended communion on Easter Sunday ; scores of shops in the main streets of Edinburgh stood open on Christmas Day.

### ACCESSION OF CHARLES I

The death of King James in 1625 brought to the throne a man who was absolutely ignorant of Scottish affairs. Though Charles I had been born at Dunfermline he had left Scotland when he was three years old, and since then had not set foot in the country. He could not know that the success of his father's ecclesiastical policy was the result of a quarter of a century of cautious diplomacy, that no change was made by the royal authority alone, and that though the bulk of the nation had submitted to a moderate Episcopacy the submission had been reluctantly made. Still less did he understand that even the Scottish bishops looked on episcopal government as expedient but not essential, and that some of them detested the ceremonies which meant so much to Laud and his fellows.

### THE ACT OF REVOCATION

His first act as King of Scotland, just though it was, showed how seriously Charles had misunderstood the difficulties of the ecclesiastical situation in Scotland. The downfall of the Catholic Church in 1560 was hastened by the action of the nobles, who since that time had remained in possession of the great bulk of the Church lands. It is true that in 1587 an Act of Parliament was passed annexing the Church lands to the Crown, but the numerous exemptions made the Act of no practical value. It is true that in 1606 the revenues of their

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sees were restored to the bishops, but at the same time seventeen prelacies held by lay owners were transformed into temporal lordships and the rest of the Church lands remained in the hands of those who had acquired them since the Reformation. In these circumstances it was difficult to provide the ministers with an adequate income, for though by a statute of Queen Mary's reign a third of the revenues of the old Church lands was supposed to be used for the upkeep of the Church, so many exemptions had been granted that very little money was available. Then there was the question of teinds, or tithes, which at the time of the Reformation had usually been acquired by some layman or 'titular of teinds.' The titular often lived in some part of the country remote from the lands in respect of which teinds were paid, and as the payment was made in kind the heritor who made the payment had often to leave his crops on the ground for weeks till the titular had selected his portion, and so to risk the loss of the whole of his harvest. By an Act of Parliament passed in 1617 the parish minister was granted an income of not less than five hundred marks<sup>1</sup> and not more than eight hundred marks<sup>2</sup> from the teinds of the parish ; the residue went into the pocket of the tithe-holder.

It was a state of affairs that cried out for a remedy, but it was hard to devise a remedy that would not mortally offend the Scottish nobles. Charles was blind to the difficulties, and a few months after his accession issued the Act of Revocation annexing all the property of the Church to the Crown. This Act was modified by a royal proclamation issued in 1626, in which the King announced that reasonable compensation would be given for any lands that were annexed. Not till a royal commission had decreed that the lands must be surrendered did the nobles reluctantly give way, leaving the amount of compensation to the King's pleasure. In 1629 Charles decreed that all Church lands must be held of the Crown, but the present possessors were allowed to gather the revenues of the estates until they were bought by the King.

<sup>1</sup> About £27 15s. sterling.

<sup>2</sup> About £44 9s. sterling.

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Heritors were to be allowed to lease or buy their teinds from the titulars of teinds, but the parish minister's stipend had to be deducted first before anything went into their own pockets.

The Act certainly improved the lot of the clergy without inflicting serious loss on the great landowners—eight hundred marks was now the minimum stipend of a parish minister—but there was no rush to commute the teinds and the nobles could not forget that the King had at one time threatened to deprive them of a great part of their wealth. In any dispute about Church affairs Charles had now to count on the hostility of the nobles.

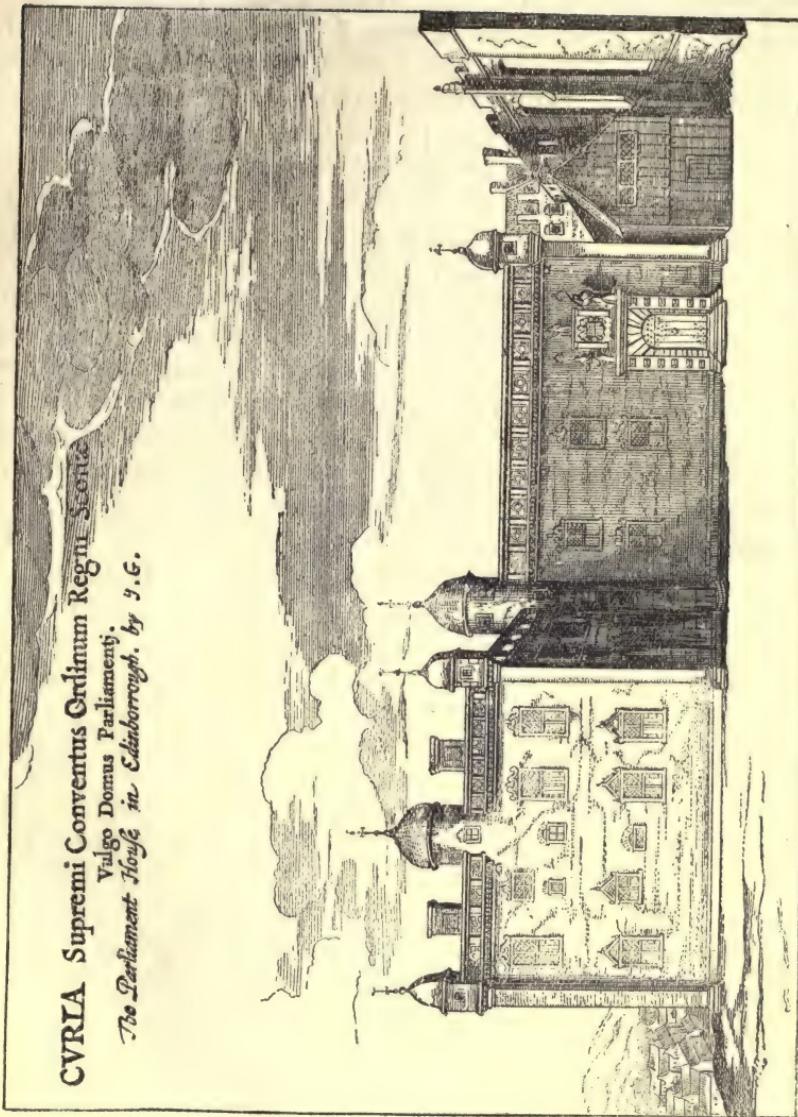
### INNOVATIONS IN CEREMONIAL

There was soon matter enough for dispute. The King's visit to Scotland in the summer of 1633 made it evident that innovations in the ceremonial of the Church were to be expected. On the 18th of June he was crowned in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, "with such rites, ceremonies, and forms as made many good Christians admire<sup>1</sup> that such things should be used in this Reformed Kirk." Fresh cause for scandal was found in the proceedings of the following Sunday, when the King went to St Giles' to hear the chaplains and bishops clad with surplices "act their English service." After the sermon the King and his nobles went to a banqueting-house which had been erected near by, where there was "so great noyse . . . of men, musicall instruments, trumpetts, playing, singing, also shooting of canons," that no afternoon service could be held in the church.

But the King was not to have what he wanted without a struggle. In the Parliament which met a few days later men were made aware for the first time of the existence of that coalition of the nobles and the Presbyterian stalwarts which wrecked the King's plans and provoked the great Civil War. Though discussion by the Opposition was forbidden, and though Charles marked with his own hand the names of those who voted against his proposals, it was only by the narrowest of

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* marvel.

**CVRIA** Supremi Conventus Ordinum Regni Scottie  
Vulgo Domus Parliamenti.  
*The Parliament Roye in Edinburgh. by J.G.*



THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE, EDINBURGH, IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I

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majorities that an Act empowering the King to regulate the apparel of Churchmen was passed.

A few weeks after the King's departure Edinburgh with the surrounding district was erected into a diocese, with St Giles' as the cathedral church. Early in the following year the partition between the nave and the choir of St Giles' was removed, for which "many good christians, both in Edinburgh and in the countrey, did heavilie complaine . . . to God, knowing it to be an evident beginning of a hudge desolation to come." In 1635 the King conferred the Chancellorship on Archbishop Spottiswoode, the first ecclesiastic to hold such an office since the Reformation, and in January of the following year the Book of Canons was published. Obedience to these canons, which every minister was required to subscribe at his ordination, would have involved a complete refashioning of the Scottish Church. Extempore prayer was forbidden, but confession was allowed ; as in the churches lately reformed by Laud, the communion table had to be placed at the east end and the font near the western door. The acceptance of a Liturgy not yet published was enjoined, and those who refused to accept the King's authority in ecclesiastical matters were threatened with excommunication. In the spring of 1637 the dreaded Liturgy appeared. To the average Presbyterian it differed from the English Book of Common Prayer only for the worse.

One can smile nowadays at the abuse heaped on the "Popish-English-Scottish-Mass-Service Book," but greater issues were involved than appear on the surface. With the exception of a very small group of High Churchmen of the Laudian type, no one within the Scottish Church wanted either the Liturgy or the Book of Canons. In course of time the average Scotsman might have become reconciled to a moderate Episcopacy, which affected the government of the Church without affecting its doctrine or its ritual ; it was hopeless to expect that he would become reconciled to doctrines and ceremonies which at that moment were rending the Church of England in twain. That was not all ; the innovations introduced in the previous

PLATE XLIV. NAVE AND CHOIR OF ST GILES' CATHEDRAL.





## CHURCH AND KING

reign had always been made with the consent of a body which represented the Church, even though it was not a lawful Assembly in the opinion of precise Presbyterians, and they had always been confirmed by Parliament, while the Book of Canons and the Liturgy had been issued by the King's authority alone, against the wishes even of Spottiswoode and several of the bishops.

### RIOTS IN EDINBURGH

The trouble came to a head in the summer of 1637. On the 16th of July the Bishop of Edinburgh announced that the Liturgy must be used in all the churches of Edinburgh on Sunday the 23rd. On the appointed day some of the city ministers used the Service Book, others waited to see what sort of reception it would have. The prudence of the latter was justified. After the ordinary prayers had been said in St Giles' the Bishop and the Dean of Edinburgh opened the new Service Books. What followed is described with gusto by a Presbyterian historian. "As soone as the Bishop did open his Service Booke, and began to read thereon, and the people perceaveing the Dean opening his book also ; all the commone people, especiallie the women, rose up with such a lowd clamour and uproare, so that nothing could be heard ; some cryed 'Woe, woe !' some cryed, 'Sorrow, sorrow ! for this dooleful day, that they are bringand in Poperie among us !' Others did cast their stoolls aganis the Dean's face, others ran out of the kirk with a pitifull lamentation, so that their reading upon the Service Booke was then interrupted." Archbishop Spottiswoode in vain attempted to quiet the clamour ; the Bishop was forced to shut the book and give a short sermon. When he left the church he found an angry mob facing him, and rushed in terror up the nearest stair, shouting that he was not to blame. There was no interruption at the afternoon service, as the magistrates excluded all who were likely to make a disturbance, but after the service the Bishop, who had taken refuge in a coach with Lord Roxburgh, "was all the way pursued with stones casten" till he came to Holyrood.

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The King was blind to the real meaning of this somewhat ridiculous riot. He ordered the authors of it to be tried, and commanded the Privy Council to see that every minister bought and used the Service Book. The Privy Council announced that the book must be bought, but need not be read. To a supplication signed not only by lairds and burgesses but by many nobles the King replied by proclaiming that the Privy Council must be removed to Dundee and that a book which had appeared attacking the Liturgy must be suppressed. On the evening of the 17th of October the proclamations were published in Edinburgh. Some of those who had signed the rejected petition at once began to draft a second one demanding the removal of the bishops from the Privy Council until the matters in dispute had been settled. On the following day the whole town "arose in an uproare" which the magistrates were powerless to quell, and when the supplication was presented to the Council in the afternoon it was proposed by the Lord Advocate that to avoid further disorder the excited crowds should be sent home and that a committee should be chosen by the malcontents to confer with the Privy Council. Four noblemen were appointed by the men of their own rank; similarly four lairds, four ministers, and four burgesses were selected. The groups sat "in four severall rooms at severall tables in the Parliament House," whence the committee was known as 'the Tables.' The Council, seeing what a dangerous weapon it had presented to its opponents, tried to undo the effects of its blunder, but did not succeed.

### THE NATIONAL COVENANT

The deluge had come and found Charles quite unprepared. His own friends could not understand why he should have striven for thirteen years to provoke a rebellion and then when the rebellion came have nothing to oppose to it but "inexorable stiffness." "The unaccountable part of the King's proceedings," says Bishop Burnet, "was that all this while, when he was . . . going to change the whole constitution

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH SUBSCRIBED FIRST TO THE KING, QUEEN AND HIS HOUSEHOLD, THE DAY OF GOD LONG PRAISED,  
BY PERSONS OF ALL RANKS IN THE KINGDOM, BY ORDINANCE OF THE LORDS OF THE SECRET COUNCIL, AND BY AN ACT OF THE  
PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED AGAINST ALL SORTS OF PERSONS OF ENEMITY, AND BY A NEW ORDINANCE OF COUNCIL AT  
THE DESIRE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WHICH IS A GENTLEMAN'S BAND FOR MAINTENANCE OF THE TRUE RELIGION AND  
THE KING'S PEACE, AND NOW SUBSCRIBED IN THE YEAR MDCCLXII, NORMAN & MARSHALL, PRINTERS TO THE CROWN, MINISTER OF  
COMMONS, LONDON: BEING TOGETHER WITH OTHER RESOLUTIONS AND PROMISES FOR THE CAMEL AFTER,  
SPECIFIED TO MAINTAIN THE SAID TRUE RELIGION AND THE KING'S PEACE ACCORDING TO THE CON-  
FESSOR, COUNCIL AND ACTS OF PARLIAMENT THE ELEVEN VELLUM SHEETS FOLLOWING.

SEE ALL

IN OBEDIENCE



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of that church and kingdom, he raised no force to maintain what he was about to do. . . . A troop of horse and a regiment of foot had prevented all that followed." At the beginning of 1638 the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Traquair, went to London and told the King that he must either withdraw the Liturgy or support it with forty thousand men. Charles replied by sending him back with another proclamation in which he assumed the responsibility for the Liturgy and ordered the malcontents to disperse under pain of being charged with treason. Traquair knew that he could not publish the proclamation in Edinburgh without provoking a demonstration against the King, so long before dawn on the 19th of February he rode to Stirling. But his opponents heard of his departure; Lord Lindsay and the Earl of Home galloped after him, overtook him on the way, and delivered a solemn protestation after the proclamation had been read from the market cross.

Three days later the proclamation was read at Edinburgh. 'The Tables' at once determined to unite the whole country against the King, and proceeded to draw up the National Covenant. This consisted of a protest against Catholicism, taken from the Negative Confession of Faith of 1581, a recapitulation of all the Acts of Parliament passed against Popery since 1560, coupled with an assertion that the recent innovations in religion had been contrary to these Acts, and a solemn promise to maintain "the true religion and His Majesty's authority . . . against all sorts of persons whatsoever." That Episcopalians might not hesitate to sign, all direct references to Episcopacy were excised, though every one must have known the nature of "the manifold innovations and evils" against which the Covenant was a protest.

On Sunday the 28th of February the completed Covenant was displayed for the first time in the church of Old Greyfriars. All that day, until darkness forced them to stop, nobles and lairds crowded into the church to give their signatures. On the following day more than three hundred ministers signed, and soon the Covenant had been subscribed by high and low

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in almost every town in the kingdom. In some cases violence was used, in some cases those who refused to sign were threatened with excommunication, but in general little persuasion was needed. Enthusiasts wept as they wrote their names, some dipped their pens in their own blood, and many who had no love for Presbyterianism signed because they had grown weary of the blind and irrational obstinacy of King Charles.

### ABOLITION OF EPISCOPACY

The National Covenant was a challenge which Charles could not disregard. He appointed the Marquis of Hamilton his commissioner and sent him to Scotland to treat with the Covenanters, but the posture of affairs was so perplexing that Hamilton twice went back to London for further instructions. On his return from his second visit in September he declared that an Assembly would be held in Glasgow on the 21st of November and a Parliament in the following May, but that a new Covenant, containing a solemn promise to defend the King and the true religion, must be accepted by every one. It was an attempt to split the ranks of the King's opponents and leave the extremists in a minority, but it failed, for only a few thousands signed the new declaration.

It was clear that the fate of Episcopacy would be decided at the Glasgow Assembly, and before the Assembly met every one knew what that fate would be. There were very many ministers who had no objection to Episcopacy in itself, but only to a ritualism which had no necessary connexion with it ; by various ingenious devices the election of these to the Assembly was made impossible. For the first time, too, in almost forty years lay elders took their seats in the Assembly. On the 24th of October an indictment against the bishops was laid before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, which at once referred the matter to the coming Assembly.

On the 21st of November the Assembly met in the cathedral at Glasgow, with Alexander Henderson, the Minister of Leuchars, as Moderator, and Johnston of Warriston, "a deep

PLATE XLVI. GLASGOW IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY





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enthusiast . . . out of measure zealous," as Clerk. The bishops denied that an Assembly composed of laymen and ministers elected by laymen was competent to judge their case, and were supported by Hamilton, who on the 25th of November formally dissolved the Assembly and ordered the members to disperse. A mere handful obeyed him; for more than three weeks the Assembly continued its deliberations, and before it rose it had wrecked the whole ecclesiastical structure reared by King Charles and his father. The bishops were deposed; eight of them were excommunicated. The Court of High Commission, the Book of Canons, and the Service Book were all proscribed, and it was ruled that the National Covenant condemned the Five Articles of Perth and Episcopacy. To this open defiance of the royal authority the only sequel could be war.

## CHAPTER XXIX

### SCOTLAND AND THE CIVIL WAR

FEW periods in Scottish history are more perplexing than the twenty years which followed the signing of the National Covenant. It was in Scotland that the great Civil War may be said to have begun, it was from Scotland that help came to the English Parliament in its hour of need, it was a Scottish army which surrendered King Charles to the Parliament. But the army which invaded England on his behalf two years later came from Scotland, Charles II was crowned in Scotland ten years before he was crowned in England, "Worcester's laureate wreath" was plucked by Cromwell from the Scots, and the last Royalist rising in Scotland was not suppressed till 1654. How is this complete *volte-face* to be explained?

One has to remember that the hostility to the King in Scotland, violent though it was, had its origin almost wholly in the discontent caused by his ecclesiastical policy. Unlike the English, the Scots had little objection to the Stewart despotism in itself; it was not with the methods of government but with the results that they quarrelled. The tie which bound the subject to the monarch, too, seems to have been much stronger in Scotland than in England; for the average Scot the Stewart kings were not novelty-loving strangers, as they appeared to the average Englishman. The Scots, in short, objected to the King's religion, but not to the King; they supported the English Parliament in the opening stages of the struggle not because they had much enthusiasm for parliamentary government, but because they believed that the triumph of the Parliament would mean the triumph of

## THE CIVIL WAR

Presbyterianism, not only in Scotland, but in every part of the British Isles. Let the English Parliament once falter in its professions of zeal for Presbyterianism, let the King once persuade his northern subjects that Presbyterianism had more to hope for from him than from the Parliament, and the Scots would straightway range themselves on the Royalist side.

All this, of course, applies only to the nation taken as a whole ; events affected the different sections of the nation in different ways. The Scottish nobles, for example, had more to fear from Cromwell than from the King, more from a Government which abolished feudal jurisdictions than from a monarch who threatened to annex the Church lands. Then there were men who had always been Royalists *sans phrase*, and others, like Montrose, who took up arms against the King to save him from himself, as it were, believing firmly all the while that a monarchic form of government was a necessary condition of the country's welfare. It was inevitable that such men should go over to the King's standard long before the majority of their countrymen, inevitable, too, that the purity of their motives should be questioned. The Highlanders were in a peculiar position. As yet, since they were interested neither in politics nor in Church matters, they sided with no party ; but they were soon to intervene in startling fashion.

### THE FIRST BISHOPS' WAR

The spring of 1639 saw the Scots in arms against the King. They were confident of success, for they had obtained more recruits than were needed, and had put them under the command of veterans of the Thirty Years War, led by one of the greatest soldiers of the time, Alexander Leslie, who a few years before had driven Wallenstein from the ramparts of Stralsund. They were aware, too, that the King could equip no considerable force unless he summoned his English Parliament and undid the work of the last ten years. The King's plans fell to pieces. It had been arranged that Huntly should raise the royal standard in the north, that the Marquis of Hamilton should sail to Aberdeen with five thousand men, and

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

that the two armies should then unite and sweep southward, where they would meet a third army led by the King in person. This scheme was wrecked by the energy of a young Scottish nobleman, James Graham, Earl of Montrose, who rushed north at the head of nine thousand men, occupied Aberdeen, and sent Huntly a prisoner to Edinburgh. At the end of April Hamilton sailed into the Forth, but he could not effect a landing, and when on the 28th of May the King entered Berwick he found that his army of twenty-one thousand raw recruits, who shot holes in the tents of their officers, was opposed by a force equal in numbers and superior in every other respect.

After one unsuccessful attempt to force the passage of the Tweed had been made the King recognized that to persist would be madness and opened negotiations with the Scots. On the 18th of June the Pacification of Berwick was signed. Though the King refused to recognize the Glasgow Assembly he ordered a new Assembly and a Parliament to meet, and promised that in future the General Assembly should have the right of controlling the affairs of the Church.

On the 12th of August the Assembly met in Edinburgh, and straightway re-enacted all the decrees of the Glasgow Assembly. Traquair, the Lord Commissioner representing the King, gave his assent to the Acts. But the battle had to be fought out all over again in Parliament, which met on the last day of August. At once there was a skirmish over the election of the Lords of the Articles. For the first time in almost forty years the bishops did not take their places in the House, and in accordance with the method of election introduced by James VI the eight representatives of the lords should have been chosen by the bishops. After some debate it was agreed that the eight representatives of the lords should be chosen by the Commissioner, though each estate protested that the arrangement should be only temporary. The eight lords then chose eight 'barons' and eight burgesses and the Committee of the Articles began its sittings. It passed an "Act Rescissorie" annulling all the Acts of Parliament in favour of Episcopacy and another altering the method of choosing the

## THE CIVIL WAR

Lords of the Articles. Traquair gave the Committee no opportunity of submitting its proposals to the whole Parliament, but on the 14th of November prorogued Parliament, on the ground that "diverse things hes occurrit in this present Parliament which as his Majestie conceaves does mainlie Tuitch his Majestie's Civill authoritie and government."

The Pacification of Berwick, in fact, had not removed Charles's difficulties ; it had simply allowed him to shut his eyes to them for a few months. He had argued with himself that when he allowed Parliament and the General Assembly to meet he would be giving away nothing, because the bishops would be excluded from both and both would *ipso facto* become unconstitutional bodies, whose decrees he could refuse to ratify. Unfortunately for him the Scottish leaders saw this as clearly as he did, and resolved that they would not be put off again so easily with fair words.

The Parliament had been prorogued to the 2nd of June, 1640, but at the end of May Charles postponed the opening for a month. The members, disregarding the King's command, met on the day appointed, chose Lord Burleigh as Commissioner, "in respect of the absence of the King's Commissioner," and announced that the present assemblage, despite the absence of the bishops, contained "the trew estatis of this kingdome" and was "a compleit and perfyte Parliament." The Parliament then proceeded to ratify the Acts of the General Assembly abolishing Episcopacy and ordered all the King's subjects to sign the Covenant. More important even than the statutes concerning religion was the Act modifying the powers of the Lords of the Articles. They were to be appointed only if Parliament thought fit, each estate was to elect its own representatives, they were to discuss only such articles as had been submitted to them by the whole Parliament, but Parliament was not precluded from discussing any matter with which they had refused to deal. Thus at one stroke the Scottish Parliament gained what it had not had for centuries, freedom not only to discuss but to choose the matter for discussion.

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## THE SECOND BISHOPS' WAR

All this could lead only to war, a war in which Charles had less chance of success than before. He had just dismissed the Short Parliament without obtaining the supplies necessary for an expedition against the Scots, and his opponents in England knew that if he did not wish to repeat the humiliating performance of the previous summer he must call a fresh Parliament. But Charles had no mind to yield, and in August he placed himself at the head of a disorderly rabble. This time the Scots, knowing that they would be welcomed as liberators, did not hesitate to invade England. Their plan was to bring the King to his knees by occupying Newcastle and cutting off the coal supply of London. On the 20th of August Leslie's army forded the Tweed, Montrose leading the way; eight days later the invaders drove back the King's forces at Newburn and secured the fords of the Tyne. On the 30th of August Newcastle was occupied, and on the 3rd of September Durham fell into the hands of the Scots.

The Scots were playing the game of the King's opponents in England. Twice they demanded that a Parliament should be summoned in England, and refused to consider any treaty of which it did not approve. The King had no choice but complete surrender. To a Council of the Peers assembled at York he announced that a Parliament would meet at the beginning of November. Thus the Scottish invasion of England in 1640 was the immediate cause of the summoning of the famous Long Parliament, and so, more remotely, one of the chief causes of the Civil War.

The Council of Peers had appointed sixteen of their number to treat with the Scots, but though the negotiations began in October they were not concluded till late in the summer of 1641. All the demands of the Scots were granted. Their troops were to receive £300,000 from the English Parliament; the King promised to ratify the disputed Acts of Parliament and to allow Scotsmen in England and Ireland to sign the Covenant. But by this time the English Parliament had

## THE CIVIL WAR

wrested position after position from the King. Strafford had been executed, Laud was a prisoner in the Tower ; only a mere shadow of his ancient authority was left to him : if he wished to regain the substance, war was the only remedy. At this point he resolved on a curious reversal of his policy. The Scots, by forcing him to summon the Long Parliament, were in a sense the source of all his troubles ; he now determined to go to Edinburgh, win over the Scots to his side, and intimidate the Parliament by threatening to use the Scottish army against it.

### ARGYLL AND MONTROSE

But before he arrived at Edinburgh it was apparent that a split had been made in the ranks of the Covenanters. Their most influential leader was Archibald, Earl of Argyll, "a solemn sort of a man, grave and sober, free of all scandalous vices, of an invincible calmness of temper, and a pretender to high degrees of piety." But that was only one side of his character ; he was an extremely crafty diplomat, ready to make capital out of the present disturbances and to advance himself into the position of ruler of the northern half of Scotland, if not of the whole country. The most brilliant member of the Covenanting party, on the other hand, was the Earl of Montrose, at this time twenty-nine years old, fourteen years junior to Argyll. It was he who destroyed the King's chances of success in the First Bishops' War ; it was he who led the Scottish vanguard across the Tweed in the campaign of 1640. But already he bore himself as one who was destined to achieve still greater things. An astrologer had promised him "a glorious fortune for some time, but all was to be overthrown in conclusion," and the critical observed that he "had taken upon him the part of a hero too much, and lived as in a romance ; for his whole manner was stately to affectation." But his pride was like the pride of Milton ; he believed that he had been chosen to champion a great cause, and so must not demean himself as other men. His mistress, his "dear and only love," was Scotland ; for her he would gladly

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go to the gallows at need. He had drawn his sword against the King when he seemed to be threatening her liberties ; he believed, however, that the monarchy could not be abolished or limited beyond a certain point without disaster to the State, and he had no wish to see Archibald Campbell in the place of Charles Stewart. In the summer of 1639, while the two armies lay before Berwick, he had been summoned to the King's presence, and for the first time his reasoned loyalty became something warmer ; in 1640 he questioned the right of Parliament to meet without the King's consent, and just before the Scottish troops crossed the Tweed he persuaded eighteen nobles and gentlemen to sign the Cumbernauld Bond binding them to support the public ends of the Covenant instead of the private intrigues of a faction. In short, he had discovered the true drift of Argyll's policy ; he had been asked to consent to an arrangement by which the government of Scotland north of the Forth was given to Argyll, while the southern half was entrusted to two nonentities. But Montrose was no diplomat. He let it be known that he intended to charge Argyll with treason before the King. Argyll saw that his opponent had blundered, and asked him to produce his witnesses ; the witnesses declared that Montrose had misunderstood their meaning, and the unfortunate Earl found himself a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle.

### CHARLES VISITS SCOTLAND

Such was the state of affairs when the King entered Edinburgh on the 14th of August. In the three months which he spent there he gave way on every point, allowed the Scottish Parliament to choose all officers of State, and loaded his opponents with honours. Leslie became Earl of Leven and received a grant of a hundred thousand marks ; Argyll was made a marquis ; the fanatical Johnston of Warriston was knighted. Only the loyalists went without reward. One loyalist earl who had been removed from the Privy Council announced that he would join the rebels in Ireland and so win preferment. But Charles, as usual, had given way when it

## PLATE XLVII

THE MARQUIS OF ARGYLL,





## THE CIVIL WAR

was too late ; and before he left Scotland something happened which made men doubtful of his sincerity. On the 11th of October the Marquis of Hamilton went to the King with the information that some persons meant that night to kidnap and murder not only himself, but his brother the Earl of Lanark, and Argyll. He therefore begged that he and his friends might leave Edinburgh at once, and a few hours later the three fled to Kinneil. A plot of some kind there certainly was, but though Parliament at once investigated the matter they arrived at no satisfactory conclusion, and the ‘ Incident ’ has remained a mystery to this day. It was sufficient, however, to damage the credit of the King beyond hope of repair.

### THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT

For more than a year after the outbreak of the Civil War Scotland remained neutral. In the campaign of 1643 the Royalist armies had been victorious again and again and the troops of the Parliament seemed to be within measurable distance of a final defeat. In their extremity the Parliamentarian leaders decided to appeal to Scotland, and in August four commissioners, including Sir Harry Vane, entered Edinburgh. A few days later the Solemn League and Covenant was accepted by the General Assembly and a Convention of the Estates, and on the 25th of September it was ratified by the English Parliament. The Scots had given what the English Parliament demanded ; they promised to “ assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant ” and to shun “ a detestable indifferency or neutrality ” ; but they exacted a heavy price for it—an undertaking “ to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion.” In other words, the Scots were to play that part in England which Charles had played in Scotland ; they were to force on the country a form of religion for which the majority of the inhabitants had not the faintest affection.

In January 1644 Leven led an army of twenty-one thousand men across the Tweed. It soon proved its value. At Marston

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Moor four Scots regiments stood fast when the rest of the centre was swept away, and in the great charge which decided the day Scottish horsemen rode with Cromwell's Ironsides.

### THE CAMPAIGNS OF MONTROSE

He either fears his fate too much  
Or his desert's too small  
Who will not put it to the touch  
To win or lose it all.

So Montrose had sung, and this moment, when the Royalists had received their first smashing defeat, was the one that he chose for launching out on his audacious career of triumph. In February he had been appointed the King's Lieutenant in Scotland and had been made a marquis, and now, at the end of summer, after a few months of disheartening fighting on the Border, he had slipped in disguise through the Lowlands and made his way to the House of Tilliebelton, between Perth and Dunkeld. He had resolved to attempt what no Lowland general had accomplished successfully since the days of Bruce. He knew that the flower of the Lowland troops were absent in England ; he would therefore raise the Highland clans and utilize their peculiar methods of fighting in the manner that would make them most dangerous to an unpractised enemy. He would have at his command troops for whom the roughest country and the longest marches had no terror, men who were accustomed to bear hunger and thirst gladly, who would fight with almost insane valour in a hand-to-hand combat. Even if he failed in the end it was almost certain that he would lure part of the Covenanting army from England, and so ease the pressure on the English Royalists. But the difficulties which confronted him were enormous. He had no artillery, no horses save three that he had brought from England, and only scanty supplies of muskets and powder. Reserves of food there were none, and his pay-chest was empty ; his soldiers must therefore live off the country. Born plunderers would have no difficulty in doing this; but born plunderers

## THE CIVIL WAR

gave more heed to their plunder than to the cause of King Charles, and Montrose was to find that a victory depleted his army as much as a defeat would have done, for the clansmen slipped off by thousands to deposit their booty in safe places at home. Almost as great a difficulty was presented by the rivalries of the different chieftains and the ambiguous attitude of the Earl of Huntly, the head of the great house of Gordon. Huntly blew both hot and cold, sent some of his family and kept others at home, sent two hundred horsemen and withdrew them when they were most needed. In addition to the rivalry of the clansmen Montrose had to take measures to check the ill-feeling between the Highlanders and the Scoto-Irish contingent, an ill-feeling that almost resulted in a general combat the first day the army mustered. These Macdonells from Ulster, under the command of Alastair Macdonald—the “Colkitto or Macdonnel or Galasp” whom Milton transformed into “three gentlemen at once”—formed the most useful part of Montrose’s tiny force.

### TIPPERMUIR AND ABERDEEN

The campaign began with an advance against Perth. At Tippermuir, on the 1st of September, 1644, the Royalist army of three thousand men found its way barred by a force of seven thousand infantry and seven hundred cavalry. Montrose drew up his force in a long line three deep. The Lowlanders, halting irresolute, were thrown into confusion by a volley from the muskets of Alastair’s men and a shower of stones ; before the smoke cleared away the Highlanders charged down upon them and broke the line, and within a few minutes the Covenanting army had turned about and was fleeing to Perth. Two thousand perished in the flight, including some two or three dozen fat burgesses of Perth who had gone out to be witnesses of a Covenanting victory, and who died of sheer exhaustion. From Perth Montrose swept northward to Aberdeen, drove his opponents back in headlong rout upon the city and let the Highlanders and Irishmen work their will on it. At the most moderate estimate over a hundred persons

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

perished in the sack of Aberdeen. It is the greatest blot on the fame of Montrose, a blot which the previous murder of one of his envoys by the citizens cannot excuse.

### INVERLOCHY

The capture of Aberdeen on the 13th of September was followed by three months of indecisive marching and skirmishing. The Highlanders were unwilling to follow Montrose to the Lowlands, his Lowland followers were unwilling to stay with him in the Highlands. But every section of his motley army was animated by hatred of the Clan Campbell and Argyll. In December Montrose led his men westward by the southern shores of Loch Tay, through Glen Dochart, where three centuries before Bruce and his weary knights had marched, into the very heart of the Campbell country. Argyll left his clansmen in their extremity and fled down Loch Fyne in his galley. For a month Montrose's clansmen harried the Campbell territories far and wide, or took their ease at Inveraray, the capital of Argyll's domains. But at the end of January the position of Montrose became perilous. Argyll was returning at the head of an army, another force under Lord Seaforth threatened him from the north, while General Baillie at Perth barred his way to the east. Through some of the wildest and most difficult country in Britain, where the drifting snow had hidden every landmark and blocked every pass, he led his little army of fifteen hundred men to Kilcummin, at the southern end of Loch Ness. There he learned that Seaforth was at Inverness, thirty miles away, with five thousand men, while at Inverlochy, thirty miles to the south of the Royalist army, lay Argyll with three thousand more. He determined not to wait and be crushed, but to attack one of the hostile armies at once. On the morning of the last day of January he turned his army about, and, making a wide *détour*, picked his way over the lower slopes of Ben Nevis to Inverlochy. On the evening of the following day the tremendous march was completed ; but though shots were exchanged by the pickets during the night the Campbells were unaware that they had

## THE CIVIL WAR

to do, not with a paltry band of raiders, but with the dreaded Montrose. Argyll, as usual, would take no chances ; he retired to his galley on Loch Eil, troubled with an opportune pain in his shoulder.

On the morning of the 2nd of February a flourish of trumpets warned the Campbells that they had to do with Montrose himself. The tactics of Tippermuir were repeated—one volley, followed by a wild charge ; though, as Highlander was opposed to Highlander, the struggle was more obstinate. Fifteen hundred perished by the sword or were drowned in the loch ; the military power of the Campbells was shattered.

### DUNDEE

Even now Montrose could not venture far from the Highlands ; but at the end of March, emboldened by the accession to his army of two hundred cavalry, he swept southward through the eastern counties, forcing Baillie's army to retire from the position which it had taken up at Coupar Angus and opening the way to the Lowlands. But the Highlanders were not eager to fight far from home, and the rapidly dwindling numbers of his army warned Montrose that he must change his plans. A night march of twenty-four miles brought him to the walls of Dundee ; after a brisk assault the town fell into his hands, and his wearied Highlanders soon began to make free with the contents of the booths and taverns. Late in the afternoon news was brought to him that Baillie had not retreated to Fife, as every one had supposed, but was outside the western gate of the city. No general but Montrose could have extricated his army from such a position. Somehow or other he beat off his men from their plunder, marched them out by the East Port as Baillie's troops hurried in through the West Port, led them, dazed as they were with wine and fatigue, the Covenanting cavalry thundering at their heels, over seventy miles of country in a night and a day, till he reached the lower slopes of the Grampians and was safe from pursuit.

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### AULDEARN, ALFORD, AND KILSYTH

The Covenanting leaders now dispatched Sir John Hurry, Baillie's second in command, to raise a force in the north, while Baillie still hovered round Perth. Montrose hastened after the northern army, but Hurry retreated before him, trying to lure him into an unfavourable position. When Montrose reached the little village of Auldearn Hurry faced about and marched back, hoping to surprise the Royalists under cover of darkness. He almost succeeded. As day was breaking on the 9th of May the Royalist sentinels heard an irregular volley of musketry ; but the enemy were still far off, and they had fired merely to clear their guns, for the night had been damp. In a few minutes Montrose formed his plan. He placed his men north and south of the village, concentrating his main force behind a ridge on the south. To deceive the enemy, his standard was planted on the less strongly held right wing. The village itself was occupied only by a handful of musketeers. The Covenanting general hurled his troops against the Royalist right ; the Ulstermen there rushed out to meet the attack, but were severely punished. This was Montrose's opportunity. While the struggling masses swayed backward and forward he ordered his left wing to advance and take Hurry's troops in flank. Completely surprised, the Covenanters broke their ranks and fled. For fourteen miles the pursuit continued, and few escaped beyond the hundred horsemen whom Hurry led into Baillie's camp. Two months later Baillie's own army was cut to pieces at Alford, on the Don. Baillie fled southward, and was put in command of another force, but before he could effect a junction with the Covenanting army of the southwest he was overtaken by Montrose at Kilsyth, half-way between Stirling and Glasgow. His troops attempted a flanking movement across the enemy's front, but were charged simultaneously in the van and in the centre and almost annihilated. A few days later Montrose entered Glasgow.

## THE CIVIL WAR

### PHILIPHAUGH

It was a wonderful record. During twelve months Montrose had not only repulsed but utterly destroyed every army that had been sent against him. It is even more wonderful when we consider the material at his disposal. But though he came near to doing it, he could not escape altogether from the limitations of that material. To use Burnet's phrase, "he had no scheme how to fix his conquests." His army had to be made up all over again after each victory, and so it happened that Tippermuir, Inverlochy, and Auldearn were each followed, not by an advance into the Lowlands, but a retreat into the Highlands. Then if one looks at his campaign in connexion with the English Civil War—and he expected that his own defeat might be the price of a final victory—one sees the emptiness of his triumphs. He had diverted only about a thousand troops from Leven's army, not enough to affect the fortunes of war in England ; he had not invaded England or effected a junction with any of the English Royalist armies, and the destruction of the King's main army at Naseby on June 14 made Alford and Kilsyth of no avail. The Scots in England were growing alarmed too. Now that their services could easily be spared, four thousand of them, all seasoned veterans, marched back to Scotland under David Leslie, the ablest of the Covenanting generals. On a misty morning in September Leslie's cavalry slipped past the Royalist outposts at Philiphaugh and fell upon the bewildered Highlanders. The Royalist position was one of great natural strength, but as no one suspected the enemy to be at hand no measures had been taken to defend it ; Montrose himself had spent the night in Selkirk instead of in the camp. There was no time to organize resistance. The Ulstermen held out till four hundred of their number had fallen, but in other parts of the field the battle soon became a rout and a massacre. Montrose escaped to the Highlands, where he carried on a desultory campaign throughout the winter and spring, but in the summer of 1646 King Charles ordered him to lay down his arms. He obeyed, and with

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difficulty escaped to the Continent, where he was received as one of the first generals of the age. But flattery moved him as little as defeat ; he felt that his country would yet need him, and refused to enter the service even of the King of France.

### THE SCOTS NEGOTIATE WITH THE KING

The battle of Philiphaugh had been followed by a wholesale massacre of the prisoners of lower rank, and the execution, after a form of trial, of the captured leaders. But signs were not wanting that the relations between the Scots and the King's opponents in England, never very cordial, were becoming strained. The English Parliament had pledged itself to enforce Presbyterianism on England partly out of zeal for Presbyterianism, but largely because it needed help from Scotland. The Presbyterians were still in a majority in the House, but ranged against them was a vigorous and influential minority which detested Presbyterianism as much as Episcopacy. In 1646, however, the real governors of the nation were to be found, not in Parliament, but in the army. Presbyterianism was certainly tolerated in the army, but Independents like Cromwell would have given their lives rather than see it exalted above the other sects. The Scots, on the other hand, made it plain to Charles when he rode into their camp that they would fight for him if only he would sign the Covenant. The King would go no farther than a proposal to establish Presbyterianism in England for five years, and early in 1647 the Scots gave him up to the English Parliament.

In February the Scottish army left England, having been promised £400,000, or one-fifth of their arrears of pay, by the English Parliament. But the withdrawal of the Scottish army weakened the hands of the English Presbyterians. The arrest of Charles by the leaders of the army caused a stir of resentment among the King's bitterest opponents in Scotland, and at the end of the year Loudoun, the Chancellor of Scotland, and the Earls of Lanark<sup>1</sup> and Lauderdale made a secret treaty with Charles. By the Engagement, as it was

<sup>1</sup> Lanark afterward became Duke of Hamilton. See Plate 48 and p. xxx.  
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PLATE XLVIII. THE DUKES OF HAMILTON AND LAUDERDALE



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called, Charles undertook to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years, and though he still refused to sign the Covenant or enforce it on his subjects he promised to confirm it in Parliament. In return for this the Scots promised to put their army at his disposal.

But the Engagement had not a unanimous country behind it. It had been drawn up without the consent of the Commissioners of the Church,<sup>1</sup> and now that it was signed the ministers did their best to make it a dead letter. Suspicion of the King's motives counted for something, of course, but hatred of those who had fought by the side of Montrose counted for more. Recruiting was hindered ; some of the best officers in the army, including Leven and Leslie, were won over ; ministers who refused to preach against the war were admonished by the General Assembly. In June two thousand of the western Covenanters, including two hundred deserters from the army, appeared in arms and were not dispersed till a sharp skirmish had taken place. But the English Royalists had risen prematurely, and in answer to impatient appeals from them the Duke of Hamilton had to leave a disaffected country behind him and hurry into England with only a third of the troops which Parliament had voted.

### THE BATTLE OF PRESTON

The 17th of July found the Royalist army scattered over more than forty miles of country. The majority of the Scottish foot, under Baillie, had crossed the Ribble ; Hamilton himself, with Marmaduke Langdale and the English Royalists, was in Preston ; fifteen miles to the south Middleton and his cavalry were plundering the country round Wigan ; while Monro, with a division of three thousand Irish troops, had got no farther south than Kirkby Lonsdale, thirty miles from Preston. It was a precarious position, for Cromwell, at the head of six thousand foot and three thousand horse, most of them veterans

<sup>1</sup> When Parliament was not sitting its powers were vested in a few selected members known as the Commissioners of Parliament, or Committee of the Estates. Similarly the Assembly safeguarded its policy by appointing a Commission.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

of the first Civil War, was advancing along the northern bank of the Ribble. Even when Hamilton saw the red coats and steel breast-plates of Cromwell's troopers within half a mile of him he could not believe that he had to do with Cromwell himself and made no attempt to call back Baillie's foot for the inevitable combat.

The three days battle began with a fierce attack on the town, carried out, says Cromwell, "with incredible valour and resolution" in the face of a "very stiff and sturdy resistance." It was in vain that Hamilton shouted, "Charge once more for King Charles!" and charged three times at the head of his troops; it was in vain that he thrice drove the enemy before him; the town was captured and he had to make his horse swim the Ribble before he could join Baillie on the other side.

Hamilton was far from being completely defeated; though he had lost Preston and about a thousand men the bulk of his army had not yet been in action. That night, persuaded by the Earl of Callander, he resolved to march southward and get into touch with Middleton. So, under cover of darkness, began "that drumless march" in "very foul weather and extremely deep ways; our soldiers exceedingly wet, weary, and hungry." It was a useless movement, for the bulk of the ammunition had to be left behind and fell into the hands of Cromwell, while Middleton rode up some hours later to the scene of the battle, only to find that Hamilton and his army had vanished. Middleton had now no choice but to turn about and ride after the main army. On the 18th he came up to it outside Wigan, but Cromwell's horse was hard at his heels, and Hamilton decided not to defend the town, but to make for Warrington and hold the bridge over the Mersey. The greater part of the infantry got through the town in safety, but Middleton's horse were severely handled and galloped through the streets in confusion, treading down those pikemen who were left.

The 19th of July saw the three days battle completed. At Winwick, about two miles from Warrington, Baillie halted his pikemen and lined the hedges with musketeers. For a time it looked as if the pursuers were to be beaten off, for

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the Scots fought bravely, "maintaining the pass with great resolution for many hours," Cromwell writes, "ours and theirs coming to push of pike and very close charges—which forced us to give ground." But the position was forced and Baillie driven back to the bridge over the Mersey, where he surrendered with all his men. Hamilton and the other nobles, with what was left of the cavalry, surrendered at Uttoxeter six days later. The Duke, who had never been more than a nominal leader of anything, was condemned to death by the English Parliament, and, in the words of Mrs. Alison Wilson, "lost his head at London—folk said it wasna a very gude ane, but it was aye a sair loss to him, puir gentleman."

### TRIUMPH OF THE FANATICS

The battle of Preston was a victory not only for Cromwell, but for those Presbyterians, mostly West-Countrymen, who had all along protested against the Engagement. Led by Argyll and the Chancellor Loudoun, these Whiggamores, or Whigs, as they now began to be called, rose in arms and marched on Edinburgh, where a Committee of the Estates appointed by the last Parliament was sitting. The Committee fled to Stirling, followed by the insurgents. Instead of rallying the remnants of Hamilton's army, the Committee began to bargain for terms. All that the members could get was an assurance that their lives and property would be spared if they surrendered their offices and threw themselves on the mercy of the General Assembly. The Committee knew that the Whiggamores were in correspondence with Cromwell. On the 21st of September Cromwell led his army across the Tweed, and five days later the Committee capitulated. Scotland was now dominated by a comparatively small faction, a faction which would have been powerless without Lambert's guard of cavalry.

The principles of this group can best be explained by its actions. Its anxiety to establish the absolute supremacy of Presbyterianism everywhere made it spurn the ladder by which it had climbed. On the 16th of January, 1649, the Commissioners of the Assembly published a manifesto "against

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Toleration and the present proceedings of the Sectaries and their Abettors in England." A week later a packed Parliament passed the notorious Act of Classes. The chief promoters of the Engagement and those who had supported both the Engagers and Montrose were placed in the first class of offenders and declared incapable of ever holding office. The second class was composed of all others who had been Engagers and of those who had been censured as Royalists. These were excluded from office for ten years. If a man had at any time shown any sympathy with the proscribed parties or if he had neglected to protest against them, he found himself in the third class and was deprived of his office for five years. Should he be guilty of such offences as uncleanness and drunkenness he fared better and escaped with one year's exclusion from office. The Act bore heavily on the loyalist ministers; those whom it passed over were deposed or suspended by the Assembly, often for no other crime than remaining silent.

### EXECUTION OF MONTROSE

Thus an ecclesiastical tyranny more thorough than any King James or King Charles had ever dreamt of was established; but it was fated to be of short duration. The execution of Charles I sent a thrill of horror throughout Scotland. Charles II was at once proclaimed by the Parliament, and even the dominant minority thought that the young King might be invited to Scotland. But Charles did not intend to become a Presbyterian and a Covenanter unless it was absolutely necessary. There was just a chance that a Royalist rising in the Highlands might be successful, and in the spring of 1650 Montrose was sent on what he knew was a hopeless venture. Yet he went gladly; ready, he said, "to abandon still my life to search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and service, with that integrity and clearness as your Majesty and all the world shall see that it is not your fortunes in you, but your Majesty in whatsoever fortune that I make sacred to serve." With a few hundred Orcadians and foreign mercenaries he landed in Caithness, but hardly a man joined him,

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and when he reached Carbisdale, in Ross, his timorous levies were easily dispersed by a small force under Colonel Strachan. Montrose escaped from the field, but was captured soon afterward and led in triumph to Edinburgh. Seated in a hangman's cart, he was drawn through crowded streets to the Tolbooth, "with all the infamy that brutal men could contrive," but at the sight of the pale, noble face those women who had come to curse remained to weep and pray. His fate was already settled. Six years before he had been declared guilty of treason and the sentence had never been removed; justice would have its course and he would die on a gibbet in the Grassmarket. Three days later, on the 21st of May, he was taken from the Tolbooth to the Cross, where a great gallows, thirty feet high, had been erected. "He stept along the streets with so great state," says an eye-witness, "and there appeared in his countenance so much beauty, majesty, and gravity as amazed the beholders." There was no thought of self in the speech which he addressed to the silent crowds from the scaffold. Of the King who sent him to his death he said: "His commandments to me were most just; and I obeyed them. He deals justly with all men." "I leave my soul to God," he concluded, "my service to my prince, my good-will to my friends, my love and charity to you all." With his old stately bearing he walked up the ladder. "God have mercy on this afflicted country!" he cried, and a moment later a great sob burst from the crowd, for the bravest heart in all Scotland had ceased to beat.

### CHARLES II IN SCOTLAND

A month later Charles, having signed the two Covenants, made his appearance in Scotland, and toward the end of July Cromwell crossed the Border. In the face of this danger the Argyll party acted as if it had been stricken with insanity. No one was allowed to fight for the King who had taken up arms for him under Montrose or Hamilton, and successive purgings deprived the once splendid army of its steadiest soldiers and most experienced leaders. The majority of the

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officers, says one, were "ministers' sons, clerks and such other sanctified creatures who hardly ever saw or heard of any sword but that of the spirit." Not content with making Charles sign the Covenants and profess himself a Presbyterian, the ministers pressed him to acknowledge that his father had sinned by marrying into an idolatrous family and that the whole guilt for the Civil War lay at his door. Charles protested that he could never look his mother in the face if he signed the paper, but being told that it was necessary "he resolved to swallow the pill without farther chewing it." Base as the surrender was, what are we to say of the conduct of the men who demanded it? There was more than simple intolerance in the business; they were playing a very deep game.

### DUNBAR

Cromwell's intention was to force a way into Edinburgh, but his path was barred by the Scottish army, about twice the size of his own, under David Leslie. The whole of August was spent in fruitless marching and countermarching, for the Scottish army, moving along interior lines, could always keep itself between Cromwell and Edinburgh. Sickness spread among the English troops to such an extent that five hundred invalids were put aboard the ships at one time, and finally Cromwell resolved to give up the attempt on Edinburgh and lead his men along the coast to Berwick. On the 1st of September Dunbar was reached, but Leslie seized Doon Hill and the narrow passage of Cockburnspath and barred the way to England. Cromwell was trapped. If he resolved to fight, the enemy, besides outnumbering him by two to one, had all the advantages of ground; if he tried to embark his men on the ships he was certain to lose heavily. Fortunately for him, Leslie had to do the bidding of a Committee of the Estates, "who were weary of lying in the fields" and "called to him to fall on." On the night of the 2nd of September Cromwell saw a movement in the Scottish army. "God is delivering them into our hands," he cried; "they are coming down to us." All through the night they descended. At dawn, before

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the Scots could order their ranks, Cromwell launched his terrible cavalry against them. The Scottish cavalry and one or two of the infantry regiments resisted gallantly for a time, but before an hour had passed the Scottish horse had been "broken through and through" by the Ironsides and the infantry had become "as stubble to their swords." The whole Scottish army now broke and fled. For eight miles the pursuit continued. Cromwell, writing to the Speaker next day, reckoned that three thousand had been slain and ten thousand taken prisoners.

The issue of Dunbar aroused many of the more precise Presbyterians from their dreams. They saw now that if the honour of Scotland was to be preserved the services of every man willing to fight for his country were required. Many were convinced, however, that the "singular piece of dispensation" was due, not to their intolerance, but to their laxity, and in October they presented a Remonstrance to the Committee of the Estates in which they disowned King Charles, rebuked the Committee for walking more by the rule of policy than piety, and demanded that all who had fought for Charles I and all who had suggested co-operating with them should be removed from places of trust. They organized a separate army which was meant to menace the loyalists more than the English, but this force allowed itself to be beaten by Lambert rather than co-operate with the main army. This defeat freed the hands of the moderate party; on the first day of 1651 the King was crowned at Scone, and in June the Act of Classes, which for months had been disregarded, was formally repealed.

### WORCESTER

Cromwell was now master of the south of Scotland. Edinburgh Castle had surrendered in September, but all through the winter the main body of the Scottish troops, ragged, hungry, and shoeless, had held tenaciously to its position before Stirling and barred the way to the north. Now that the Act of Classes was abolished fresh recruits poured in, till Leslie commanded a far finer army than those destroyed at Preston and Dunbar. Cromwell knew that until this force was

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destroyed he could not hope to be master of the whole of Scotland ; he knew, too, that he would have difficulty in forcing it from its 'lock' at Stirling ; he therefore decided to cross the Forth and strike at the Scottish base at Perth. On the 20th of July Lambert drove the Scottish garrison from the fortifications of Inverkeithing ; on the 2nd of August Perth was seized by Cromwell. But news came to the Lord-General that the main Scottish army was now marching hot-foot for England, and, leaving Monck to finish the northern campaign, he hastened south with the greater part of his forces, drawing reinforcements as he went from the militia of the counties through which he passed. The Scots, sixteen thousand strong, had thrown themselves into Worcester. When Cromwell came up on the 28th of August he was in command of a force twice that size. He seized the bridge over the Severn at Upton, threw a bridge of boats over the Teme and another over the Severn below the town, and on the afternoon of the 3rd of September made a simultaneous attack on every part of the enemy's position. The main body of the Scots was driven into the town, where it "made a very considerable fight with us," Cromwell wrote, "for three hours' space. . . . The dispute was long and very near at hand ; and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another . . . indeed it was a stiff business." But at last, with the guns of their own fort playing on them, the Scots gave way, and rolled in a confused mass through the northern suburbs of the town. "The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts," wrote Cromwell ; "it is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy." The Scottish army had been completely destroyed ; every leader of note, except Charles himself, was in Cromwell's hands ; thousands of prisoners were crowded in Worcester Cathedral.

### SUBJUGATION OF SCOTLAND

Meantime Monck had not been idle. Stirling had been captured, Dundee stormed and sacked, and one of Monck's officers, by arresting the remnant of the Committee of the Estates at Alyth, put an end to organized government in Scotland. For

## THE CIVIL WAR

the next seven years Scotland, like England, lay at the feet of Cromwell. Though a Royalist rising in the Highlands caused some trouble before it was suppressed in 1654, "in no time," says Bishop Burnet, "the Highlands were kept in better order than during the usurpation." A permanent garrison of several thousand men was maintained in Scotland, and new and powerful fortresses at Inverness, Inverlochy, Ayr, Perth, and Leith enabled General Monck to hold the country in a grip of iron. The once omnipotent General Assembly vanished, broken up by Colonel Lilburne in 1653 on the suspicion of being in communication with the northern rebels, and with its disappearance the ecclesiastical warfare ended for a time.

But Cromwell did not intend to leave Scotland in the position of a conquered province. In 1652 Scotland was united to England, and in the Instrument of Government it was stipulated that thirty Scottish members should sit in the Protectorate Parliament. The Privy Council was replaced by a small Council of State, seven Commissioners—"kinless loons" who refused to be bribed—administered justice, and Scottish merchants could now trade with England or the English colonies without restriction. "We always reckon these eight years of usurpation," says Burnet, "a time of great peace and prosperity." But the union was an artificial one. The majority of the members of Parliament and six out of eight of the Council of State were Englishmen, and though trade increased taxation increased too, for the greater part of the cost of the army of occupation was met by the inhabitants of Scotland. Men longed for a change, little knowing what the change would bring.

## CHAPTER XXX

### THE PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENT

THE restoration of Charles II was hailed in Scotland with wild enthusiasm. "The herd of the cavalier party," says Bishop Burnet, "were now very fierce and full of courage in their cups, though they had been very discreet managers of it in the field." The members of the first Restoration Parliament caroused so long at night that morning sittings were abandoned and a custom centuries old broken. The Presbyterians, for their part, did not look to the future with apprehension. Though there was little chance of Charles remaining faithful to the Covenants, it was improbable that a prince who "did not think that there was either sincerity or chastity in the world out of principle" would become a scourge of heresy, and when a few months after the Restoration he assured the Presbytery of Edinburgh that he would protect the Church as established by law the grateful ministers enshrined his letter in a silver box. No one dreamt that in the next thirty years ministers would be driven from their churches by the hundred, that Highland clans would, with the permission of the Government, live at free quarters in the Lowlands, that assassination on the one side would be the reply to torture and arbitrary execution on the other, and that the western Whigs would twice rise in rebellion and once defeat the royal troops.

It becomes the more incredible when one remembers that the Earl of Lauderdale, who for almost twenty years directed the King's dealings with Scotland, had more love for Presbyterianism than for Episcopacy. Till his first meeting with the King he had been a professed Presbyterian; when Charles

## PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENT

"spoke to him to let that go, for it was not a religion for gentlemen," he obeyed only as far as outward appearance went and tried to persuade Charles not to meddle with the Scottish Church. Though the English Parliament spoke smoothly, he assured Charles that "that was only the honeymoon" and he would soon find that the surest bulwark of the throne was a contented Scotland. But Charles was overruled by James Sharp, once the minister of Crail, who had been sent to London to represent the moderate Presbyterians and was now working hard for the re-establishment of Episcopacy.

### 'THE DRUNKEN PARLIAMENT'

The first sign of the coming trouble was seen in the proceedings of the Parliament which met on New Year's Day in 1661. "It was a mad, roaring time," says Bishop Burnet, "full of extravagance. And no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk." The most remarkable of the 393 Acts produced in the session of six months was the Rescissory Act, which annulled all the legislation since 1633, including the Acts of the 1641 Parliament, at which Charles I had presided in person, the Acts of the Parliament which ratified the Engagement, and those of Charles II's earlier Parliaments. By this Act, "fit only to be concluded after a drunken bout," Parliament set fetters on itself, for not only was the abolition of the Committee of the Articles annulled, but the destruction at one sweep of the whole work of Parliament for more than a quarter of a century was a constitutional innovation of the most disquieting kind.

Even more disturbing were the innovations in the Church. In September the Privy Council announced that the Church as settled by law meant the Episcopal Church of 1633, and before the end of the year Sharp, now Archbishop of St Andrews, Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, and two other Scottish bishops went to London to be consecrated after the manner of the Church of England. The 'Drunken Parliament' in its second session, in the summer of 1662, brought the bishops back to their old places, declared the Covenant

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

illegal, and passed an Act of Indemnity. A few, like Argyll, Johnston of Warriston, and one or two of the more fanatical ministers, were absolutely excluded from the benefits of the indemnity and were executed; over eight hundred persons were to be pardoned only on condition that they paid heavy fines. Another Act, introducing lay patronage, which had been abolished by the Parliament of 1649, caused a conflagration. For the last twenty years every vacancy in the Church of Scotland had been filled by a candidate appointed by the majority, or an overbearing minority, of the congregation. It was now enacted that all ministers who had been placed since 1649 must receive the charge again from the lay patron of the Church and the bishop of the diocese or else resign. The last day for submission was the 13th of February, 1663. When that day came round almost three hundred ministers, about a third of the clergy of the whole kingdom, had resigned their charges.

It was a fatal blunder. Even though the bulk of the deprived ministers belonged to the most illiberal section of the clergy, even though they had few supporters outside the south-west, the Government had created a problem which two rebellions were to leave unsolved. The pity of it is that the Government was contending for so little that one is at a loss to know why it should have contended at all. Though no General Assembly had been held since 1653, the synods and presbyteries were allowed to retain their former power and no attempt was made by the Government to impose a liturgy or any innovations in ceremonial upon the Church.

### THE CONVENTICLES

The events of the next few years showed the folly of attempting to gain converts to a policy of moderation by the use of compulsion. The places of the ejected ministers were given to the first candidates who offered their services, in most cases half-educated youths from the north of Scotland. The congregations found fault not only with the preaching of the 'curates,' as they christened them, but with their mode of

## PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENT

life. Few troubled to listen to their sermons ; and when the ejected ministers preached under the open sky they found the bulk of their flock gathered round them. The Government replied by imposing fines not only on those who attended conventicles, but also on those who stayed away from church ; and masters who would not give information about non-conforming servants were held equally guilty. Troops of dragoons extracted the fines from the Whigs in a somewhat rough-and-ready fashion under the orders of Sir James Turner, an officer who " was naturally fierce, but was mad when he was drunk ; and that was very often." Under this petty persecution the temper of the people in the West Country became sullen. Rumours of defeat at sea, stories of the destruction wrought by the Great Fire, led them to believe that the Government was tottering to a fall. On the 15th of November, 1666, a party of desperate men captured Turner at Dumfries. This was the signal for a rebellion. The handful of men soon swelled into a disorderly rabble, " become mad by oppression," three thousand strong. The rebels advanced on Edinburgh, but could find no support in the eastern counties ; Dalziel was close behind with a strong body of regular troops ; as a result of their forced marches over sodden moors and roads knee-deep in November mud their numbers soon shrank to nine hundred. They got as far as Colinton, within a few miles of Edinburgh, but as not a word of encouragement came from the capital they resolved to cross the Pentlands and make for home. On the 26th of November they were overtaken by Dalziel at Rullion Green and scattered after a brisk encounter. For months after the battle the search for the fugitives continued. In this work the Episcopal clergy, headed by Sharp and Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow, took a part that made them obnoxious to the whole country. More than thirty of the prisoners were executed ; ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh. Those who were spared were shipped to the plantations in Barbados. For two a worse fate was reserved —the terrible torture of the ' boots.' Their legs were placed

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

in tight-fitting boots of iron and wooden wedges were hammered in between the flesh and the metal, sometimes as far as the shin-bone. In spite of all his sufferings one of the tortured wretches, the preacher MacKail, died in a rapture of joy. "Farewell, sun, moon, and stars," he cried; "farewell, kindred and friends; farewell, world and time; farewell, weak and frail body! Welcome, eternity; welcome, angels and saints; welcome, Saviour of the world; and welcome, God the Judge of all!"

### BIGOTRY OF THE COVENANTERS

Such scenes were often to be repeated during the next twenty years; and one's admiration for these Covenanting martyrs is increased when one thinks that a word would have saved their lives, for they had only to declare that they renounced the Covenant and they would have been spared. At the same time one must not make the mistake of thinking that they were martyrs for the cause of religious freedom. Belief in the Covenants implied the belief that Presbyterianism was the one true religion. The Covenanter was fighting for the right to be a Presbyterian, but he could not see that his fellow subject had any right to be an Episcopalian, or an Anabaptist, or an Independent. But the Government should have had the sense to let sleeping dogs lie. Only when the dragooning and fining and imprisoning began did the principle of the absolute supremacy of Presbyterianism become more than an academic question. And the stupidity of Sharp and his colleagues had one good result: their methods of government were discredited, and Lauderdale could now carry out his policy of compromise without the fear that it would be thwarted by the King's ministers in Scotland.

Lauderdale's plan was to tempt the ejected ministers back to the Church. If he did not win them all over, he would at least succeed in splitting the ranks of the malcontents. In the summer of 1669 he persuaded the King to issue his first Letter of Indulgence—"that Black Indulgence," in the words of Mause Headrigg, "that has been a stumbling-block to so

WILLIAM CARSTARES

PLATE XLIX.

ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON





## PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENT

many professors." Ejected ministers who had lived peaceably were allowed to return to their parishes if the Privy Council gave its consent, but unless they promised to take collation from their bishops they were to receive only a portion of the revenue. When Parliament met in October Lauderdale, now Lord High Commissioner, buttressed up the Indulgence by securing the passage of an Act which declared the absolute supremacy of the King in all ecclesiastical affairs. This was far too heavy a price to pay for the submission of forty-two ministers.

### ROBERT LEIGHTON

Lauderdale's scheme had disappointed the noblest of his allies. This was the saintly Robert Leighton, son of a Presbyterian pamphleteer who had had his ears cut off and his nose slit in the time of Charles I, once a Presbyterian himself, now Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel Royal. A man who, believing that there was no virtue in episcopal consecration, yet consented to be consecrated was certain to be misunderstood by both Presbyterians and Episcopalian in his own day, and in after years to miss the fame that was his due. Of the hundreds who worship the memory of the fanatical Cameron, few spare a kindly thought for the mystic who regarded all ecclesiastical controversy as a mere "quarrel d'Almaine or drunken scuffle in the dark." Yet he was a man of extraordinary powers, one of the first scholars and preachers of his day. "But that which excelled all the rest was," in the words of his friend Bishop Burnet, "he was possessed with the highest and noblest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man. . . . He seemed to be in a perpetual meditation." Though he was convinced that Episcopacy was a legacy from the primitive Church, it mattered little to him whether a man was a Presbyterian or an Episcopalian; the important thing was that he should be a Christian. Yet he was not altogether pleased with the Letter of Indulgence; it made no attempt to break down the barriers between Church and Church, and toleration which was not preceded or

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accompanied by an attempt at comprehension would give at most a truce, not a lasting peace.

In 1669, however, Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow was deposed and Leighton was appointed in his room. He accepted the office reluctantly, only because it gave him an opportunity of healing the discords in the Church. His plan, the Accommodation, as he called it, had gained the approval of Charles II, who gave Lauderdale full powers to embody it in a statute should it find favour in Scotland. He proposed that while bishops should still be appointed by the King and continue to preside over the diocesan synods they should be deprived of the power to veto any decree of the synods; further, when a minister took his place in the synod for the first time he was at liberty to declare that he submitted to the bishop only for the sake of peace. The "fierce Episcopal men" in his province, which included the whole of the disaffected south-west, he bewildered by his appeal "to lay aside all appetites of revenge, to humble themselves before God." "This was a new strain to the clergy," adds Burnet. To win over the Presbyterian laymen he dispatched six of the ablest Episcopalianists, including Gilbert Burnet himself, into the west, for the King's 'curates' "could not argue much for anything." Their eloquence had no effect on men "full of a most entangled scrupulosity," and the three conferences which Burnet held with the most influential of the indulged ministers between August 1670 and January 1671 were equally barren of result.

### LAUDERDALE ABANDONS MODERATE METHODS

Meantime Lauderdale had grown impatient. Immediately after Leighton's appointment the number of conventicles had declined, but now it was again increasing, and, what was more, conventicles were reported from places where they had not been heard of previously. One, held near Dunfermline, was attended by several of the gentry and crowds of armed men; a few of the worshippers were arrested, but they declined to give evidence. To Lauderdale this was equivalent to rebellion. In 1670 he secured the passage of a Bill making attendance

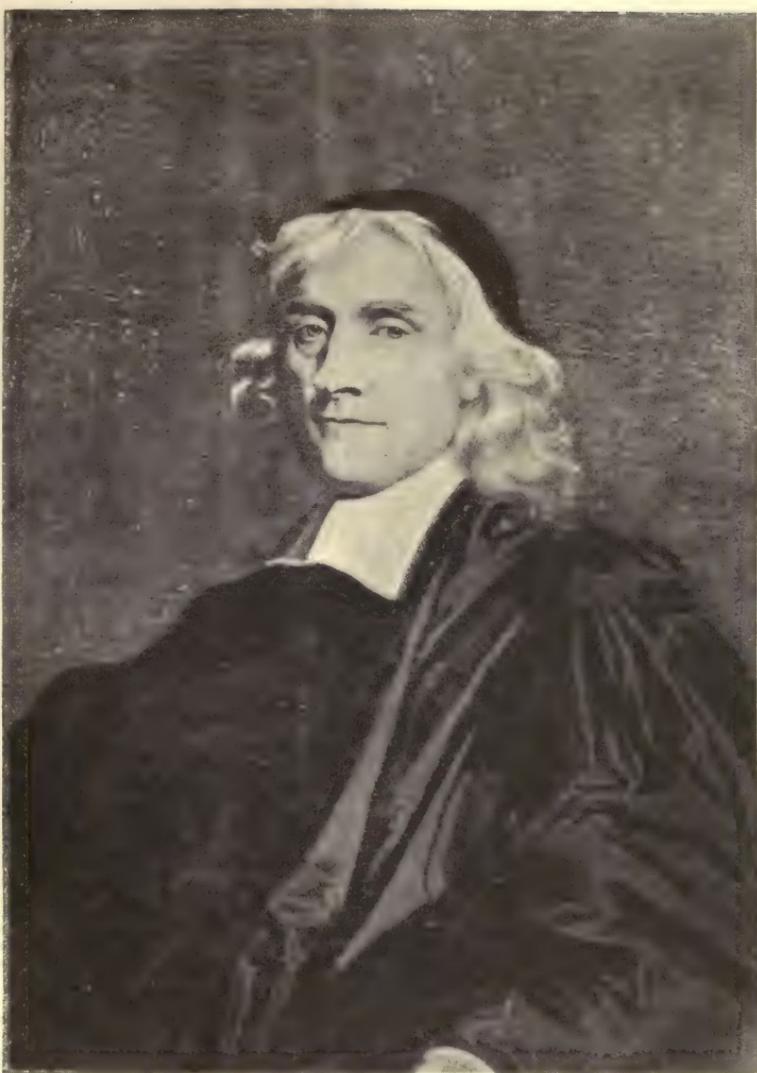


PLATE I. ARCHBISHOP SHARP



## PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENT

at a conventicle treasonable and preaching at it punishable by death. Even the King blamed Lauderdale for exceeding his instructions and protested that "bloody laws did no good." The issue of the second Letter of Indulgence in 1672 took much of the terror from this "clanking act." Ninety of the deprived ministers were appointed to fifty-eight parishes on the condition that each one remained in the parish allotted. The plan was Burnet's. By settling the deprived ministers in pairs the disaffection would be confined to a comparatively small area, and at the same time their congregations would discover that Presbyterianism was twice as expensive as Episcopacy. But Leighton saw no hope of a lasting peace. In 1674, wearied of ecclesiastical strife, he gave up his archbishopric and sought a life of retirement in England. The defection of Lauderdale from the cause of moderation was even more important. His marriage with the beautiful and arrogant Countess of Dysart in 1672 seemed to change his character ; he alienated his old friends, became more impatient of advice or contradiction, shaped his actions more by passion than policy, till finally the advocate of toleration developed into the arch-persecutor.

### A REBELLION IN THE WEST

A series of statutes goaded the western Whigs into madness. In 1673 it was ordained that landowners should be fined one-fourth of their yearly revenue for every conventicle held on their lands. In the following year, and again in 1677, they were made responsible for the conduct of their tenants and servants. Early in 1678 a disorderly army of six thousand Highlanders and three thousand Lowland militia was quartered in the south-west for five weeks, and a few months later a new tax of £1,800,000 Scots, payable within five years, was imposed by Parliament. A general conflagration could not be long delayed. On the 3rd of May, 1679, Archbishop Sharp, whom the average Covenanter regarded as the chief instigator of the policy of repression, was dragged from his coach and butchered as he was crossing Magus Muir, near St Andrews,

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

and on the King's birthday a party of horsemen rode into Rutherglen, stamped out the bonfires, and burned copies of every Act condemning the Covenant.

Worse was to follow. A few days later John Graham of Claverhouse, the most able and energetic officer in the Scottish army, rode out to disperse a large conventicle. He came upon the Covenanters at Drumclog, near Loudoun Hill. Though they were well armed and skilfully posted on the farther side of a marsh and though they far outnumbered his company of horsemen, Claverhouse resolved to engage them. A few shots were exchanged and both sides advanced to the attack, but only the Covenanters knew the paths through the bog. The royal troops, floundering in the soft ground, could not withstand the rush of the enthusiasts. Many a saddle was emptied, many a horse disembowelled by stroke of scythe or pike, and Claverhouse and the remainder of his men were soon riding hard to Glasgow. The garrison evacuated the city, and two days after the battle it fell into the hands of the insurgents, who were now about six thousand strong. The Duke of Monmouth was at once dispatched to take command of the royal forces in Scotland, and found himself at the head of an army of about two thousand men. Meantime the insurgents threw away their chances of success by quarrelling among themselves. Every one was fighting for the Covenant, every one was opposed to the Indulgence, but a small and very energetic faction refused to have any dealings with the indulged clergy and wished to convert the rising into a war against the King, while the larger division was willing to discuss matters with the indulged ministers and considered that the Covenant enjoined loyalty to the sovereign. The moderate party was on the point of opening negotiations with Monmouth when on the 22nd of June the royal army appeared and a battle became inevitable. The Covenanters had the advantage in numbers and position ; between them and their enemies flowed the Clyde, spanned by Bothwell Bridge, and the bridge and the houses beside it were held by their musketeers. Until the bridge was captured the royal cavalry would be useless, but



PLATE LI. THE COVENANTERS' PRISON



## PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENT

the two factions preferred victory in debate to victory in the field. No supports were sent to the party which obstinately held the bridge, the gallant defenders—most of them drawn from the moderate party—were forced back, and Claverhouse's horsemen were soon slashing and slaying among the undisciplined rabble. The victory was complete. A thousand prisoners, almost a quarter of the whole army, were driven to Edinburgh, where for five months they were penned up in an enclosure in Greyfriars Churchyard, open to the sky. They were offered their freedom if they would promise not to take up arms against the King. Some four hundred refused this clemency and were shipped to the West Indian plantations; but the vessel bearing them was wrecked off the Orkneys and most of the captives perished. Seven of the leaders of the insurrection were hanged in the Grass-market.

### THE CAMERONIANS

The only Presbyterians who now remained in arms were those extremists who had declared war not only against Episcopacy, but also against the King, and who from the name of their leader, Richard Cameron, began to be known as Cameronians. The memories of their vigils in the heather, their solemn services in some fold of the hills, their brave endings before the carbines of Claverhouse's dragoons or on the scaffold in the Grassmarket have become the common property of all Scottish Presbyterians. But it must not be forgotten that the Cameronians were only a minority of a minority—they had only two ministers—that they were put to death, not because they were Presbyterians, but because they were rebels, and that their obstinacy gave reactionary statesmen an excuse for declaring that toleration was thrown away on any Presbyterian. In the summer of 1680, for example, Richard Cameron rode into Sanquhar with a small body of men and affixed a placard to the market cross denouncing war against the King and all who acknowledged him. Cameron was killed a few weeks later in a skirmish at Aird's

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Moss. His fellow minister in 1681 solemnly excommunicated the King, the Duke of York, the Duke of Monmouth, and the heads of the Government in Scotland. Three years later the Cameronians issued the Apologetical Declaration, in which they announced that they were justified in killing all who sought to hunt them down, and gave effect to their threat by strangling a trooper and murdering a curate. These fanatics were playing for high stakes and knew what to expect if they lost. Rebels who refused to take the oath of allegiance, or who, like John Brown, 'the Christian carrier,' were found with arms in their possession, had no lawful ground of complaint if they were shot by order of a military officer, without form of trial.

But the excesses of the Cameronians by no means clear the Government of blame. The Government might have been more tolerant; a few hundred fanatics could not depose the King and overturn Episcopacy in both England and Scotland, and repression simply supplied the malcontents with a real grievance. Still, however it came about, the Cameronians were rebels, and the claim of the Government to deal with them harshly could with difficulty be contested. But to fail to discriminate between rebels who actually remained in arms and rebels who, cowed by their defeat, were now living at peace with all men, or to treat all Presbyterians as if they were potential rebels, was not only ungenerous, it was an act of criminal folly. At the end of 1679, however, the Catholic Duke of York replaced Lauderdale as Commissioner, the weak and ferocious Burnet became Archbishop of St Andrews, and the baiting of the Presbyterians went merrily on.

### THE 'TEST'

In 1681 Parliament declared that the sovereign need not be a Protestant, and strengthened the Duke of York's position further by imposing a 'Test' upon all who held office. They were required to remain faithful to the Protestant religion as defined in the first Confession of Faith, to renounce the Covenant, to promise to defend all the King's rights and treat of

## PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENT

no matter, civil or ecclesiastical, without his consent. The ‘Test’ was contradictory. By no ingenuity could absolute obedience to the King be reconciled with the doctrines laid down in the Confession of Faith; but as few members of Parliament and none of the bishops had read the Confession that objection did not keep the ‘Test’ out of the Statute Book. But some men were more scrupulous. Eighty ministers, many of them Episcopalians, refused to take the ‘Test’ and were deposed. The Earl of Argyll, after hesitating for long, declared that he took the ‘Test’ so far “as it was consistent with itself.” For this he was tried, found guilty of treason, and was saved from the scaffold only by escaping from prison and taking refuge in Holland.

### A POLICY OF REPRESSION

This Parliament was not content with striking at offenders of comparatively high rank; it declared that all ministers must furnish their bishops with lists of those who did not attend church, and Claverhouse and other officers were sent out to enforce the penalties of non-attendance. Soon the churches were crowded, even in places where no service had been held for years; but the men “were either talking or sleeping all the while,” and the women, who had not been mentioned in the Act, stayed at home. But worse was to follow. In 1683 William Laurie of Blackwood, the steward of the Marquis of Douglas, was accused of employing a man who had fought on the side of the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge. Blackwood declared that he had never suspected the man of being a rebel, that some years had passed since the battle, and that the Government had never interfered in any way with the supposed outlaw. His pleading was in vain; he was found guilty of treason and condemned to die. Fortunately for him, he had left his employer’s accounts in some confusion; he was given time to set them right, and finally was spared. A few months later the Privy Council and such circuit courts as it should appoint were authorized by royal proclamation to summon and deal with all persons who had harboured or

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

conversed with rebels before May 1683. These powers were given to the Council and circuit courts for three years. "This was perhaps such a proclamation," says Burnet, "as the world had not seen since the days of the Duke of Alva." In the following year every Presbyterian minister in the kingdom was ejected from his parish; almost every one refused to promise not to preach, and was imprisoned. The Privy Council answered the Apologetical Declaration by declaring that whoever refused to repudiate it would be put to death without a trial, and in December 1684 it was proclaimed that no person over sixteen must travel without a certificate that he had disowned the Declaration.

### A CATHOLIC REACTION

The death of Charles II did nothing to mitigate the severity of the Government, for which, in fact, the new King had been mainly responsible. The first Parliament of the reign, indeed, sought to gain the King's favour by declaring that it was treasonable to take the Covenants, and that all who attended a field conventicle and the preachers at a house conventicle were liable to be put to death. But after Argyll's rebellion had ended with the capture and death of the half-hearted leader it became apparent that the ecclesiastical policy of James was inspired less by hatred of Presbyterianism than by zeal for Catholicism. The Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, became a Catholic, and shocked the Pope by marrying his cousin a few weeks after the death of his first wife. His brother, Viscount Melfort, and the Earl of Moray also professed themselves converts to "the King's religion," as the Scottish bishops tactfully called it. But few followed their example. The Duke of Queensberry, for example, rather than turn Catholic, suffered himself to be deprived of the offices of Treasurer and Lord High Commissioner, and was replaced in command of Edinburgh Castle by the Catholic Duke of Gordon. And all men talked of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and of the remarkable case of Sir Robert Sibbald, the most learned man in Scotland. Finding that

William R. Mayle



## PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENT

philosophy alone could not give him peace of mind, Sir Robert turned Catholic, repented after a few months of solitary study, and could not rest content till he had publicly repudiated the doctrines which he had rashly embraced.

A few weeks later, in April 1686, Parliament met for its second session. The King's purpose was now apparent ; he urged Parliament to repeal the laws against Catholics. Parliament refused and was dismissed. James now announced that as Parliament declined to co-operate with him his hands were free, and in September he issued his first Letter of Indulgence, suspending all the laws against Catholics. A second Letter was issued in February of the following year, and a third Letter, published in July, gave complete freedom of worship to Presbyterians. Most of the Presbyterians accepted the Indulgence gladly, for their spirit had been broken in the long struggle.

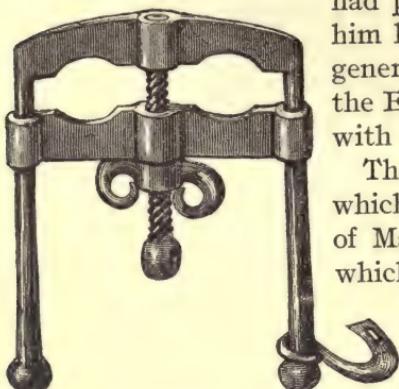
## THE REVOLUTION

In the train of events which drove James into exile and made William of Orange master of England Scotland had no direct share, but it was evident that the sympathies of the average Lowlander were not with King James. In December 1688 a mob broke into the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, which had lately been fitted up as a Catholic chapel, and purged it as thoroughly as Knox's "raschall multitude" could have done. The Chancellor, Perth, disguised himself and hid on a ship, but he was dragged out and clapped into prison. On Christmas Day the 'rabbling' of the 'curates' began. The Presbyterians of the western counties were in no forgiving mood. In many places they invaded the manse, marched the minister in mock procession through the village, tore his gown, and finally drove him from the parish.

The Episcopal clergy were at the parting of the ways. William was guided in Scottish affairs by his chaplain, William Carstares, who had once borne the torture of the thumb-screws without betraying his Prince's secrets, and Carstares was a moderate Presbyterian. But William was neither a

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Presbyterian nor an Episcopalian ; he did not care whether Presbyterianism or Episcopacy prevailed in Scotland so long as the country remained tranquil, and if the Episcopal clergy had pledged themselves to support him he would have dealt with them generously. But the sympathies of the Episcopilians were in most cases with the exiled King.



'THUMBIKINS'

The Convention of the Estates which met in Edinburgh on the 14th of March, 1689, assumed powers to which no Scottish Parliament had ever laid claim. In the Claim of Right it declared that it was entitled to depose the sovereign, recited the fundamental laws of the kingdom

which James had broken, and offered the Crown to William and Mary. But that offer was loaded with one important condition : Episcopacy must be abolished. It was certain now that Episcopacy would fall, but William recognized that to replace it by a persecuting Presbyterianism would perpetuate the old evil under a new name ; he took the oath to uphold the religion of Scotland with the reservation that he would never be a persecutor. Meantime the Episcopilians were helping to resolve William's perplexities. For refusing to discharge their parishioners from obedience to King James nearly two hundred ministers were deprived of their churches.

### KILLIECRANKIE

But the cause of James was not to perish without a struggle. Graham of Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, had appeared at the Convention, and after protesting that his life was threatened by the wild Cameronians who thronged the city he rode off to his castle of Dudhope at the head of a handful of horsemen. He meant to tread in the footsteps of the great Montrose, whose kinsman he was ; he would raise the clans



PLATE LIII. JOHN GRAHAM, VISCOUNT DUNDEE



## PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENT

and sweep down on the Lowlands, denuded as they were of regular troops. For three months he was lost beyond the Grampians. General Mackay—"the piouest man I ever knew in a military way," says Burnet—was sent against him at the head of three thousand infantry and four troops of horse. At the end of July the Jacobites were delirious with joy and Edinburgh and London were in a panic ; it was reported that the Highlanders had fallen on the royal army near the Pass of Killiecrankie and cut it to pieces.

A day or two later the whole truth was known. When, on the evening of the 27th of July, Mackay's army had advanced about a mile beyond the pass it came in sight of the Highlanders drawn up on a long ridge with the setting sun behind them. The royal troops began the ascent. The Highlanders fired one volley, flung away their muskets, and, grasping their claymores, closed with their opponents while they were fumbling with their clumsy bayonets. Even the seasoned veterans in Mackay's army could not withstand this impetuous onset, and there were many who were not veterans. Soon the whole Lowland army was crashing in confusion down the narrow pass, and when morning came Mackay was many miles from the scene of his defeat, at the head of a few hundred panic-stricken men. But Dundee was slain, shot before the battle had well begun.

## THE DEFENCE OF DUNKELD

Dundee's death made the victory of no avail. No clan would follow any Highland leader except its own chief, and Cannon, the officer whom James sent to replace Dundee, had neither Dundee's mastery of the art of war nor his ability to handle the short-sighted and impulsive Celt. The struggle which took place at Dunkeld three weeks later showed what the loss of Dundee really meant. The Cameronian ministers had been received into the Church of Scotland, and twelve hundred of their followers were formed into a regiment, known to this day as the Cameronians. The new regiment was sent to garrison Dunkeld and block the way of any army that

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

might try to advance down the valley of the Tay. It was a dangerous post, far removed from any base whence reinforcements might be drawn, and when on the 21st of August five thousand Highlanders swept down on the town it seemed that Colonel Cleland's little force would be annihilated. But the zealots fought as fiercely as Cromwell's Ironsides at Naseby or Dunbar. Attack after attack was hurled back; when the supply of bullets was exhausted the lead was stripped from the cathedral roof; and those Highlanders who occupied some of the houses were locked in and burned alive. The impetuous fury of the clansmen was no match for the slow-burning wrath of the Cameronians; the attacks grew weaker and finally ceased.

This defeat saved Scotland for King William. The confidence of the Highlanders had been destroyed; they made no more attempts to invade the Lowlands, and in the following year the remnants of the Jacobite army were dispersed by the royal troops at Cromdale.

### THE PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENT

The same year, 1690, saw the establishment of the Church of Scotland as it now exists. The Duke of Hamilton had been succeeded as Commissioner by the Presbyterian Earl of Melville, who, soon after the Scots Parliament met for its second session, ratified two Acts which Hamilton had rejected. The first abolished the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical causes, the second restored to their parishes all ministers who had been ejected since 1661. A more important Act was passed on the 7th of June. The Confession of Faith, issued by the Assembly of Divines at Westminister in 1647, was adopted as the standard of belief in the Scottish Church, and government by presbyteries, synods, and Assemblies was declared to be "the only government of Christ's Church within this kingdom." All parishes from which Episcopalians had been expelled were declared vacant, and a few days later lay patronage was abolished.

The danger was that the Presbyterians would in their turn

## PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENT

become persecutors. It is true that the old ministers who were reinstated had in their adversity learned moderation, but the younger ministers “ broke out into a most extravagant way of proceeding,” and the ‘ rabbling ’ which had hitherto been confined to the south-west now spread to the north. Nor was this outbreak simply an expression of mob fury, for the General Assembly which met in the autumn of 1690 appointed two Commissioners with powers to examine any minister and expel him if they thought fit. “ Some were charged for their doctrine, as guilty of Arminianism,” says Burnet, “ others were loaded with more scandalous imputations : but these were only thrown out to defame them. And where they looked for proof it was in a way more becoming inquisitors than judges ; so apt are all parties in their turns of power to fall in those very excesses of which they did formerly make such tragical complaints.” William intervened to stop this petty persecution, and several times tried to persuade the Scottish Episcopal clergy to enter the Church of Scotland. But neither Presbyterian nor Episcopalian would yield an inch, and the ideal of a Church of Scotland which would include every Protestant in Scotland had to be abandoned. Happily it was recognized now that true religious unity could not be produced by compulsion, and in 1695 the Scottish Parliament declared that Episcopal clergymen who had taken the Oath of Allegiance and recognized William as king *de jure* as well as *de facto* would not be molested provided they took no share in the government of the Church. More than a hundred took advantage of this Act ; in 1710 as many as a hundred and thirteen Episcopalian still held livings in Scotland.

The century and a half of religious strife had ended in the establishment of a Church which was a State Church only in the sense that it was recognized and supported by the State. It no longer sought to dominate the State ; the State, on the other hand, gave up the attempt to control its doctrine and ritual. To this day the King’s Commissioner sits in the General Assembly which every spring meets in the shadow of

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Edinburgh Castle, but his chair is placed, not beside that of the Moderator, but in the gallery among the spectators—a symbol of the limits of temporal power. And though there was strife within the Church, giving rise to schism after schism and culminating in the great Disruption of 1843, which cleft it into two almost equal parts, though the breach between the Church of Scotland and the Episcopal Church in Scotland has not been healed, the ugly spectre of religious persecution has disappeared for ever. And whatever one's views of the relative merits of Presbyterianism and Episcopacy may be, one cannot deny that Presbyterianism, with its plainness, its ordered government, its democracy, has always made an irresistible appeal to the great mass of Scotsmen, and that justice and political wisdom alike demanded that the Church of Scotland should be a Presbyterian Church.

## CHAPTER XXXI

### THE UNION

THE accession of William III to the throne of Scotland had results less desirable than the establishment of Presbyterianism. Under the Stewart *régime*, as we have seen, Scotland preserved a nominal independence at the cost of a very real dependence on the sovereign. Much of the work formerly done by Parliament was transferred to the Privy Council ; and Parliament itself was not free, for the drafting and discussion of legislation was the special province of the Committee of the Articles, from which the curious system of election excluded any man who was likely to disregard the wishes of the king. It would seem, therefore, that the Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1690 which abolished the Committee of the Articles must be a change for the better. But this reform proved useless, even dangerous, for the lack of other reforms by which it should have been preceded.

#### SCOTTISH GRIEVANCES

The Union of 1603 had done little to remove the ill-feeling between the two countries, an ill-feeling which was fed by the endless disputes about trade. Scots merchants were forbidden to trade with the English colonies, and Scottish goods entering England were taxed just as if they had come from a foreign country. In the ninety years that followed the Union things grew worse instead of better. The chief markets for Scottish exports on the Continent were the Low Countries and France. The three Dutch wars struck a heavy blow at the trade with Holland, and the French war of 1627, besides interrupting the trade with France, deprived Scotland of its one colony, Nova

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Scotia. It is true that the closer union of the two countries effected by Cromwell opened England and the English colonies to Scottish merchants and shielded Scotland from the consequences of the Navigation Act, but after the Restoration the embargo on Scottish trade was restored and Scottish ships were regarded as foreign ships by the English customs officials. The enlightened Scotsman could not avoid the conclusion that whenever the interests of the two countries clashed those of Scotland were always subordinated. England, in fact, was trying to do in Scotland what she did with complete success in Ireland : she was using her influence as predominant partner to strangle the trade and industry of a weaker nation. Not till Scottish merchants enjoyed the same privileges as their English brethren would there be any hope of the two peoples entering into a true partnership ; but the refusal of the English representatives to make the slightest concession to Scottish merchants wrecked both the union negotiations set on foot by James VI and a conference held in 1670.

Had the Scottish Parliament been free, had not Scotland been governed by ministers whose chief study was to please the King, the popular discontent would have strained to the breaking-point the ties which bound the two countries together. This was the one justification for the despotic system of government in Scotland ; it could not remove the causes of discontent, but it kept the discontent from expressing itself in action.

### WILLIAM AND SCOTLAND

Such was the situation when the abolition of the Committee of the Articles freed the Scottish Parliament from its bonds. The danger which threatened now was that the Parliament would make use of its freedom to pursue a distinctively national policy and that sooner or later the smouldering national jealousies would burst into flame. And William III, for all his great gifts, for all his anxiety to deal even justice, was in some respects unfitted for the task now thrust upon him. He

## THE UNION

had never set foot in Scotland ; for his information about the country he was dependent upon men like Bishop Burnet and Carstares, who, fortunately, were remarkable for prudence and moderation ; he was not specially interested in Scotland—his preoccupation with the ambitions of Louis XIV prevented that—and he frequently let business accumulate and then signed a mass of papers without stopping to consider their import. Even those Scots who had favoured the Revolution regarded him with respect rather than affection, while if he should blunder swarms of Jacobite politicians and pamphleteers were ready to point the moral.

## THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOE

Once he did blunder badly. In 1691 the Earl of Breadalbane, head of one of the branches of the great Clan Campbell, undertook to pacify the Highlands at the moderate cost of £12,000. With this sum he would buy the allegiance of the most important chiefs. The Government supplied him with the money, but it was whispered in the Highlands that a man might have a share of the spoil even though Breadalbane knew him to be a Jacobite, and that the Earl meant to keep the greater part of the money to himself. The result was that the chiefs demanded more than the Earl had intended to give them and left him without a penny.

Conspicuous among the chiefs who had ruined Breadalbane's scheme was Alexander Macdonald, chief of a small but warlike clan that dwelt in Glencoe, one of the wildest and most inaccessible of the West Highland glens. The clan had a long record of crimes of violence to its name, and had frequently given the Clan Campbell, its nearest neighbour, good cause to remember it. When it was announced that every chief in the Highlands should take the oath of allegiance before January 1, 1692, it was only to be expected that Alexander Macdonald would refuse to commit himself till the very last minute. In the last days of December his fears got the better of him and he set out for Fort William, the stronghold recently rebuilt by General Mackay to overawe the Highlands. But

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

the commanding officer there was not a magistrate and could do no more than send him on to Inveraray. Deep snow-drifts blocked the passes and prevented him reaching the county town before the 6th of January, 1692. There, after his explanation had been heard, the magistrate allowed him to take the oath, and he returned to the glen well content.

Meanwhile Breadalbane had gone to London. He would be satisfied with nothing less than the extirpation of the obnoxious clan, and he found a ready ally in one of the Secretaries of State, Sir James Dalrymple. A proclamation ordering the extirpation of the Macdonalds of Glencoe was drawn up by Dalrymple and presented to the King, who signed and counter-signed it. The plotters thus made the King responsible for whatever they might do, but it must be admitted that ordinary care would have saved him from being duped. He asked no questions, when questions would have revealed the fact that Macdonald had actually taken the oath ; he had not even read the papers on which the lives of so many men depended. The order was dispatched to Scotland, and on the 1st of February Captain Campbell of Glenlyon entered Glencoe at the head of his company. Highland hospitality soon conquered the fear of the stranger ; the soldiers were billeted in the huts of the clansmen, and for almost a fortnight the slayers and their appointed victims spent the time in merriment. At five o'clock on the morning of the 13th of February the crack of musket-shots let the Macdonalds know why the soldiers had come among them. Many were warned by the sounds and fled in time, but thirty-eight, including the chief and his two sons, were shot down. How many of the fugitives perished among the snow-clad hills will never be known. Had the cold steel been used instead of fire-arms, had the troops co-operating with Campbell's company been at their stations in time, not a soul would have escaped.

It was a deed of remarkable ferocity and treachery, though it was by no means without a parallel in the blood-stained history of the Scottish Highlands. Yet months passed before it created any stir in the Lowlands. Only when the Jacobite

PLATE LIV. GLENCOE





## THE UNION

politicians saw how William had played into their hands, and in pamphlet after pamphlet cited the massacre and William's slowness in calling the murderers to account as a revelation of his true character, did the demand for an inquiry become general. Not till the following year did the King appoint a committee to investigate the affair. The findings of this body proved to be somewhat disconcerting, and so many persons of high rank appeared to be involved that William tried to let the matter drop. This mistaken clemency only added strength to the clamour in Scotland, and in 1695 the King was forced to appoint another commission, which delivered its report to the Scottish Parliament. Parliament declared that the slaying of the Macdonalds had been a barbarous massacre, and, while exonerating the King from blame, asked that the offenders should be punished. Dalrymple was deprived of his office ; Breadalbane was sent to prison, but never brought to trial ; the others escaped. William's handling of this affair, says his enthusiastic admirer, Bishop Burnet, "was the greatest blot in this whole reign." The carelessness which allowed him to deliver the inhabitants of Glencoe into the hands of their hereditary enemies and his evident unwillingness to punish their murderers drove the Highlanders over to the side of the exiled King and lost him the sympathy of many of those Scotsmen who had welcomed his accession to the throne.

## SCOTTISH COMMERCIAL AMBITIONS

How much William needed that sympathy, how important it was that he should not irritate the average home-keeping Scot, ignorant of the complexities of *la haute politique*, the events of the next five years were to show. Scotland in 1695 was a poor country. Though its population—one million—was a sixth of that of England, its annual revenue amounted to but £48,000, only a fortieth part of the English revenue. The ships of its five principal seaports numbered ninety-seven, with an average displacement of sixty tons, and many of them were built in foreign yards. But in spite of the scanty population, the stream of emigration, now directed mainly to Poland

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and the Baltic provinces, continued without interruption, and deluded theorists into the belief that Scotland had all the resources necessary to make her a great colonizing Power. As early as 1693 the Scottish Parliament had passed an Act giving Scottish merchants permission to trade in any part of the world and exempting them from taxation for twenty-one years, but not till 1695 did the vague national ambition take a definite shape.

For the greater part of a century the English East India Company had enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the trade with India ; but under the shadow of the great Company interloping merchants had crept in, captured a fair amount of trade, and threatened to form a rival company. The 'Interlopers,' however, could get no support from the English Parliament. The privileges of the East India Company had, indeed, been challenged in the Commons, but the Commons at the same time refused to grant these privileges to any other body of traders. But the 'Interlopers' recognized that if a charter could not be obtained from the English Parliament one from the Scottish Parliament might serve as well, and they entered into an alliance with those Scottish merchants who were eager to found a great trading company.

### A SCOTS EAST INDIA COMPANY

This project for founding a new East India Company under the protection of the Scottish Parliament originated in the fertile brain of William Paterson, one of the most remarkable men of his day. Paterson had played many parts in his time ; he had been a missionary, he had been a buccaneer—so his detractors whispered—and he had founded the Bank of England. Because of the failure of his most grandiose scheme he has been branded as a charlatan, but this failure should not blind one to his courage, his imagination, and his disinterested patriotism. His deductions from the facts that he knew were correct, but he did not know all the facts. To-day it seems that his dream of a vast trading depot in Central America, of great harbours sheltering fleets from every ocean, is about to

## THE UNION

be realized, but who in the United States gives a thought to William Paterson, the broken and discredited adventurer?

On the 26th of May, 1695, the Scottish Parliament passed an Act establishing "The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies." Of the twenty-one directors ten were to be Scots; half the capital was to be held by Scotsmen; the Company was granted a monopoly of the Scottish trade with Asia, Africa, and America, and the goods of the Company were freed from taxation for twenty-one years. The subscription lists were opened in London in November, and within nine days £300,000, half the capital, was subscribed by English investors. But the very success of the scheme provoked strong opposition, not only among those whose wealth was drawn from the older company, but among those who did not wish to see English capital attracted to Scotland or the English fleet used to support a company of Scottish adventurers. Addresses against the Act were presented to the King by the Lords and Commons; the Commons seized the books of the Company and declared that they meant to impeach Paterson and his fellow directors. Tweeddale, the Commissioner, who had allowed the Act to pass without waiting for the King's permission, was dismissed from his office. These events were too much for the resolution of the English investors; of the £300,000 subscribed all but £15,000 was soon withdrawn.

The open opposition of the English Parliament and the less apparent hostility of the King could not damp the enthusiasm of the Scots. In February the books were opened; before the end of May the greater part of the capital to be supplied by Scots investors, now raised to £400,000, had been subscribed, and on the 1st of August the books were closed. "Certainly the nation was so full of hopes from this project," says Burnet, "that they raised a fund for carrying it on, greater than, as was thought, that kingdom could stretch to. . . . A national fury seemed to have transported the whole kingdom upon this project." The tragedy of this adventure lay in the fact that in it was involved not only a handful of financiers, but

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the whole of “an old and haughty nation, proud in arms.” The Scottish people saw in Paterson’s alluring scheme a way of escape from the long years of humiliation and dishonourable poverty, an opportunity for Scotland to take her place once more among the great nations of Europe. Delegates were sent to Holland to get subscriptions, and when the Dutch East India Company frowned upon their efforts they made their way to Hamburg. Here they would have been successful but for the intervention of Sir Paul Rycaut, the English Resident, who pointed out that the Scottish company had no authority from King William.

### THE DARIEN SCHEME

But Paterson was proof against these rebuffs. Now that the fate of the East India enterprise was settled he brought forward a scheme on which he had set his heart long before. The isthmus of Darien, though it lay only about a hundred miles from the great seaports of Cartagena and Porto Bello, had not been occupied by the Spaniards. It was only a few miles in breadth, and was, roughly, equidistant from Europe, Asia, and Africa. If two settlements could be made, one on the Pacific coast, one on the Caribbean, if these towns could be joined by a road, then the isthmus would become the distributing centre for the commerce of the whole world. To take one example, it would no longer be necessary for a ship trading with China or the Spice Islands to make the long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope and back again ; it would make for Darien, discharge its cargo in the new seaport there, and lie in the splendid natural harbour till the commodities for which it had come were unloaded from a ship lately arrived from Asia and borne across the isthmus. Even if merchant ships refused to come the settlers need not be afraid, for the climate was healthy, the soil fertile, and gold could be found in abundance.

Paterson succeeded in infecting the nation with his own enthusiasm. On the 17th of July, 1698, the *Caledonia*, the *St Andrew*, and the *Unicorn*, three Scottish ships, lately built



PLATE LV. WILLIAM PATERSON



## THE UNION

on the Continent, drew out from the port of Leith and sailed slowly down the Firth. The pier of Leith and even the slopes of the Castle Hill in Edinburgh were thronged with people, straining their eyes to catch a last glimpse of the emigrants. In November the fleet arrived at Darien. Of the twelve hundred emigrants who embarked at Leith forty-four had died on the voyage, but the leaders of the expedition consoled themselves with the reflection that they might have died had they stayed at home. A small promontory was fortified and named Fort St Andrew. The few Indians in the neighbourhood seemed friendly, and raised no objection when their territory was annexed and the name of New Caledonia given to it.

But it was soon apparent that the colony could not be a success. Dissension broke out in the council ; Paterson and the landsmen found themselves overruled by the seafaring councillors. English and French ships came to spy, but no one came to trade. Even the Indians were not allured by the caps, stockings, Bibles, and four thousand periwigs which were offered to them. Encamped in a swamp, drenched by perpetual rains, the colonists were tortured by fevers and fluxes, till at the end of seven months three hundred had perished. As if these troubles were not enough, provisions failed. The directors had undertaken to supply food sufficient for nine months, but when the ships had been a few weeks out of harbour it was discovered that the victuals on board were barely sufficient for six months. It was difficult to get fresh supplies, for the governors of the English colonies, acting on instructions from King William, prohibited any trafficking with the adventurers. In June it was decided to abandon the colony. But the settlers could not flee from their fate. Of the six hundred who embarked on the *Caledonia* and the *Unicorn* only three hundred and fifty reached New York. The *St Andrew* eluded a Spanish fleet and reached Jamaica, but not before a hundred and thirty of those on board had perished.

A few weeks later two ships, carrying three hundred colonists, anchored under the empty embrasures of Fort St Andrew.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Instead of the stately city of their dreams the adventurers found a few charred huts, half buried already in vegetation. A few days later one of the ships was burned to the water's edge ; the other made its way to Jamaica, where most of the colonists perished.

### THE TRAGEDY OF DARIEN

The tragedy of Darien was not yet complete. In September, when a third expedition was on the point of sailing, some rumours of the disaster that had befallen the first band of settlers reached Scotland. The directors at once sent orders that the fleet was not to sail. The councillors on board, fearing that they were to be superseded, flouted the order, and on the morning of the 24th of September the *Rising Sun*, *Hope*, *Duke of Hamilton*, and *Hope of Bo'ness*, with thirteen hundred emigrants on board, stood out from Rothesay Bay. The old miserable story was repeated. Nearly two hundred of the emigrants died before the fleet reached Darien ; after the colonists had disembarked quarrels broke out among the councillors ; the cargoes, mostly small caps and grey paper, could not be sold, and fever sometimes slew as many as sixteen persons in one day. But the third expedition had to contend with one difficulty of which the other two had known nothing. Though Darien was not occupied by the Spaniards when the Scots arrived, the Spanish Government did not mean to let any foreign Power establish a trading depot so near its great seaports and attempt to drain the wealth from Mexico and South America. At the beginning of February the settlers heard that the Spanish forces were at last on the move. Captain Campbell of Finab resolved to anticipate the attack, and on the 15th of February, at the head of two hundred men, he stormed a Spanish encampment at Tubacanti. It was the one gleam of good fortune in the whole sordid tragedy. Ten days later the Spanish fleet had blockaded the harbour and the Spanish army had begun its attempts to seize the isthmus which led to the promontory on which the fort had been built. For more than a month the scanty band of fever-

PLATE LVI. INTERIOR OF PARLIAMENT HALL, EDINBURGH





## THE UNION

stricken wretches kept the army and fleet at bay. Only when they had no more than three hundred men fit to handle their weapons, only when the Spaniards were within a musket-shot of the fort, did the Scots capitulate. The terms were honourable ; they were allowed to march out "with colours flying and drums beating" and to retain their property and arms. On the 11th of April the Scottish fleet set sail, and the colonists looked on Darien for the last time. But their troubles were not yet over. Three of the ships were wrecked on the passage to the English colonies, one of them sinking with all hands ; fever claimed two hundred and fifty victims on the 'middle passage,' and another hundred died after Jamaica was reached. Two hundred thousand pounds, a sum that a poor country like Scotland could ill spare, was lost in that foolhardy enterprise. Of the two thousand eight hundred emigrants who had sailed westward, bewitched by golden dreams, only about eight hundred fever-stricken wretches survived, and few of these ever returned to Scotland.

### JUSTICE OR SEPARATION

The news of the failure of the scheme was received in Scotland with "a sort of fury." To the great mass of Scotsmen there seemed not the slightest doubt that William had allowed two thousand Scottish lives to be thrown away rather than allow English commercial interests to be injured. There were few in Scotland who saw the difficulties of William's position, who recognized that as the disputes about the succession to the throne of Spain might lead up to a great European war it was of the utmost importance that nothing should be done to drive Charles II into the arms of Louis of France. It was impossible to make a Scotsman admit that the venture would have failed even if William had not interfered with it. No European could fight the climate successfully, and to make the attempt with large doses of spirits was insanity ; but apart from that the expeditions were sent out with little money, insufficient provisions, and cargoes that would have been a drug in any market, while the directors had omitted from

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

their calculations the certainty of hostile action by Spain. The average Scotsman was blind to all these considerations ; he only knew that the English merchants and the English Parliament had longed to wreck the project, that William had cut off supplies, and that two thousand Scots had died in American swamps or between the decks of a plague ship. To him the moral of the tragedy was obvious : if Scotland was not to receive fair treatment she must cut herself off from England.

It was precisely this development that William feared. He believed that separation was inevitable unless a closer union could be effected, and even when he lay on his death-bed he implored the Commons to bring this union about. Queen Anne repeated his advice, and in November 1702 twenty-three English commissioners and twenty-one Scots met at Whitehall to draft a treaty of union. It was only too plain that the English representatives were not interested in the business. Time and again the meetings had to be adjourned because of their absence, and though it was agreed that the Parliaments of the two countries should be joined and that the Electress Sophia of Hanover should succeed to the throne they would not grant the slightest concession to Scottish merchants.

### THE ACT OF SECURITY

The breakdown in the negotiations had obviously affected the temper of the Parliament which assembled in the early summer of the following year—the last Scottish Parliament, as it afterward proved to be. The Revolution had given it weapons which hitherto had been the exclusive property of the English Parliament ; it had freedom of debate, the power to decide the succession, and the power to refuse supplies. These powers it resolved to use. After debates lasting for five weeks it passed the Act of Security, declaring that unless Scotland were granted the same trading privileges as England, unless her liberty and religion were guaranteed, the person chosen by the English Government to succeed Queen Anne

JOHN, SECOND DUKE OF ARGYLL

JAMES, SECOND DUKE OF QUEENSBERRY

PLATE LVII





## THE UNION

would not be accepted by the Scottish people. At the same time steps were to be taken to prepare the country for war. The Commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, refused to sanction the Act. On the 15th of September a furious debate took place. The Estates sat far into the night, the dark, tapestry-clad hall resounded with cries of "Liberty and no subsidy!" members sat with their hands on their swords. The decision was taken ; since the Queen would not give her assent to the Act of Security supply must be refused. Next day Queensberry prorogued Parliament.

A change of Government now took place. Hitherto most of the offices of State had been in the hands of the Court Party, that party which had usually shown itself willing to act in conjunction with the sovereign and the English ministers. Opposed to it was the Country Party—the patriots *sans phrase* and the Jacobites. But Queensberry's failure to suppress the Act of Security, joined to his clumsy handling of a Jacobite plot, led to his fall from office and the dismissal of most of the Scottish ministers. He was succeeded by the Earl of Tweeddale, one of the leaders of the Country Party, a section of which now formed the Government. Tweeddale was to endeavour to get the succession settled, and opened a second session of Parliament in July 1704. The change of Government was a failure ; the ministry had not a majority of the members behind it, and within a few days supply was definitely refused.

The danger was averted for the time by the Queen giving her assent to the Act of Security. But the English Parliament had still to be reckoned with. In March 1705 it passed the Aliens Act, prohibiting all imports from Scotland and declaring all Scots aliens if before the end of the year the Scottish Parliament did not come to a satisfactory conclusion regarding the succession. At the same time the Queen was empowered to appoint commissioners to negotiate for a union. But with every day the prospect of a union, or even of a continuance of peace, seemed to recede. In the spring of 1705 an English ship, the *Worcester*, put into Leith Harbour. From some

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

careless words dropped by the crew, it appeared that they had been guilty of piracy. The rumour got abroad that they were responsible for the loss of a Scottish ship, and forthwith the men were arrested and tried. On the flimsiest of evidence a verdict of guilty was returned, and despite vigorous demands from the English Government for a reprieve the captain and two of his men were executed on the sands of Leith.

It was evident now that a closer union was the only alternative to war. In June the young Duke of Argyll, who had already made a name for himself as one of Marlborough's generals, was sent to Scotland as Lord Commissioner, and the old Court Party was reinstated. An Act for a treaty with England was introduced, and debated fiercely for more than a month. Once it was rejected by three votes, but on the 24th of August it was safely through the first reading. Thirty-one commissioners were to draw up a treaty, but they were forbidden to meddle with the national religion. The Jacobites and other opponents of the union still felt that there was hope ; if the commissioners were chosen in due proportion from every party it would be impossible for them to agree ; but the Duke of Hamilton, to the amazement of his supporters, stultified their plans by urging that the commissioners should be appointed by the Queen. At the same time the Queen was asked to secure the repeal of the Aliens Act, and when it was rescinded by the English Parliament before the end of the year the relations between the two countries became less strained.

### THE TREATY OF UNION

On the 16th of April, 1706, the Scottish and English commissioners met in the Cockpit at Whitehall, overlooking the green spaces of St James's Park. Before a fortnight had passed the successful issue of the negotiations was assured. The proposal that a federal union should be established would have provided an ideal solution for the problem—a solution which even yet may be adopted. This scheme would have left Scotland and England with separate legislatures, though

Wiltshire

Wiltshire

Wiltshire

Dorset



Wiltshire

PLATE LVIII. SIGNATURES TO THE TREATY OF UNION



## THE UNION

matters that concerned both nations would be dealt with by joint committees, or perhaps in a joint session of the two Parliaments. The English representatives urged that this was too small a return for commercial equality, and eventually it was agreed that there should be only one Parliament for the two nations, that a prince of the house of Hanover should succeed, and that Scotland should have the same trading privileges as England.

Many questions, however, had to be decided before the Act could be completed. Equality of trading privileges meant equal liability to taxation ; but the English National Debt was £17,763,842, while the Scottish debt was only about an eleventh of that amount. On the other hand, the yearly revenue of Scotland amounted to no more than £160,000, or less than a thirty-fifth of the English revenue. Then how was the number of parliamentary representatives to be fixed ? If it were decided by the ratio of the population of Scotland to the population of England, the number would be over eighty ; if it were decided by the proportion contributed to the joint revenue by Scotland, it would be thirteen. Not till the 23rd of July was the Treaty completed and presented to the Queen. It contained twenty-five articles, of which the most important were the first, second, third, and twenty-second. The first declared that the two countries were to be united under the name of Great Britain, the second guaranteed the Hanoverian succession, the third announced that there was to be one Parliament for the two kingdoms, while the twenty-second fixed the number of Scottish representatives in the Commons at forty-five and in the Lords at sixteen. To compensate for the inevitable increase in taxation an Equivalent of £398,085 10s. was to be paid to Scotland, and exemption from various taxes, most of them temporary, was given. The Scottish law courts and system of private law were to be preserved intact, the privileges of the royal burghs and the feudal jurisdictions of the nobles were to remain inviolate ; on the other hand, there was to be a common coinage and system of weights and measures, and the arms of Scotland were to be

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

conjoined with those of England on the royal coat of arms and the national flags.

### THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT AND THE TREATY

On the 3rd of October the Scottish Parliament assembled for its last session. Never again were the people of Edinburgh to see the Lord Commissioner ride in state from Holyrood to the Parliament House, preceded by heralds and trumpeters, commissioners of the burghs, commissioners of the shires, lords on foot and earls on horseback ; never again would his great coach, drawn by six white horses, rumble down the Canongate with a troop of the Life Guards clattering behind it. But men could give little thought to this old-world pageantry. Outside Parliament only the commercial classes were in favour of the Union ; the Presbyterian clergy, the inhabitants of the smaller towns, and, of course, the Jacobites, were all bitterly opposed to it. Within Parliament all was uncertainty ; of the two hundred members only about eighty, the old Court Party, could be counted on to vote for the Treaty. The Jacobites muttered threats of rebellion, but the Jacobites were led by the Duke of Hamilton, who thundered defiance at the House one day, and next day, when vigorous action was expected from him, stayed at home because he had toothache. In the Country Party were to be found the bitterest opponents of the Union ; but one section of this party, lately nicknamed 'the Squadrone Volante,' maintained an obstinate silence as to its intentions.

October was spent in a general discussion of the articles ; not till the 1st of November was it moved that the first article be put to the vote. The motion was the signal for a furious debate that lasted for three days ; at the end the motion was carried by a hundred and fifteen votes to eighty-three. The 'Squadrone' had saved the Treaty, for the twenty-two votes which they gave sufficed to turn the balance. But it looked as if much might happen before the final article was passed. Every day the Parliament House was beset by a roaring crowd ; once the Commissioner's coach and six rattled down

PLATE LIX. THE RIDING OF THE PARLIAMENT



THE CAVALCADE  
Primitively drawn at the first visitation, in the year of our Lord, 1485.



## THE UNION

the High Street and the Canongate pursued by an angry mob ; a riot broke out in Glasgow and lasted for the better part of a month ; in one town the Treaty was burned, and from every quarter of the kingdom petitions against the Union poured in. Queensberry, the Commissioner, protested that his life was in danger and that he despaired of the Treaty ; a threatened Jacobite rebellion in the south failed because at the last moment Hamilton refused to act. The Government acted with energy. An Act of Security passed on the 12th of November pledged the Government to maintain the Church of Scotland as it was then established, and so reassured the Presbyterian stalwarts. Troops guarded the Parliament House and lined the streets, the Commissioner never stirred abroad without an escort, and an Act was passed prohibiting unauthorized assemblies of armed men. The result of the session was now a foregone conclusion, but each article was debated with the same fire and eloquence, for each side could boast orators of the highest order, and not till the 16th of January, 1707, did Queensberry touch the Act with the sceptre as a token that the royal assent had been granted. Another Act determined the method by which members of Parliament were to be elected. The sixteen peers were to be appointed by their fellows at the beginning of each Parliament. Of the forty-five members of the Commons, thirty were to be appointed by freeholders in the counties having land worth more than forty shillings a year ; the remaining fifteen were to be elected by the sixty-six royal burghs.

### “ THE END OF AN AULD SANG ”

The Treaty was next submitted to the English Parliament in an ingenious Bill. The preamble contained the Treaty itself, the Act of Security for safeguarding Presbyterianism in Scotland, an Act safeguarding Episcopacy in England, and the Act appointing the method of electing Scottish members, while the rest of the Bill consisted of an enacting clause. The opponents of the Treaty were thus precluded from attacking the Bill in detail ; it passed rapidly through both Houses,

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

and on the 6th of March it received the royal assent. A fortnight later it was presented to the Scottish Parliament, and on the 25th of March the Estates of Scotland assembled for the last time in the old Parliament Hall. What thoughts passed through the minds of the members we can only guess. No note of regret can be detected in Queensberry's formal speech of thanks ; to some, like Chancellor Seafield, it was only "the end of an auld sang," others, even those who had worked most strenuously for the Treaty, may have felt an irrational misgiving when they knew that no man could undo what they had done. The crown, the sceptre, the sword of State were borne out, to be lost for a hundred years ; the Commissioner, the scarlet-robed peers, the lairds and burgesses filed for the last time under the tapestried walls and through the great doorway, to the cowed and sullen crowds without. *Te Deums* might be sung in St Paul's, the guns of the Tower might thunder the news to a rejoicing London, but many a Scotsman felt that day that his country had received a mortal wound.

## CHAPTER XXXII

### THE FIFTEEN AND THE FORTY-FIVE

TO many it seemed that the Union of the Parliaments would be the beginning of a period of humdrum commercial prosperity. Few dreamt that within the next forty years the complacent eighteenth century would twice be confronted with the Middle Ages, that Celtic warriors in uncouth chequered garments would twice swing through the streets of Lowland towns, clattering brazen-studded targets of bull-hide and brandishing swords like those that waved at Harlaw. For it must not be forgotten that the Scotland of presbyteries and kirk sessions, where the minister ruled like a king, the Scotland of quiet farms and towns where the clack of the loom could be heard, the Scotland of little seaports whence brigs were beginning to fight their way across the Atlantic, was not the whole of Scotland. North of the Forth and Clyde all but a strip of land along the east coast—only at rare intervals as much as fifty miles broad—was in the possession of a race that had changed little in the last five hundred years. Knowledge of any language but Gaelic was still confined to those of the highest rank. The social organization of the Highlanders was still feudal, or, to be exact, pre-feudal. They were still grouped into clans, each ruled over by a chief, who had at the same time greater and less power than the average English landowner. In the eyes of his people the chief of a clan was not the owner of the clan territory ; that was the common property of the whole clan. Even his house was not his own, for he did not dare to turn away a hungry clansman from his door. But in other respects his authority surpassed even that of the king. He was the

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

only judge whose decrees the clan recognized, though few chiefs were recognized as judges by the State ; if he sentenced an offender to death no complaint would come from his people ; no royal proclamation could stop his clan if he had ordered it to follow him to battle. As late as 1773 Boswell heard a chieftain say to one of his followers whom he thought had refused to send him some rum : "Don't you know that if I order you to go and cut a man's throat you are to do it ?" "Yes, an't please your honour," replied the clansman, "and my own too, and hang myself too." Boswell thought that these loud professions meant nothing, but when the chief had gone the man said to him : "Had he sent his dog for the rum I would have given it : I would cut my bones for him."

### POVERTY OF THE HIGHLANDS

Little improvement had taken place in the economic condition of the Highlands. A few narrow fields of oats and barley fringed the streams in the valleys ; every spring the black cattle were driven to the hill pastures ; every autumn the Highland drovers, armed with pistol and claymore, guided their herds over the passes to Lowland cattle fairs, or sometimes even beyond the English border. The supply of food was insufficient. As no manufactured goods were produced, as nothing except cattle and undersized ponies was exported from the Highlands, foodstuffs could not be obtained from the Lowlands by barter. They were obtained, nevertheless, as the empty byres and barns of many a farmer near the Highland line could testify.

How this poverty was the cause of chronic disorder has been explained in an earlier chapter. It had another result. Because the Highlander had often to fight for his dinner he had acquired confidence and skill in the use of his weapons ; because the Lowlander now devoted himself to trade or agriculture he possessed little of his father's skill or his father's courage. The campaigns of Montrose and Dundee had shown with what effect a leader of ability could use untrained Highlanders even against regular troops.

## THE FIFTEEN

### DISCONTENT WITH THE UNION

A Jacobite rising, then, in which the southern Jacobites were supported by the Highlanders, would have some chance of success. And the Highlanders could easily be gained over to the side of the Pretender ; they had no enthusiasm for the Union or for Presbyterianism, and their 'clannishness' made them look on the repudiation of the senior royal line as peculiarly detestable. But after the death of Queen Anne in the late summer of 1714 it seemed that the Highlanders would not be the only supporters of the exiled Stewarts. The Union had apparently been a failure. The increase in the volume of trade was imperceptible, and certain changes, some of them necessary to complete the Union, wounded the pride of the patriotic Lowlander. In 1708, for example, the Scottish Privy Council was abolished, the eldest sons of Scottish peers were forbidden to sit in the House of Commons, and a Scottish noble who received an English title was not allowed to vote in the election of Scottish representative peers, while in 1713 the Lords declared that even though a Scottish peer became a peer of Great Britain he would be excluded from the House.<sup>1</sup> The Treaty of Union provided that the Scottish system of law should remain intact, but in 1710, when the House of Lords sustained the appeal of James Greenshields from the Court of Session, the Scottish people became aware that the letter of the Treaty had not been adhered to. It did not matter to the average Scotsman that the decision of the Court of Session was iniquitous, that Greenshields, an Episcopalian clergyman, had been guilty of nothing more heinous than reading the English Prayer Book to his congregation, and that the Treaty directed that laws might be altered if they were altered for the better ; he saw only that the Treaty had been violated and the supremacy of Presbyterianism threatened. The restoration of lay patronage in 1712 was another violation of the Treaty, and when in the following year a malt tax was authorized which imposed a burden on

<sup>1</sup> This anomaly was removed during the second half of the century.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Scotland three times as heavy as that which England was called upon to bear<sup>1</sup> a Bill for the abolition of the Union was summarily brought into the House of Lords, and was rejected by only four votes. The motives of those who voted for this Bill, most of them the very persons who had been most assiduous in promoting the Treaty, were somewhat ambiguous, but it cannot be denied that if the measure had passed into law few Scotsmen of the time would have felt any pang of regret.

To transmute this discontent with the Union into enthusiasm for the Pretender seemed to the Jacobites an easy task. Every one understood that if James Stewart became James VIII of Scotland his first act would be to cancel the Treaty of Union. But the average Lowlander noted the zeal of the Episcopal clergy for the exiled Prince, and concluded that the restoration of the Stewarts would have other results.

### THE FIFTEEN

On the 5th of August, 1714, the Scottish heralds and pursuivants marched in procession to the Cross of Edinburgh, where, "with Huzzas and Acclamations of Joy," George, Elector of Brunswick-Lüneburg, was proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. Though not a murmur came from the Scottish Jacobites, "confounded at this surprising Turn of Providence," every one knew that a rising would not be long delayed. In the following summer the Earl of Stair, the British ambassador at the Court of Louis XIV, warned King George that an invasion was imminent. The King appealed to Parliament. The Commons responded by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act and the corresponding Scottish Act passed in 1701, and by adding seven thousand men to the Army and six thousand to the Navy.

But the rebellion could not be averted. On the 2nd of August the versatile Earl of Mar, who a few months before

<sup>1</sup> A tax of sixpence was to be levied on every bushel of Scots and English malt; but a bushel of English malt fetched three times the price of a bushel of Scots malt. The tax was not carried into effect in Scotland.

## THE FIFTEEN

had assured the King that he would find him "as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant as any of his family had ever been to the Crown," stepped on board a collier in the London docks. Eight days later he landed at Elie, in Fife, and made his way to the Highlands, prepared to emulate Montrose and Claverhouse. He had few qualifications for his great task. He was a supple politician who lately had been a Whig and a supporter of the Union, a ready and fluent speaker whose eloquence pleased none but himself. With his sour temper and crooked figure, his irresolution and lack of military skill, he was as great a contrast to Montrose or his valiant kinsman as it is possible to imagine.

At the end of August Mar discussed his plans with an assembly of the Highland chiefs and southern lords whom he had summoned to a hunting party. The chiefs dispersed, but not for long; on the 6th of September the Scottish standard was raised at Braemar and the Pretender proclaimed as King. The superstitious Highlanders long remembered that at the moment the standard was raised the gilded ball fell from the top of the pole. But for a time everything seemed to go well. The Pretender was proclaimed in every town of importance north of the Tay, and at the end of September Mar, at the head of an army of about twelve thousand men, occupied Perth. To this force the Government could oppose an army of barely two thousand men, not all of them regular troops, and a few bands of volunteers in the southern burghs.

But the death of Louis XIV a few days before the standard was raised shattered the hopes of help from France which the Jacobites had cherished. When Stair pointed out to the Duc d'Orléans that ships crowded with soldiers and munitions of war were ready to sail from the French ports the Regent promptly ordered the men and arms to be left behind. In many parts of the north Presbyterian ministers were superseded by Episcopalians. The lesson was not lost upon the Lowland ministers, who exhorted their flocks to take up arms for King George, and in some cases appeared at the head of their parishioners equipped with a broadsword or fusee.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

And though the royal army was small it was led by the Duke of Argyll, a competent soldier who had served with distinction under Marlborough, and it had entrenched itself under the guns of Stirling Castle. With all its dangers, such a situation would have seemed to Montrose a glorious opportunity. Mar shrank from action ; he protested that it would be madness to move southward till England was invaded and remained in Perth, waiting for the invasion which never came.

The Jacobite rising in the North of England at the beginning of October, followed as it was by Viscount Kenmure's rising in South-west Scotland, deprived Mar of his excuses for inaction and forced him to draw up a plan of campaign. He resolved that while he would leave the main body of his army at Perth he would dispatch one brigade into the West Highlands to capture Inveraray, the capital of the Duke of Argyll's dominions, and send another across the Forth to join the few hundred horsemen under Kenmure and co-operate with the English Jacobites.

The campaign in Argyllshire was a complete failure ; Inveraray was never in danger, and the threat to his possessions could not draw the Duke of Argyll from Stirling. Better fortune attended Mackintosh of Borlum, the leader of the second expedition. While a detachment of his men marched openly across Fife and seized the harbour of Burntisland, to be bombarded vigorously by the King's ships, he led some two thousand Highlanders eastward to the little coast towns at the mouth of the Firth, where they embarked quietly and under cover of night sailed across to the southern shore. The ruse was discovered and the fleet came up, but not before Mackintosh had landed sixteen hundred of his men.

Instead of marching south to join Kenmure and the English rebels, Mackintosh turned west to strike at Edinburgh ; but Argyll had been informed of his plan, and at the head of three hundred dragoons and two hundred infantry mounted on farm-horses he hurried off to defend the capital. When Mackintosh came within sight of Edinburgh Argyll's flying column had already arrived, and he had no choice but to take

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refuge in Cromwell's old citadel at Leith. Argyll hesitated to attack the fort without siege guns. The volunteers clamoured for a fight, but suddenly fell silent when the Duke told them that as volunteers it would be their privilege to lead the attack. Mackintosh, on the other hand, knew that he could not hope to capture Edinburgh. On the night of the 15th of October, about twenty-four hours after he had entered the citadel, he led his men along the beach to Seaton House, a few miles east of Edinburgh. Thence he marched to the Border, and a week later joined Kenmure and the English Jacobites at Kelso.

### THE INVASION OF ENGLAND

But the leaders could not agree. Forster, the commander of the English Jacobites, urged an immediate invasion of England, while they had to deal with only nine hundred wearied men under General Carpenter; Mackintosh proposed that the united army should march northward and join Mar at Perth. Forster had his way, but as soon as the Highlanders knew that they were expected to march into England they flung down their arms, and when a party of cavalry surrounded them they cocked their firelocks and said that "if they wished to be made a sacrifice they would choose to have it done in their own country." Some of them were persuaded to cross the Border, but four hundred deserted, and, with a few exceptions, were captured as they passed through the Lowlands. On the 9th of November Forster and Mackintosh reached Preston, having met no opposition on the way.

Their success was only temporary. With six regiments of dragoons and one regiment of infantry General Wills hurried north from Cheshire, and on the 12th of November crossed the Ribble. He found that trenches had been dug and that the roads leading into the town were blocked with barricades and commanded by cannon. Without waiting for Carpenter, whom he had summoned to join him, he ordered his troops to attack the town from the north and the east. From the northern barricade every attack was beaten back, and though

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the first barrier on the east was forced the royal troops found themselves faced by a second barricade, much stronger than the other. On the following day, however, Carpenter's troops came up, and Forster, who had taken to his bed, declared that the town must be given up. The Highlanders were "mightily enraged"; they declared that they wanted to die "like Men of Honour, with their Swords in their Hands," threatened to kill Forster, who discreetly kept to his room, and did actually kill one or two persons who advocated surrender. But a few words from General Wills convinced even Mackintosh that further resistance was useless, and on the 14th of November the Jacobite army surrendered at discretion.

### SHERIFFMUIR

The fate of the insurrection was already settled. Five days earlier a council of war had urged Mar, who still lingered irresolute at Perth, to force the passage of the Forth and lead his army to join the Jacobites in northern England, and on the 10th of November he left Perth at the head of ten thousand men. But the Duke of Argyll was informed by spies of this movement, and posted his army, now increased to four thousand men, on Sheriffmuir, a mile or two north-east of Dunblane, and close to the road between Perth and Stirling, along which the rebels must pass. The royal army was drawn up in two divisions, each consisting of four infantry regiments and five squadrons of horse; the Duke commanded the right, and General Whetham the left. As the undulations of the moorland hid a great part of the rebel army from the eyes of the royal troops, they did not know that the enemy's right extended far beyond their own left wing, which was certain to be outflanked and overwhelmed. Argyll, with his accustomed coolness, led his right against the rebel left; his dragoons reeled for a moment before the enemy's fire, which "was as good perhaps as ever came from any disciplined Troops," recovered, and slowly forced the Highlanders back to Allan Water, about two miles from the battlefield. When the Duke was on the point of ordering the pursuit to be

## THE FIFTEEN

continued one of his brigadiers informed him that "he could not discover what had become of our troops on the left." Six hundred Highlanders had charged them as they were changing their formation, and the demoralized soldiers had now passed Dunblane and were well on their way to Stirling. Argyll immediately recalled his men from the pursuit, and, ordering the cavalry to guard the infantry in front, flank, and rear, led them past the enemy's right wing. Mar refused to attack, and the exhausted troops marched slowly back to Dunblane.

### END OF THE REBELLION

Next day Mar announced that a "great and signal victory" had been obtained. To tell the truth, neither side had much to boast of. The battle itself was a comic opera affair which for more than half a century provoked wits to sarcasm. But if it be judged by its results it was clearly a victory for the Duke of Argyll. "By this Battle," as a contemporary historian says, "the Heart of the Rebellion was broke." While Argyll retired no farther than Dunblane, Mar led the disgusted clansmen back to Perth and did not again attempt to invade the Lowlands. Before the end of the year the royal army was reinforced by six thousand troops from Holland under General Cadogan, while Mar's force dwindled to four thousand men. At this moment, when the last chance of success had disappeared, the Pretender landed at Peterhead, and on the 9th of January, 1716, arrived at Perth. The heavy snows and the lack of siege artillery made Argyll hesitate to besiege the town, but at the end of January the preparations for the coronation of James VIII of Scotland were interrupted by the news that the Duke and Cadogan were advancing at last. The rebel leaders resolved on retreat. On the last day of January the Highlanders crossed the frozen Tay and pushed through the snows to Dundee. Argyll followed hard behind them, but even the exertions of hundreds of country-folk could not clear the snow-blocked roads sufficiently, and the Jacobites still kept a day's march ahead. On the afternoon of the 4th of February they reached Montrose.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

The Pretender ordered the march to be resumed at eight o'clock the same evening, but when the appointed hour came he could not be found. He had slipped quietly out, attended by only one servant, and gone to the Earl of Mar's lodging. Accompanied by that worthy, he had then crept down a bypath to the shore and embarked on a ship of St Malo. Thirteen nobles and gentlemen followed him. With the King's horse a day's march behind, the Highlanders reached Aberdeen, where a letter from their Prince was read to them. He told them that disappointments he had met with obliged him to leave the country, thanked them for their services, and desired them to consult their own security. It is little wonder that many of them flung down their arms and cried that they had been betrayed. A few days later they reached Ruthven, in Badenoch, where they dispersed.

The rebellion had ended in failure, but this failure was not regarded as finally deciding the dispute between Stewart and Hanoverian. It is true that the Highlanders were cowed. When in the spring of 1719 the Earl Marischal landed at Loch Duich, in the West Highlands, with three hundred Spaniards—the remnant of a larger force that had been driven back by a storm—barely a thousand men joined him, and his little army was routed in the depth of the Highlands by the Hanoverian troops. But the depression and exhaustion were only temporary. Though the result of the campaign was beyond dispute, it proved only that Mar and Forster were incapable leaders; it did not prove that the Hanoverians were more influential or more numerous than the Jacobites. And the very ease with which success had been obtained made the victory of little value. Because the Highlanders had failed in 1715 men concluded that they would always fail, and allowed social and economic conditions to persist in the Highlands which were sure to lead to a second rebellion.

### CONTROLLING THE HIGHLANDS

Some attempts at reform were made, it is true, but these efforts did not go far enough. In August 1715, on the eve

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of the rebellion, an Act had been passed which was intended to break the tie between chieftain and clansman. If a land-owner followed the Pretender his lands would become the property of the Crown, and such of his tenants as had remained faithful to the King would not be required to pay rent for two years ; those tenants, however, who followed the example of a rebellious superior would be liable, like him, to suffer all the penalties of treason. The rebellion showed the value of this Act, and in 1716 it was reinforced by a Disarming Act. But this latter measure did more harm than good. The loyal clans, who alone received the full value of their weapons, were left without means of defence, while the disloyal clans imported scrap-iron from Holland and sold it to gullible officials. On the advice of General Wade, a more stringent Act was passed in 1725 ; but though the average Highlander no longer went to church with a claymore by his side and a musket slung at his back, though he had parted with such weapons as had outlived their usefulness, he succeeded in retaining those which he valued most.

Another scheme of Wade's was more soundly conceived and more carefully executed. He saw that if garrisons were placed at important strategic points, if troops could be moved rapidly from place to place, a rebellion might be isolated and stamped out before it had done any harm. But in the Scottish Highlands that involved the bridging of torrents, the building of military roads over moorlands and along mountain-sides. The work was accomplished, however. In 1736, eleven years after Wade began his task, 250 miles of road had been constructed, including a great military road from Perth to Inverness, forty bridges had been built, while Fort George, near Inverness, and Fort Augustus, half-way between Fort George and the older Fort William, dominated the line of the Great Glen.

A promising experiment which a timid Government refused to try on a larger scale was made in 1739, when the Black Watch, hitherto a species of military police, recruited exclusively from the Highland clans, was formed into a regiment.

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It received its baptism of fire at Fontenoy, where the Highlanders held back the French as the British were retiring, and, in the words of their colonel, "acquired as much honour in covering so great a retreat as if they had gained the battle."

### THE FORTY-FIVE

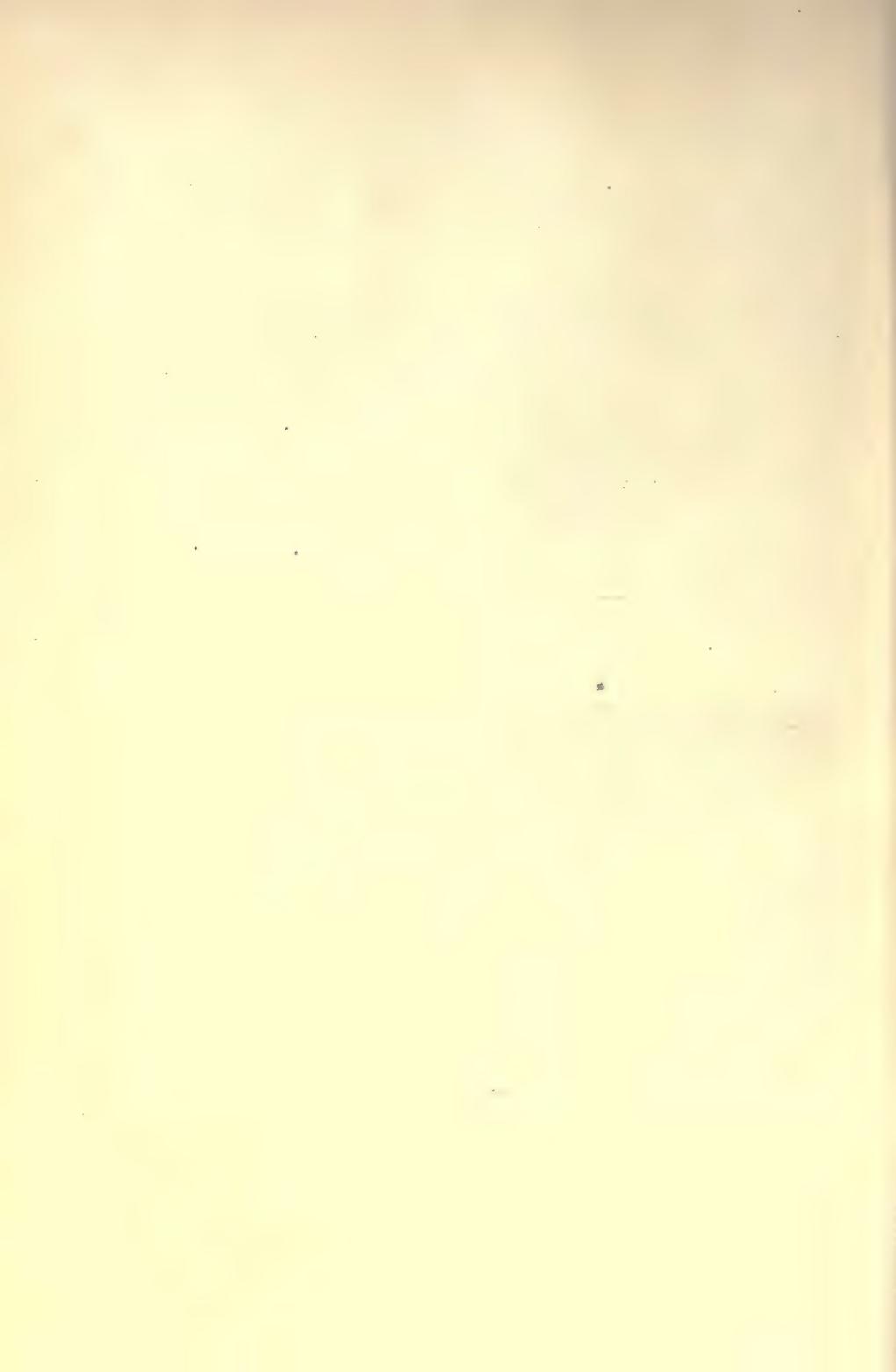
None of these precautions availed to prevent a second rebellion. In 1744 the future seemed full of menace. Britain was at war with France and Spain, and in the harbours of Brest and Dunkirk troops were embarking for a descent on the English coast. Twenty-two warships were to sail from Brest and distract the attention of the English admirals, while a fleet of transports, with the Pretender's eldest son and fifteen thousand French soldiers on board, left Dunkirk and made for England. But the scheme came to nothing. The French war-vessels could not evade the British fleet; the transports were caught in a storm, and those which escaped unwrecked put back to French harbours.

After this failure the French Government refused to give any active support to the Jacobites, and the Pretender did not quarrel with its decision. Far different was it with his son, the high-spirited and adventurous Charles Edward. If he could not enter his country at the head of an army he would enter it alone. A sixty-gun ship, the *Elizabeth*, and a brig, the *Doutelle*, were chartered, and on the 5th of July he set sail from Belle Isle with seven companions. Only after he had gone did his father hear of the wild scheme on which he had embarked. "Your Majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father," wrote the Prince. "You yourself did the like in the year '15." Misfortune seemed likely to overwhelm the expedition at the outset. The *Elizabeth*, on which most of the arms and money had been stored, was attacked by an English man-of-war and forced to put back to France, and when the Prince landed at Eriska, in the Outer Hebrides, Macdonald of Boisdale, the first man of consequence whom he met, advised him to return home. "I am come home, sir," was the reply.

PLATE LX

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STEWART,  
‘THE YOUNG PRETENDER’,  
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## THE FORTY-FIVE

But brave words could not disguise the fact that both Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of Macleod, two great island potentates whose support was regarded as essential to the success of the enterprise, refused to stir. The Prince was resolute, however. To those who argued that a rising which the French Government refused to support was doomed to failure he replied that "he did not chuse to owe the restoration of his father to foreigners, but to his own friends." When young Cameron of Lochiel declared that he could not embark on such a desperate venture the Prince answered proudly: "Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, to win it, or to perish in the attempt. Lochiel, who, my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his Prince." "No, I'll share the fate of my Prince!" cried Lochiel.

Charles now landed at Kinloch Moidart, after sending the *Doutelle* back to France to show that he did not mean to imitate his father's exploit at Montrose, and on the 19th of August he raised his standard at Glenfinnan in presence of seven hundred Camerons and two hundred Macdonalds. The Government was taken off its guard. In the whole of Scotland there were barely fifteen hundred troops, many of them recruits who could not be trusted. Sir John Cope, the general commanding in Scotland, was, in the biting words of a contemporary, "fitter for anything than the chief command in war," while Tweeddale, the Secretary for Scotland, had quarrelled with the Duke of Argyll and refused to act with vigour. The only man who seemed to have a grasp of the situation was the Lord President of the College of Justice, Duncan Forbes of Culloden. He knew the Highlands as no other statesman, Scottish or English, knew them. It was he who first proposed the raising of Highland regiments. Staunch Hanoverian though he was, he loved his country more than he loved the house of Hanover, and many a Jacobite was numbered among his friends. At the first news of the rebellion he hurried off to Inverness, raised a regiment among the northern loyalists, and succeeded in keeping the north faithful

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to King George. Cope did not show the same wisdom. With fifteen hundred men he marched into the heart of the Highlands ; then, finding that the rebels held the pass of Dalwhinnie and blocked his way, he avoided a battle and led his men to Inverness. There they embarked and sailed for the Firth of Forth.

### THE CAPTURE OF EDINBURGH

Meanwhile Charles, with an army that had now increased to about two thousand men, occupied Perth, crossed the Forth at the Fords of Frew, passed within a mile of Stirling Castle, and marched on Edinburgh. Colonel Gardiner's regiment of dragoons, which had been sent to dispute the passage of the Forth, retired and took up its station at Colbbridge, within about a mile of Edinburgh. There was little hope that the city would resist a siege. The walls were old and commanded without by modern buildings, while the garrison consisted of the City Guard—about six score superannuated veterans—and two regiments of volunteers, amounting together to some six hundred men. But most of the volunteers had been in the ranks for only a few days. “On the 14th I joined that company,” says Carlyle of Inveresk, “and had arms put in my hands, and attended a drill-serjeant that afternoon and the next day to learn the manual exercise.” On the morning of Sunday, the 16th, the sound of the fire-bell warned the citizens that the Highlanders were approaching. The volunteers were slow to answer the call. As Carlyle's company marched down the West Bow, he tells us, “all the spectators were in tears and lamentation,” and when the Grassmarket was reached the ministers called on the men to desist from “this rash enterprise,” which exposed “the flower of the youth of Edinburgh and the hope of the next generation to the danger of being cut off or made prisoners and maltreated, without any just and adequate object.” “The flower of the youth of Edinburgh” was not exposed to any hazard ; in the afternoon the dragoons were seen riding eastward from Colbbridge with more haste than dignity ; the magistrates thereupon decided that resistance was hopeless and disbanded the volunteers. The

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news that Cope's transports had been sighted off Dunbar made the magistrates repent of their weakness. To the Pretender's demand for immediate surrender they replied by sending envoys to ask for a cessation of hostilities till nine o'clock next morning. This request was refused. Then, before the envoys' coach left Charles's headquarters at Slateford, nine hundred Highlanders, led by Lord George Murray and Lochiel, marched to Edinburgh under cover of darkness and took up their position outside the Netherbow Port, which divided the city from the suburb of the Canongate. Early in the morning the coach rattled down the street, the gates swung open, and the next moment the Highlanders, with a wild yell, had rushed through. In a few minutes the guard-house was captured, and Highland guards were posted at every gate. Edinburgh had fallen without one blow being struck in its defence. A few hours later Charles entered Holyrood, and the heralds at the Market Cross proclaimed James VIII King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

### PRESTONPANS

Charles could not count himself secure till he had dealt with Sir John Cope, who, on the 19th of September, had reached Haddington. Charles led out his Highlanders, and on the evening of the 20th came upon Cope's army near Prestonpans. The armies were almost equal, each containing about two thousand five hundred men, but Cope had six pieces of artillery and two regiments of dragoons, the heroes of Colbbridge, while to the south of his position lay a morass. Early in the morning, while the mists still lay upon the stubble-fields, the Highlanders skirted the morass and took up their position in the open fields to the east of the royal army. Before they had completed the movement the mists rose. Cope at once made his army swing round and face eastward to meet the attack. The infantry were in the centre, the artillery on the right, while a regiment of dragoons was placed on each wing.

The Camerons opened the battle by advancing against the

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artillery. The gunners at once fled. The dragoons on the right wing were ordered to charge the Highlanders before they reached the guns, but on receiving a volley which emptied several saddles they wheeled about, rode down the artillery escort, and galloped wildly from the field. The infantry, shaken by the mere sight of the Highlanders racing down on them with drawn swords, fired one straggling volley and fled, followed by the dragoons on the left. "In a very few minutes after the first cannon was fired, the whole army, both horse and foot, were put to flight ; none of the soldiers attempted to load their pieces again, and not one bayonet was stained with blood."

For five weeks Charles lingered in Edinburgh, maintaining a parody of royal state in the palace of Holyrood. "I had the good fortune to see him," says Carlyle of Inveresk. "He was a good-looking man, of about five feet ten inches ; his hair was dark red, and his eyes black. His features were regular, his visage long, much sunburnt and freckled, and his countenance thoughtful and melancholy." The ladies were his enthusiastic admirers, but the male inhabitants of Edinburgh remained deaf to the appeal of romance. "Bless the King !" prayed the minister of St Cuthbert's Church. "Thou knowest *what* King I mean. . . . As for that young man who has come among us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech Thee to take him to Thyself and give him a crown of glory."

The Jacobite army now numbered five thousand men, but only three hundred of these had been recruited in the Lowlands. The wisdom of a descent on England with a small army, badly clothed and poorly equipped, was discussed by Charles and his staff. With every day that passed the hopes of ultimate success grew more dim. The royal troops were hurrying back from the Continent ; before the end of October Wade had reached Newcastle at the head of eighteen thousand men, and a second army was advancing from London. On the last day of October Charles published his decision : the army would invade England by the western route, the road which led to Preston and Worcester.

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### THE ADVANCE INTO ENGLAND

The advance was conducted with a considerable degree of skill. Carlisle surrendered. Wade, grown sluggish with age, was outmanœuvred by the rebels, who reached Manchester on the last day of November without encountering any resistance. But the success of the Jacobites was only apparent. Only in Manchester did their arrival excite any enthusiasm, and there no more than three hundred recruits could be obtained. Wade menaced their rear; Cumberland was marching through Staffordshire with eight thousand men; the royal garrisons in Scotland had been reinforced. Four days later, while bonfires blazed and the bells rang in the steeples, they marched into Derby. They were now within a hundred and thirty miles of London, but the leaders knew that they had shot their bolt and decided to retreat.

On the 6th of December the retreat began. The Highlanders outmarched and outmanœuvred their pursuers. Only once, at Clifton, did Cumberland's advance-guard of dragoons get into touch with the rearguard of the rebels. In the hedges about the village a spirited little action took place. The dragoons dismounted and lined the hedges. The Highlanders employed their usual tactics with their usual success; they hacked a way through the hedges with their dirks, fired one volley, and "fell to pell-mell" upon the royal troops, who fled back to the main body. A fortnight after the retreat began the Highlanders forded the flooded Esk and stood once more upon Scottish soil.

### FALKIRK

In the first days of 1746 Charles advanced to Stirling and began the siege of the castle. In a few days reinforcements from the north almost doubled the size of his army. They came just in time, for General Hawley was advancing on Stirling at the head of nine thousand men. At dusk on the afternoon of the 17th of January, in the midst of a terrific storm of wind and rain, the two armies met on the moor

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beside Falkirk. Hawley ordered his dragoons to charge the Highlanders, but after the horsemen had received one volley they wheeled about and galloped from the field. The Highlanders now dropped their muskets, seized their claymores, and bore down on the infantry. The first line broke and fell back on the second. But nothing could resist the wild onset of the Highlanders; the second line too was pierced, and the whole of the royal army flung into confusion. Only one or two regiments held together and protected the wild retreat to Falkirk. Hawley burned his tents and led his men through the storm to Linlithgow, leaving his baggage and artillery in the hands of the rebels.

### CULLODEN

But the victory helped Charles little. A few days later he gave up the siege of Stirling and crossed the Forth. The next two months saw some minor successes. The barracks at Ruthven were burned. Fort George, Fort Augustus, and Inverness were captured, and Lord President Forbes was forced to take refuge in Skye. But the inevitable end could not be long delayed. On the 12th of April news was brought to the Prince at Inverness that the Duke of Cumberland had left Aberdeen at the head of nine thousand men. Charles hurriedly summoned his troops, but many of them had gone home, many were absent on distant expeditions, and when he posted his army on Culloden Moor two days later he found that he had no more than five thousand men and scarcely one day's provisions. By this time Cumberland had reached Nairn, within fifteen miles of the Jacobites' position.

The plight of the rebels seemed hopeless. Unless the royal troops could be taken unaware defeat was certain. A night attack was therefore resolved upon, and between eight and nine o'clock the Highlanders struck across the moor for Nairn. The plan miscarried. The head of the column was a mile distant from the rear, and time and again the vanguard had to halt till the stragglers came up. Many of the men were so exhausted that they fell asleep on the march. At two

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o'clock the rebels were still about three miles from Laird. The officers recognized that the attack could not be delivered before dawn, and led their wearied troops back to Culloden. When they arrived there at nine o'clock they found no food for them in the camp. Some slipped away to Inverness, where, designing only to take an hour or two's rest, they were afterward surprised and killed in their beds; others flung themselves on the ground to snatch a few hours' sleep.

About noon the royal army came in sight. The first and second lines each consisted of six regiments of infantry; a few squadrons of horse were placed on each flank, and in each of the intervals between the regiments in the front line two pieces of artillery were placed. The rebels were likewise drawn up in two lines; but the Macdonalds were removed from the place of honour on the right, which they declared had been assigned to them in every battle since Bannockburn, and were relegated to the left flank.

The battle began with an artillery duel which lasted for about an hour, but while the rebel artillery was badly served Cumberland's gunners "made lanes through the Highland regiments." While the cannonade continued the Duke brought two regiments from the reserve, placing one in the front line and the other at right angles to the front, so that it could enfilade the Highlanders if they attempted to charge. The sight of their comrades falling while they stood inactive was too much for the rebel clansmen. Without waiting for the command, the Mackintoshes burst forward from the centre, followed by all the clans on the right. They were assailed by grapeshot in front and by musketry in front and flank, but they rushed on, broke through the first line, and, bunched together in one dense mass, raced for the second. But the royal troops had grown familiar with their tactics; they waited coolly till the rebels were a few yards off and then shattered them with one terrible volley. Many were slain, many fled; a few still pressed on, only "to fall at the end of the soldiers' bayonets."

Meantime the Macdonalds had contented themselves with

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exchanging a few shots with the regiments opposite, but when they saw the right wing driven back they fell back on the second line, pursued by the royal cavalry. The greater part of the Prince's army was still unbroken, but wearied and famished men could have no stomach for fighting. Cumberland saw them hesitate and launched his infantry against them. At once small parties broke away from the ranks, and in a few moments the whole of the Jacobite army was in full flight. One large party held together, beat off its pursuers, and struck southward for Badenoch; the rest made for Inverness, but, less fortunate than their comrades, they were cut to pieces by Cumberland's dragoons. When first the Prince saw his men turn their backs on the foe he wished to place himself at their head and lead them back to the charge. His officers told him that he could do no good and entreated him to consider his own safety. He allowed himself to be persuaded by them, and rode from the field.

Ah, my Prince, it were well  
Hadst thou to the gods been dear  
To have fallen where Keppoch fell,  
With the war pipe loud in thine ear.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

### THE HIGHLANDS AFTER THE FORTY-FIVE

IT would be long to tell of the adventures of Charles after he left the field of Culloden—how he wandered about the western Highlands and the Hebrides for five months, sometimes hiding in caves, sometimes in the earthen hut of a peasant, sometimes in Cluny's cage of branches perched high on the side of Ben Alder. Once he disguised himself as a serving-maid—"a very odd, muckle, ill-shaken-up wife"—but usually he assumed the dress of a Highlander of low rank. Few would have recognized in the bedraggled gillie, clad in a plaid and little else, splashed with mud from head to foot, the gallant Prince who a few months before had led the dance in Holyrood and cast his spell over romantic ladies. But his high spirits and good temper never deserted him. Once when his little boat was like to be overwhelmed in a tempest he sang to encourage the oarsmen. Again and again his friends had to warn him that his over-confidence might betray him, only to receive a jest for their pains. On the 20th of September he boarded a privateer from St Malo, and under cover of a mist eluded the English cruisers, reaching Roscoff nine days later.

Of the remaining forty-two years of Charles's life this is not the place to speak. Andrew Lang's verses express but the sober truth; it would have been far better for the Prince had he perished at Culloden or fallen into the hands of his pursuers, leaving behind him a name as bright and untarnished as that of Wallace or Montrose. It is wise to forget the pimpled, bloated voluptuary, and remember only the gallant

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youth who landed with seven men and almost subdued a kingdom.

### AFTER THE REBELLION

In the days when he was a hunted man, expecting every moment to be taken, Charles confessed that all his thoughts were for his unfortunate followers. The very moment the victory was won saw a beginning of those atrocities which have earned lasting infamy for Cumberland. The soldiers were encouraged to refuse quarter ; a hut into which some wounded wretches had crawled was burned to the ground ; another party of wounded were ranged against a stone wall, shot down, and the survivors battered to death. The prisoners were stripped of every rag they possessed and marched into Inverness, where they were lodged in a pestilential jail and fed on half a pound of oatmeal a day. It is little wonder that many perished in prison and on the ships which bore them to London to be tried. The Provost of Inverness, a staunch loyalist, went to Cumberland's *levée* and " said he hoped they would mix mercy with judgment. Upon which they said, ' Damn you, puppie, do you pretend to dictate here ? ' They ordered him to be kicked downstairs. Accordingly he was tossed to the stairhead from one to another, and there one of a considerable character gave him a toss that he never touched the stair untill he was at the foot of the first flate of it." Duncan Forbes of Culloden, who had done more than any man in the kingdom to bring about the failure of the rebellion and had spent all his substance in the King's service, might have expected to meet with better success. He made some impression on the Duke, but not the impression he desired. Cumberland often spoke of him afterward as " that old woman that talked to me about humanity."

The victory of Culloden was followed by a reign of terror in the Highlands. Houses were burned, cattle driven off or killed, men dragged to prison or shot without warning, and women ravished. Not till July, when Cumberland left for England, did the unfortunate land have peace.

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The failure of the rebellion may be attributed to the Prince's indecision after his first victory, or, with more justice, to the command of the sea exercised by the British fleet. But in the course of the campaign one thing became clear : Charles could count on the support of only a minority of the British people. There were Jacobites in plenty who would have welcomed Charles had he come at the head of twenty thousand Frenchmen, but in the circumstances their loyalty took the less exacting form of staying at home and drinking the Prince's health. Where Mar easily obtained twelve thousand men Charles could scrape together barely five thousand ; in all England he obtained only three hundred recruits. The slowness with which the burgesses of Edinburgh took up arms and the speed with which they laid them down, the lack of resistance in the other Lowland towns, must not be regarded as signs of enthusiasm for Prince Charles. The douce burgesses regarded warfare as none of their business, but at the same time all their sympathies were with the Government. They knew that the triumph of Charles would probably mean the repudiation of the National Debt and financial ruin and that it would certainly mean the establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland, and they were confident that the Government could deal with the rebels without any help of theirs. The attitude of the average Englishman was much the same. He would not risk his life for King George so long as two undefeated armies were hot on the Pretender's trail. At Derby he even caused bonfires to be kindled and church-bells to be rung to avoid unpleasant attentions from the Highlanders, but he was heartily glad when the rebels turned their backs. One cannot avoid the conclusion that in these circumstances any Jacobite victory would have been merely temporary. The bulk of the nation did not want the Stewarts back again, and even if Charles had defeated Wade and Cumberland and reached London he would soon have had to deal with an insurrection which his five thousand Highlanders would have been powerless to quell.

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## BREAKING THE CLAN SYSTEM

At the same time the suppression of the rebellion had proved to be a lengthy and expensive business and had disclosed several grave problems. Was there any guarantee that the defeat of the Highlanders at Culloden made another rising impossible? So long as the clan system remained intact, so long as the Highlanders possessed weapons and knew how to use them, there was a chance that the story of the 'Fifteen' and the 'Forty-five,' of the rebellion of Dundee and of Montrose's brilliant campaign, might be repeated.

The first blow at the clan system was struck in 1746, when the wearing of the Highland dress, or even of clothes made of tartan, was prohibited under the penalty of six months' imprisonment for the first offence and transportation for the second. Not only did the plaid and philabeg distinguish the Highlander from the Lowlander; the diverse patterns of tartan distinguished clan from clan, and so this apparently trivial statute shook the whole social system of the Highlands. In the same year a Disarming Act was passed, which, unlike previous Disarming Acts, was rigorously enforced.

A much more important step was taken in 1748. The rebellion had shown the strength of the tie which bound the clansman to his chief. If the chief declared for King George the clan remained quiet; if he declared for King James no clansman dreamt of disobeying his summons to battle. Save in one or two cases the jurisdiction of the chief over his clan was not recognized by the Government, but for the Highlander it was an ever-present reality, while the chief might say that he was no better and no worse than the hereditary sheriffs and lords of regality in the Lowlands. For the feudal system existed in Scotland almost a century after it had disappeared from England; many of the owners of Crown lands still held their possessions on the old military tenure, exacted certain dues from their tenants, and dispensed justice to all within the bounds of their estates. Nor was that all; the sheriffs of counties were hereditary officials, who either dispensed

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ready-made law themselves or suffered it to be dispensed by illiterate and underpaid deputies. The Act for the Abolition of Heritable Jurisdictions made short work of this tangle of absurdities. All hereditary judicial offices were swept away, the old sheriffs were replaced by officials appointed by the Crown, military tenures became brench holdings—that is, the tenant was required to pay only a trifling fee or render some nominal service to the Crown—while the various dues and services rendered by the tenant to his superior were commuted for a fixed feu-duty.

In the Lowlands the change could be only for the better, though some regretted the disappearance of the old customs. “*Verl John was the man!*” exclaimed one sturdy admirer of old institutions. “*He’d hang them up just o’ his ain word : nane o’ your law!*” In the Highlands the effects of the Act were more difficult to estimate. It loosened the hold of the chief over his clan and made another rebellion impossible, but it provided no satisfactory substitute for the broken clan system.

“There was perhaps never any change of national manners so quick, so great, and so general,” wrote Dr Johnson, “as that which has operated in the Highlands by the last conquest and the subsequent laws.” These words were written in 1775, two years after the memorable journey which Boswell and he made to the Western Islands. They came in the midst of a period of transition. In the twenty-seven years much had disappeared, but many old institutions and customs still survived.

## THE NEW ORDER

The chief retained much of his ancient dignity. He was still regarded with affection and respect by his clansmen, he still maintained a parody of royal state, and when he warded a thief in the castle dungeon—which happened once or twice after 1748—the offender obediently submitted. After the ancient manner, he exercised unbounded hospitality; not only gentlemen of his own clan, but strangers, could come

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whenever they wished and stay for any length of time. Often the hospitality was overwhelming in its prodigality. "It's sair cheenged days in Castle Grant," grumbled a Highland domestic, "when gentlemans can go to bed on their ain feet." The chiefs in most cases were enlightened and cultured men. "I never was in any house of the islands," remarks Dr Johnson, "where I did not find books in more languages than one. . . . Literature is not neglected by the higher rank of the Hebridiens."

But the attitude of the average Highland chief to his clan had undergone a complete transformation. He no longer regarded himself as the father of his people holding the land in trust for them; the clan territory he now looked upon as his personal property—as indeed it was in the eyes of the law; the clansmen were now simply tenants whom he would be justified in replacing by other tenants who would be ready to pay a higher rent. He ceased to be a chief; he became simply a landlord. His pattern was now the Lowland laird who spent half the year in Edinburgh or London, or stayed at home and multiplied the revenues from his estate by introducing improvements in agriculture.

Next in order to the chief came the tacksman, "a large taker or leaseholder of land," to repeat Dr Johnson's words, "of which he keeps part as a domain in his own hand and lets part to the under-tenants." He was usually of gentle birth, being in most cases a kinsman of the chief, and his office had in the past been hereditary. But just as the chief was degenerating into a landlord, so the tacksman was being transformed into a farmer or a factor. Frequently the laird's kinsman who could not change with the times found himself ousted by some pushful Lowlander who had offered a higher price but cared nothing for the laird's honour. "The commodiousness of money is indeed great," concludes Johnson, "but there are some advantages which money cannot buy."

### LIFE IN THE HIGHLANDS

The standard of comfort among the upper classes in the Highlands was rising. In most cases the chiefs had abandoned

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their castles, built, many of them, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and now lived in less romantic but more convenient dwellings. The tacksmen, too, had built new houses of stone and mortar. But in these houses one might find "an elegant bed of Indian cotton, spread with fine sheets, set upon an earthen floor, which the rain driving through the broken window had converted into a quagmire." Seldom had Johnson and his companion separate bedrooms at night. Once they found that their bedroom seemed to be the living-room for the whole household, and in most houses the partitions between one room and another were so flimsy that they were forced to carry on much of their talk in Latin. "With want of cleanliness," says Johnson discreetly, "it were ingratitude to reproach them." Neither in the Highlands nor in the Lowlands were windows constructed so that they might remain open. "Even in houses well built and elegantly furnished," Johnson remarks, "a stranger may be forgiven if he allows himself to wish for fresher air."

To compensate for these inconveniences food and drink were dispensed on a generous scale. Fish and game, of course, were abundant, and the beef and mutton was not much inferior to that of England. Tea or coffee always appeared now at the breakfast table, to the disgust of conservative lairds, who remained faithful to the old strong ale or to its rival, whisky. Ordinary loaf-bread was unknown; oat-cakes and barley-cakes were in most frequent use, though scones made of wheat-flour sometimes appeared. Memories of Scottish breakfasts lingered long in Dr Johnson's mind. It was a meal, he declared, "in which the Scots must be confessed to excel us. The tea and coffee are accompanied not only with butter, but with honey, conserves, and marmalades. If an epicure could remove by a wish, in quest of sensual gratifications, wherever he had supped he would breakfast in Scotland." Dinner and supper resembled each other. Two courses were now common, for various preparations of milk were served after the meat had been removed, and potatoes and turnips, till lately unknown, had now made their appearance. The table was

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covered with linen, and china and silver were in common use. The knives were "not often either very bright or very clean."

Far different was the lot of the common people. The houses, even of the most prosperous, were miserable huts, constructed of sods or round stones, without any binding of cement. "When we had advanced a good way by the side of Lochness," says Boswell, "I perceived a little hut, with an old looking woman at the door of it. . . . We dismounted and we and our guides entered the hut. It was a wretched little hovel of earth only, I think, and for a window had only a small hole, which was stopped with a piece of turf, that was taken out occasionally to let in light. In the middle of the room or space which we entered, was a fire of peat, the smoke going out at a hole in the roof. . . . There was at one end, under the same roof, but divided by a kind of partition made of wattles, a pen or fold, in which we saw a good many kids." In this hovel lived seven persons; yet the woman was by no means destitute, for her husband owned sixty goats and the four stacks of barley which stood beside the hut, and paid not a penny of rent. Wretched though it was, it was far more comfortable than the beehive huts in the Outer Hebrides, which were only four or five feet high and resembled dwellings of the Stone Age more than anything else.

The truth is that the legislation which followed the last Jacobite rebellion was one-sided and incomplete. It forced the Highlanders to be peaceful, but it did nothing to remove their chronic poverty or encourage them to be industrious. When fighting and plundering were abolished the Highlander was in many cases deprived of his only occupation, his only means of making a livelihood. It was said that there was not work for more than one-half of the population of the Highlands at wages of three shillings a week.

### AGRICULTURE

To a great extent this poverty was due to indolence and stupidity. Everything was done in the slowest and most wasteful manner possible. When a plough was used from 500

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six to a dozen oxen harnessed with ropes of straw dragged it along and four men watched its progress ; but more often the ponderous crooked spade was used. “A man may toss it, to be sure,” said Dr Johnson to its advocates, “but he will toss a light spade much better ; its weight makes it an incumbrance. A man *may* dig any land with it ; but he has no occasion for such a weight in digging good land. You may take a field-piece to shoot sparrows ; but all the sparrows you can bring home will not be worth the charge.” Only the poorest kinds of barley and oats were sown, from which at most only a triple increase could be expected. Poor as the crop always was, much of the grain was lost after the harvest had been reaped. Neither barley nor oats was threshed properly. The barley was beaten on the ‘knocking-stone,’ while the oats were ‘graddaned’—that is, the straw and husks were burned away, leaving the blackened grain. The wastefulness of this method shocked both Johnson and Boswell. “Mr McQueen, however, defended it,” says Boswell, “by saying, that it is doing the thing much quicker, as one operation effects what is otherwise done by two. His chief reason, however, was that the servants in Sky are, according to him, a faithless pack, and steal what they can ; so that much is saved by the corn passing but once through their hands, as each time they pilfer some.”

Drainage, the proper use of manures, the proper rotation of crops, had been till lately matters too high for the Highlander, but the innovations that were beginning to transform the Lowlands had not touched the Highlands. Enclosures were still unheard of ; the runrig system, not unknown in some parts of the Hebrides even at the present day, was then universal. The tacksman leased a portion of land to a group of peasants ; one-seventh of this formed the in-field, where both oats and barley were sown, and where the land that bore barley one year bore oats in the following year. In the out-field the rotation was different—three years oats and three years fallow. The fields were scored by long ‘rigs,’ or ridges, divided from each other by deep furrows. On these

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rigs the corn struggled through a dense undergrowth of thistles and nettles. Each rig belonged to a different member of the group ; one man might have a few dozen rigs, no two of which were contiguous. Nothing could be done without lengthy discussion, and the industrious peasant found himself hindered at every turn by the indolence of his companions.

But even industry and improved methods could not conquer nature. The excessive rainfall in the West Highlands, from twice to three times as great as that of Fife or Lothian, the character of the soil, the height of so much of the land, would always keep these swampy, stony, weed-infested fields from developing into fertile corn-land. The rearing of sheep and black cattle was carried on in every valley. Every autumn drovers, many of them gentlemen of long descent, made their way to Crieff or Coupar Angus; or even farther south, and chattered over their herds with farmers from the Lowlands or from Yorkshire. It was their one chance of making money, for cattle and sheep were the only commodities with which the Highlands could supply the outside world, and so they were often forced to part with an animal for a shilling or two rather than return penniless to the glen. But the cattle and sheep were miserable, undersized creatures, and as long as the best animals were sold every year no improvement in the breed could be expected. Till a few years before Dr Johnson's visit cattle and sheep had been kept under cover all winter and fed on mashed straw, a treatment which left them so weak that they had to be carried to the pasture in the spring. Only by an accident was a more rational method discovered. A Perthshire laird had fallen on evil days ; he became an innkeeper, and at the beginning of winter turned his sheep adrift. In the spring he discovered that the animals were in better condition than they had ever been before. Winter fodder in the shape of turnips had been introduced by one or two enterprising lairds, though the innovation, as usual, was regarded as "the idle project of a young head, heated with English fancies." Deep-sea fishing was neglected ;

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and Dutch fishermen gained the wealth which the Islesmen might have had with a tenth of the trouble.

As we should expect, manufactures were of the most primitive kind. No manufactured goods fit for export were produced. The women of each little community spun the tarry wool with distaff and spindle, wove the cloth on their hand-looms, waulked or smoothed it with their hands and feet, and dyed it with the juice of plants. Those who went shod wore home-made shoes of raw or half-tanned cowhide.

### ROADS AND INNS

Even if the natural wealth of the Highlands had been far greater, the defective system of communications would have hindered its development. Except for the roads constructed by Wade there were no tracks over which a wheeled vehicle could pass. Once they reached Inverness Johnson and Boswell had to forsake their chaise and "begin their equitation." Goods had to be carried in little wooden sledges or on the backs of horses. Inns were few in number and generally bad, though here and there the travellers were surprised to meet with a considerable degree of comfort and to find that the landlord was a man of gentle blood, able to converse with his guests in Latin should they desire it. Of the inn at Glenelg Dr Johnson gives the following description : " Of the provisions the negative catalogue was very copious. Here was no meat, no milk, no bread, no eggs, no wine. . . . Whisky we might have, and I believe at last they caught a fowl and killed it. . . . We were now to examine our lodging. Out of one of the beds, on which we were to repose, started up at our entrance a man black as a Cyclops from the forge. Other circumstances of no elegant recital concurred to disgust us. . . . Sleep, however, was necessary. Our Highlanders had at last found some hay, with which the inn could not supply them. I directed them to bring a bundle into the room, and slept upon it in my riding-coat. Mr Boswell, being more delicate, laid himself sheets with hay over and under him, and lay in linen like a gentleman."

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## THE HIGHLAND MINISTERS

In the more remote parts of the mainland and on the islands inns, like roads, were non-existent. There travellers had to throw themselves on the hospitality of the lairds or the parish ministers. Dr Johnson, stubborn foe of Presbyterianism though he was, could not refrain from paying a tribute to the learning, piety, good sense, and industry of the Highland ministers. But their work was carried on under grave difficulties. They were poor, their parishes were large, often including several islands, while in many places the fabric of the church had fallen into decay and the service had to be held in the most convenient cottage. It is little wonder that pagan beliefs and practices still persisted, that men and women danced round the Beltane fires on the first night in May, following the course of the sun, that pilgrimages were still made to the holy springs which had been magic fountains in the days before St Columba, that the belief in second-sight was still unshaken, and that many a round green hillock was shunned at night because it was a fairy knowe.

## ECONOMIC ILLS

Much remained to be done if the Highlanders were to become, not peaceful only, but prosperous and contented. Though the indolence of the poorer inhabitants accounted for much of the poverty, it must be remembered that they were waging an unequal fight with nature and with a social system which they had not created and which had failed through no fault of theirs. The sterile glens were over-populated. Had the tenants been ever so industrious, had the landlords been ever so enlightened and unselfish, it would still have been impossible for the bulk of the population to live in comfort. When the modern traveller sees a lonely glen, abandoned to the grouse and plover, with no sign of human habitation except a few heaps of blackened stones over which the foxglove shakes its crimson bells, and learns that in this forsaken spot twenty families once dwelt, his first thought is to lay all the blame

## AFTER THE FORTY-FIVE

at the door of the landlord. The landlord is not altogether to blame. The rise in the standard of comfort had as much to do with the exodus from the glens as the rise in rent. To-day Lochiel's gamekeeper is better housed, better clothed, and better fed than Lochiel himself was a hundred and fifty years ago. The modern Cameron or Macdonald who lives in a flat in Edinburgh or Glasgow or on a homestead in Canada would shudder if any one suggested that he should go back to the cradle of his race, take up his abode in an unlighted hut of turf, with walls and floor of earth, dress himself in a few home-made garments, live on cakes of grey barley and graddané meal, and at long intervals dine off the carcase of a sheep that had died a natural death.

Even when improvements were introduced it was almost inevitable that they should benefit only a limited class. As Johnson pointed out, the lowering of rents would not solve the problem; what the Highland peasant needed far more than land was stock and capital. However ambitious a man might be, he could not introduce the new agricultural methods unless he had the requisite implements and could get permission to enclose a piece of land for his own particular use. He could not improve the breed of his cattle so long as im-memorial custom prevented him from segregating them and poverty compelled him to part each year with the best of the herd. The one crop that the Highlands could grow in abundance was timber. Some years before Johnson visited Scotland the Dukes of Argyll and Atholl had embarked on their great schemes of afforestation; but these improvements could bring no immediate benefit to the peasant living from hand to mouth.

It cannot be denied, however, that the short-sighted and selfish policy of the landlords increased the inevitable economic ills. The chief forgot that he had been the head of a clan and regarded himself only as the owner of the clan territory. The story that Johnson and Boswell got from the landlord of the inn at Anoch might have been heard in many another Highland glen. "He said, all the Laird of Glenmorison's

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people would bleed for him, if they were well used ; but that seventy men had gone out of the glen to America. That he himself intended to go next year ; for that the rent of his farm, which twenty years ago was only five pounds, was now raised to twenty pounds. That he could pay ten pounds and live ; but no more." It is true that the value of the land was really increasing. Hills that had been haunted before only by the hare and the wild cat became sheep-walks, the cattle that cropped the long grass in the valleys increased rapidly in numbers and size, and the tenant who had moved with the times often found that he could pay the new rents without difficulty. But often the landlord overreached himself and imposed rents which the tenants could not pay ; often the tenants were deliberately driven from the estate, "that a degenerate lord might boast his sheep." To turn his estate into a sheep-walk was a quick and certain road to wealth. Lord Reay's estate of 150,000 acres, worth £1200 a year in the second half of the eighteenth century, had a rental of £5000 in 1814, and could have been let for three times that sum. "But to effect this reform in the present instance," said Sir Walter Scott, "Lord Reay must turn out several hundred families who have lived under him and his fathers for many generations, and the swords of whose fathers probably won the lands from which he is now expelling them." In Fortingal the rental increased from about £1500 in 1750 to £4600 in 1793, and the Glenelg estate, worth only £600 a year in 1786, was sold for £100,000 in 1811. The land was meant by nature for sheep-farming, not for agriculture, the landlord argued ; why then should he allow the clusters of earthen huts and the fields of straggling oats and barley to remain on his estate ? He would keep a few of his tenants to be shepherds, and turn the rest adrift.

### DEPOPULATION OF THE HIGHLANDS

All these causes, the natural poverty of the country, the inability of the poorer tenants to take advantage of improved methods of agriculture, the ambition of the landlord who

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preferred sheep to Highland tenantry, led to the depopulation of the Highlands. Many joined the army—it was estimated that in the seventy years between the last Jacobite rebellion and the battle of Waterloo fifty thousand soldiers entered the Highland regiments. Many went to the Lowlands and found employment in the cotton-mills of Glasgow or in the east coast towns where linen-weaving was practised. For many the only course was emigration. Between 1760 and 1783 thirty thousand emigrants are supposed to have left the Highlands for America, and the stream continued to flow all through the nineteenth century. Johnson and Boswell seemed to be moving among a people that had received a mortal blow. The sight of emigrant ships in the western seas, the tales of unwilling partings which they heard on every side, filled them with indignation. “To hinder insurrection by driving away the people,” declares Johnson in one of his most sonorous periods, “and to govern peaceably, by having no subjects, is an expedient that argues no great profundity of politicks.” “Last year when a ship sailed from Portree for America,” says Boswell, “the people on shore were almost distracted when they saw their relations go off; they lay down on the ground, tumbled, and tore the grass with their teeth. This year there was not a tear shed. The people on shore seemed to think that they would soon follow. This indifference is a mortal sign for the country.”

### LATER CHANGES

In 1782 the wearing of the Highland dress was again permitted; but it was now the symbol of a reality that had perished. Two years later the estates of those chiefs attainted of treason in the Jacobite rebellions were restored to their owners. The publication of Scott's *Lady of the Lake* in 1810 began a new epoch in the history of the Highlands. Hitherto the only visitors to the Highlands had been a few Lowland lairds or merchants who in the spring went to some miserable hut for a few days to live on goats' whey and recover from the effects of their convivial habits. Now crowds set off to

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view the neighbourhood of Loch Katrine, every inn and house in the neighbourhood was crammed, and the post-horse duty rose by leaps and bounds. Year after year the stream of visitors flowed in increasing volume. Hotels rose by the side of haunted lochs, clachans grew into towns of boarding-houses, and the blare of the coach-horn or the scream of the locomotive echoed in the depopulated glens. Thus some measure of prosperity came at last to parts of the Highlands, but it came in a form that sapped the independence of the inhabitants. As in course of time the landlord discovered that grouse and deer paid better than sheep, the interests of the farmer were sacrificed to those of the sporting tenant. It would be incorrect to say that the landlord deliberately inflicted hardships on his tenants, but he followed what was the line of least resistance, did not encourage them to stay, and refused to renew leases when they expired.

At the present day no thoughtful man can visit the Highlands and be untouched by sadness. The beauty of the mountains, of the lonely moors, of the brown, swirling rivers is dimmed when one remembers the vanished races, the dying tongue, the legends and beliefs that linger now only in the memory of one or two old women, crouched over their fire of peats. It is a land of strange and moving loveliness, but it has lost its soul.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

### THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE LOWLANDS

THE forty years which followed the Union of the Parliaments saw no improvement in the condition of the Lowlands. Such changes as did take place were changes for the worse. In Edinburgh the opening of Parliament was no longer heralded by the arrival of crowds of nobles, country gentlemen, and prosperous burgesses, who bought up the small supply of goods which the city shopkeeper displayed in his tiny booth and overwhelmed him with demands for articles which he had to obtain from London or the Continent. Instead, forty-five commoners and sixteen peers splashed on horseback through the miry roads to London, for there were few in Scotland who possessed coaches or could afford to pay for them. At Westminster the Scottish members were disregarded by the few who could understand what they said. As it was a foregone conclusion that they would support the Government, whatever the Government might be, they deprived themselves of the political influence which they might otherwise have possessed.

#### THE POVERTY OF SCOTLAND

The country was too far sunk in poverty to benefit from the removal of restrictions on oversea trade. Glasgow merchants could now send ships to the American colonies, but that privilege availed little when the register of the port of Glasgow did not contain a single ship fit to cross the Atlantic. The establishment of a uniform coinage resulted in the withdrawal from circulation of two-thirds of the stock of gold and

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silver coins, already far too few. The scarcity of ready money hampered trade and encouraged extravagance. When rents and salaries were paid in kind—so many bolls of oatmeal or so many kain hens—saving was impossible ; the recipient had either to watch his provisions decay or call in his neighbours to devour his superfluous revenues. Equality of privileges, too, meant equality of burdens. Before the Union Scotland had been lightly assessed, and the dues and taxes were collected by local officials, who were often satisfied with far less than the legal amount. In 1705, for example, the whole annual revenue of Scotland amounted to only £160,000, or barely a thirty-sixth part of the English revenue ; the Customs yielded £30,000, as against £1,452,000 in England, and the Excise £33,500—less than one-twentieth of the sum raised in England. It is true that by the Treaty of Union the Equivalent, a sum of nearly £400,000, was voted as compensation to those who would suffer most heavily by the change ; it is true that within seven years the Equivalent had been almost all distributed, half among the shareholders in the African Company and the remainder among those who had lost through the alteration in the coinage or had been put to expense in the Union negotiations ; it is true that in 1718 Parliament set aside £12,000 each year for the encouragement of fisheries and manufactures ; but these concessions could not remove the discontent and hardship caused by the sudden increase in taxation or the unsympathetic attitude of the new English excisemen.

The discontent had sometimes a solid enough foundation. For centuries salted fish had been exported in enormous quantities to the Continent ; the fleets of busses<sup>1</sup> had brought prosperity to many an east coast seaport and enabled places like Crail and Pittenweem to claim the rank of royal burgh. In 1714 the salt tax was extended to Scotland ; as a consequence the preparation of fish for export could no longer be carried on at a profit, and within a few years the Scottish fishing fleets disappeared from the sea and many of the coast

<sup>1</sup> Deep-sea fishing-boats.

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burghs were ruined. The duty of threepence on each bushel of malt, first imposed in Scotland in 1725, was almost as stupid. Hitherto the usual beverage of the Lowlander had been the comparatively innocuous 'tippenny' ale, but now it made way for the cheaper and more fiery usquebaugh, long before a favourite in the Highlands.

### THE PORTEOUS RIOT

It was inevitable that regulations which did not have the support of public opinion should be evaded. The new duties made smuggling profitable and opened a new profession to the starving fisherman and indolent farmer, and as a result it flourished throughout the greater part of the century. The smuggler was not regarded as a criminal. Even bankers and ministers dabbled in the 'fair trade,' and though the General Assembly fulminated against it, the clergy condemned smuggling less for its inherent iniquity than for the tendency which it had to cause irregularity in church attendance.

The murder of Captain Porteous in 1736 was the most remarkable manifestation of the popular attitude to smuggling. A party of smugglers had robbed a Customs official at Pittenweem, in Fife. Two of them, Wilson and Robertson, were arrested and condemned to death. On the last Sunday before the day fixed for the execution the prisoners were taken to church between two files of soldiers. As the congregation was assembling Robertson sprang up, scrambled over the back of the pew, darted through the crowds at the church door, and disappeared in the network of closes about St Giles'. Wilson meantime had grappled with the soldiers and secured his friend's escape. The less fortunate smuggler now became a popular hero. A huge crowd assembled to witness the execution—one schoolmaster engaged windows for his pupils—and many cherished the hope that at the last moment Wilson might be rescued. No one interfered, however, till he was dead, when "the boys and blackguards threw stones and dirt in testimony of their abhorrence of the hangmen." But

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Porteous, the captain of the City Guard, had dined well ; he lost his temper and ordered his men to fire at the crowd. The men obeyed, and eight or nine people were killed.

Porteous was tried and condemned to death, but by the orders of Queen Caroline he obtained a reprieve. The reprieve, however, could not save him from the friends of those whom he had murdered. On the night of the 7th of September the Tolbooth was besieged by a resolute mob, the door was burned down, and Porteous was dragged from the chimney where he had concealed himself and hanged in the Grassmarket from a dyer's pole. To effectuate this, says Dr Alexander Carlyle, cost the plotters "from eight in the night till two in the morning ; and yet this plot was managed so dexterously that they met with no interruption, though there were five companies of a marching regiment lying in the Canongate." An inquiry conducted by the Solicitor-General failed to disclose the name of even one of the rioters, for the whole country united to shield the guilty persons. In vain the Lords, by a Bill of Pains and Penalties, ordered the Provost of Edinburgh to be imprisoned, the charter to be annulled, and the city walls to be levelled. The Scots members in the Commons were stirred into unusual energy, and in the end Edinburgh escaped with a fine of two thousand pounds.

Though the smugglers in the novels of Scott and Galt are picturesque creatures, though the tune of "Over the hills and far away" played by the friendly gauger as he tramped over the Pentlands has captivated many a reader of Stevenson, in reality smuggling wrought little but evil. That it was a result of unscientific taxation did not make it a remedy. The small farmer knew that he could make more money from one adventurous night than from a week's labour in the fields, and naturally neglected his crops ; and, as Mr Micah Balwhidder remarked, "although the money came in like sclate stones, it would go like the snow off the dyke." Where smuggling got a firm footing other industries disappeared. "How in the name of wonder do you get subsistence ?" was the question put to a somnolent dweller in a decayed town

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on the Solway. "We smuggle a little," he replied. Not till the first decade of the nineteenth century did the increased vigilance of the officials and the reduction in the amount of customs duties bring about the disappearance of this plague.

### THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE

At the beginning of the century the country districts in the Lowlands, in spite of their greater natural fertility, were not much more productive than the Highland straths. The absurd runrig system was universal; barley succeeded oats and oats barley in the in-field, while one half of the out-field was abandoned to cattle for three or four years, as in the Highlands. Enclosures were unknown; when some of the Dumfriesshire proprietors set up stone walls in 1724 the dykes were at once levelled by the country-folk. Cattle and sheep were undersized; the sheep, in fact, were bred only for their wool, which the farmer, with short-sighted cunning, loaded with tar. There were no winter crops. Though turnips had been introduced before 1739, they were regarded only as garden crops; not till 1747 did one enthusiast venture to sow them in the open field. Even in the second half of the century they were put to curious uses. "I have seen turnips make their appearance," wrote Jem Melford in *Humphry Clinker*, "not as a dessert, but by way of *hors d'œuvres* or whets, as radishes are served up betwixt more substantial dishes in France and Italy." When cattle were at last fed on turnips and attained a respectable size people refused to eat the flesh of the bloated monsters. Like turnips, potatoes were seldom grown outside gardens till the middle of the century. Threshing-machines were unknown; the grain was separated from the straw by the flail, and then placed in sieves and taken to the sheeling-hill to be winnowed by the wind. Though James Meikle had introduced winnowing-fans in 1710 they were not generally adopted till long afterward, for the pious, remembering that it was said in Scripture that "the wind bloweth where it listeth," held that those who produced a wind by mechanical means were interfering with

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the dispensations of Providence. Barley-mills were not in common use till the year 1742, and they were unknown in the Highlands till the close of the century.

The farmer must not bear the whole weight of the blame for the miserable condition of Scottish agriculture. It is true that he was no lover of change and that he chuckled grimly when some innovating laird ruined himself by attempting to apply to Scotland methods that were suitable only for southern England. But he held a comparatively small portion of land, seldom leased for more than four years ; he had to sow and reap, not when it suited himself, but when his neighbours gave their consent ; he might be called away from his own rigs to put in a few days' labour on the home farm ; he could not lift a finger when he saw his crops being devoured by the clouds of pigeons from the laird's great 'doocote' ; and when his corn was threshed and winnowed he could not grind it himself—he was forced to carry the whole of it to the mill to which his land was 'thirled.' To the miller he had to pay a multure of one-eleventh of the grain. Should the mill to which his land was 'thirled' be too remote he had only one remedy : he paid one multure to the miller who actually ground the corn and a second to the miller who ought to have ground it. Conditions like these could not fail to kill ambition.

### MANUFACTURES

At the time of the Union manufacturers were in no more flourishing condition than agriculture. For centuries the weaving of coarse woollen cloth had been the staple industry of Scotland. The yarn was spun from the tarry wool on the rock and reel, and woven into plaiding on the clattering hand-loom. The round blue bonnet, worn not only by the lower classes, but by farmers and prosperous shopkeepers, came from Kilmarnock or Dundee ; stockings were woven at Aberdeen. The Treaty of Union struck a blow at the Scottish woollen industry. The removal of the duty on English cloth introduced the Scots to woollen goods far superior to those

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which they had hitherto been able to obtain, and now none who could afford it dressed in Scottish cloth. It seemed hopeless for Scotland to compete with England in the manufacture of woollens ; but, happily, now that the English duty on linen made in Scotland was removed, there was no reason why she should not specialize in the manufacture of linen. Flax could be grown in Scotland ; should the supplies of home-grown flax fail abundance of raw material could be obtained from the Baltic ports. The few thousand pounds remaining of the Equivalent and the annual grant of £12,000 from Parliament were after a time used for the encouragement of this new industry. In 1727 linen goods were woven in twenty-five counties, Paisley, thanks to the ingenuity of a minister's wife, was manufacturing linen thread better than any that could be obtained outside Holland, and the work-people of Mrs Fletcher of Saltoun were weaving the fine Holland linen, the secret of which that lady had learned only a few years before.

But the prosperity in this one industry could not make up for the stagnation in every other branch of trade. The plain truth was that Scotland could not pay her way ; her imports far exceeded her exports, and she was being deprived rapidly of her scanty stock of gold and silver. Tenants and employers had no choice but to make their payments in kind when gold was never seen and a silver coin was a rarity. It is true that the Bank of Scotland had been established in 1695 and the Royal Bank in 1727, and that the issue of notes for small sums facilitated exchange. But the remedy created new abuses. Banks sprang up all over the country, some of them issuing notes for sums of one shilling Scots or one penny sterling, and the flood of bank-notes only hastened the disappearance of the gold and silver currency.

## ROADS AND COACHES

One of the greatest hindrances to any advance in agriculture or manufactures was to be found in the lack of suitable means of communication. The roads in the Lowlands, like those

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in the Highlands, were muddy, boulder-strewn tracks, impassable for carts or all but the most stoutly built coaches. In some places little carts with solid wooden wheels were in use, but goods were most frequently conveyed on sleds or in panniers fastened to the backs of horses. The mineral wealth of Scotland lay almost untouched, for the mine-owner knew that if more coal was brought to the pit-head it would only lie there unused, for one horse could not carry more than two hundredweight at a time, and then a journey of four miles completely exhausted it. It is true that in 1719 an Act was passed by which able-bodied men were required to give six days' labour annually to repairing the roads in their district, but in most places the road-making either remained unattempted or degenerated into an empty ceremony. Under such conditions it was inevitable that even the large towns should be practically isolated from one another. In 1740 Lord Lovat found that the journey from Inverness to Edinburgh occupied eleven days. A stage-coach set out from Edinburgh for London once a month ; if the passengers were fortunate they arrived in London a fortnight after they had left the Grassmarket. A coach left Glasgow for Edinburgh twice a week, and performed the journey in twelve hours. The Glasgow merchant who was too old to ride on horseback to London found that if he did not choose to go by sea he had either to drive to Edinburgh and then find a place in the London coach or else ride to Newcastle and hire a seat on the floor of the ponderous wagon which crawled along the Great North Road at the rate of twenty-five miles a day. Generally the traveller, like Dr Carlyle, chose to ride, and swim his horse across the unbridged streams.

When the traveller reached his inn he was wise if he did not expect too much comfort. Food and accommodation were cheap enough, but that was all that could be said of Scottish inns. The food, if plentiful, was cooked and served without the least regard for cleanliness—the appearance of cow's hairs in the butter was only a minor inconvenience ; the maids were barefooted slatterns ; and when the traveller

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stumbled to his bedroom he frequently found that one half of his grimy couch had been hired out to another guest.

### IMPROVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURE

About the middle of the century there was evidence that the long years of stagnation were coming to an end. In the country the two-horse swing plough took the place of the cumbrous wooden contrivance, with its team of eight or twelve oxen and four attendants, harness of leather was substituted for the flimsy cords of straw or horsehair, the harrow was no longer tied to the tail of the miserable hack, and the leisurely method of breaking clods with a hammer disappeared. Turnips and clover made their appearance ; land that was not suitable for tillage was converted into pasture. These changes were not wrought without inflicting hardship. The little community of peasants, dwelling in groups of straw-thatched hovels, holding their rigs on a two or four years' lease, had to give place to the farmer who rented the land hitherto divided among a score of men and could not be removed till his nineteen years' lease had expired. A man who exchanged his corn-rigs with his neighbours every year was not tempted to spend either money or labour on his land ; but now the farmer knew that his labour would not be wasted, and he built a substantial stone farmhouse where a group of mud-walled cottages had once stood, drained and manured his fields, and enclosed them with hedges or dry stone dykes. No longer did the farmer believe that trees sucked the nourishment from the soil ; plantations of spruce or larch sheltered his exposed fields, and apple and pear trees appeared beside the rowans that guarded the house from witches. The value of land increased enormously. In 1748 the total rental for Scotland was estimated to be £822,857 ; in 1813 it stood at £6,285,500. But the increase in rents, while it forced the peasant with a few acres of land to become a farm-labourer or migrate to the towns, did not inflict hardship on the large farmers, for the rise in the price of land was balanced by a rise in the value of corn and cattle.

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## IMPROVEMENT IN MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

But all these changes would have brought little profit to the farmer had the means of transport remained as they were before 1750. The passing of the first Turnpike Act in 1751, which forced landowners and farmers to contribute to the upkeep of the roads in their district, was the beginning of better things. Twenty-two years later Dr Johnson accorded to Scottish roads a few sentences of ambiguous praise. “The roads are neither rough nor dirty,” he declared. “Where the bottom is rocky, as it seems commonly to be in Scotland, a smooth way is made indeed with great labour, but it never wants repairs; and in those parts where adventitious materials are necessary the ground once consolidated is rarely broken; for the inland commerce is not great, nor are heavy commodities often transported otherwise than by water.” It was now possible for the farmer to take his little two-wheeled cart over roads which a few years before would have jolted it to pieces, and the wooden sled and the pack-saddle disappeared. But this change took place more slowly than seems credible. No wheeled carriage had been seen in Liddesdale till a young advocate, Walter Scott, drove a gig there in 1799. Before this time, however, the journey from Edinburgh or Glasgow to London had ceased to be an adventure; it could now be performed in about two and a half days. Fast coaches covered the road between Edinburgh and Glasgow in six hours, and the opening of the Forth and Clyde Canal in 1790 brought the thriving manufacturing towns of the west into communication with the eastern seaports and so with the continent of Europe.

## SHIPPING

The increased attention that was paid to the construction of roads and canals was accompanied by an increase of interest in shipbuilding and the construction of harbours. Almost the only town that derived immediate benefit from the Union was Glasgow; as it was the most convenient port for the

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American colonies it at once became a dangerous rival to Liverpool and Bristol, for though the Clyde basin was not yet an important industrial district, English manufacturers found it most profitable to ship their goods from the northern city. The imports of Colonial tobacco became enormous ; in 1775 half the tobacco which came into Britain passed through Glasgow, and though the American war reduced many a proud merchant to beggary the depression was only temporary. In 1735 the tonnage of ships belonging to Clyde ports was estimated at 5600 tons ; forty years later it had increased to about ten times that amount. But the river was so shallow that even the lightest coasting vessel could not thread the shifting channels and draw up beside the wharf at the Broomielaw, and its cargo had to be discharged at Greenock or Port Glasgow. Not till 1773 was the channel deepened so that brigs and schooners could reach the city, not till 1775 was Glasgow registered as a port, and even at the end of the century boys could wade across the river at the Broomielaw, where to-day ships drawing twenty-seven feet of water lie moored.

The same activity was witnessed on the east coast. The revival of the linen industry and the increased demand for timber for ships stimulated the trade with the Baltic ports. Harbours were improved, and in many a little fishing village shipyards were established. To take one example, in 1744 the tonnage of ships belonging to Leith amounted to only 2285 tons ; eight years later it had more than doubled, while forty years later it had risen to 18,000 tons, and Leith stood third among British ports with regard to the volume of its coasting trade.

It must not be forgotten that almost twenty years before Fulton's *Clermont* made its way up the Hudson a steamboat had been seen on a Scottish loch. In 1788 Patrick Miller of Dalswinton and his assistant Symington designed a pleasure-boat driven by steam, which went at the rate of five miles an hour. Fourteen years later the first commercial steamer, the *Charlotte Dundas*, was constructed by Symington and launched on the Forth and Clyde Canal. It drew a load of

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seventy tons at a rate of no less than three and a half miles an hour, but as the wash was believed to damage the banks of the canal the boat was withdrawn. Ten years later, in 1812, Henry Bell's little steamer of twenty-five tons, the *Comet*, made its first voyage between Glasgow and Greenock, and in 1818 the first British sea-going steamer, the *Rob Roy*, was launched, also from a Clyde shipyard. The fishing industry, helped by the removal of the salt tax and by generous bounties, also revived, though its career in the second half of the eighteenth century was by no means free from vicissitudes.

### THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

This increase of activity in seaports and fishing-villages was accompanied by rapid changes in the manufacturing towns. "The minds of men were excited to new enterprises," says Mr Balwhidder in *The Annals of the Parish*; "a new genius, as it were, had descended upon the earth, and there was an erect and onlooking spirit abroad that was not to be satisfied with the taciturn regularity of ancient affairs." About the middle of the century the spinning-wheel displaced the distaff. Not only in the manse of Dalmailing, but in thousands of cottages there was "a buying of wool to make blankets, with a booming of the meikle wheel to spin the same, and such birring of the little wheel for sheets and napery" that the place was "like an organ kist." The linen industry steadily increased in importance. The Forfarshire towns made the best canvas in Britain and supplied the Navy with all its sail-cloth; Dunfermline and Edinburgh specialized in damask and the finer products of the loom. The merchants of Glasgow found that they could import cotton as easily as tobacco, and in the villages of Renfrew and Ayrshire linen had to make way for cotton. The woollen industry shared in the general improvement; for the Highland landlord now pastured black-faced sheep on moors where a few years before shaggy cattle had wandered, and the green, round-topped hills of the South Country echoed the bleating of innumerable flocks. But spinning and weaving were as yet home industries; not

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till the closing years of the century did the appearance of the power-loom and Watt's invention of the steam-engine make the establishment of factories possible. James Watt was a native of Greenock who afterward set up shop as an instrument-maker in the precincts of the University of Glasgow ; his first steam-engine, however, was constructed in England, as there were no mechanics in Scotland who could make the parts with sufficient precision. Sleepy Border towns like Hawick and Galashiels now resounded with the clatter of a thousand looms, by many a Lowland stream great factories arose, and the turf-roofed clachans in barren Highland glens were forsaken for the tenements of Dundee and Glasgow. But the change was not altogether for the better. When Mr Balwhidder visited Glasgow in 1791 he declared that " although there was no doubt a great and visible increase of the city, loftier buildings on all sides, and streets that spread their arms far into the embraces of the country, I thought the looks of the population were impaired, and that there was a greater proportion of long white faces in the Trongate than when I had attended the Divinity class."

Progress was not confined to the textile industries. The discovery that coal could be used for smelting gave a great impetus both to coal-mining and to the iron industry. In 1760 Dr Roebuck established the great ironworks at Carron, which a few years later supplied not only the British Navy, but every other European navy, with the famous carronades—short guns of large calibre. Yet in spite of the enormous output from the Scottish coal-mines the colliers remained a race apart till the end of the century. "They were literally slaves," said Lord Cockburn. "They could not be killed nor directly tortured ; but they belonged, like the serfs of an older time, to their respective works, with which they were sold as a part of the gearing. . . . These facts enable us to understand the hereditary blackguardism of these fixed underground gypsies and the mysterious horror with which they are regarded." The process of emancipation was only begun in 1775 ; not till 1799 was it completed.

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## MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

In short, the Industrial Revolution in the period between 1750 and 1832 effected a transformation in central Scotland similar to that which took place at the same time in England. But the nation lost little of its individuality ; old customs, characteristic fashions of speech, survived the dawn of the nineteenth century. In Sir Walter Scott's youth Edinburgh was still a city of narrow streets and lofty tenements, pent within the Flodden Wall. The proudest nobleman, the wealthiest merchant, was content to live in a flat of five cramped rooms, up half a dozen flights of narrow stairs, for those highest in rank always settled somewhere about the middle of the ten or twelve stories. Immediately above or below there might be a flourishing physician or advocate, or a dowager lady, passing rich on a hundred pounds a year ; farther down and farther up one was in a world of shopkeepers or lawyers' clerks, while the attics and cellars might be occupied by a chimney-sweep, a water-carrier, or a caddie. So the filthy winding stair was like a public street. Men and women of all ranks, from the earl to the blue-gowned bedesman, from the stately beauty, "like a ship from Tarshish, gorgeous in velvet or rustling in silk," to the Newhaven fishwife, passed and repassed from morning to night.

Life was simple then. There were few drawing-rooms where a four-poster bed was not to be seen. Ladies "wi' a lang pedigree" received their guests in their bedrooms ; and the same room had to serve the busy lawyer for both bedchamber and office. Where the servants found space to sleep in the tiny kitchen is a matter on which history is usually silent ; we do know that one slept in a large drawer which she pulled out from under the kitchen table. As a result of this lack of accommodation the tavern became a second home even to the most learned and austere. Lawyers like Andrew Crosbie met their clients in some convenient 'howff,' and there, when the labours of the day were over, they unbent their minds over those 'High Jinks' which Scott has immortalized

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in *Guy Mannering*. Great physicians like Cullen or Black saw their patients there, and in these dingy, low-browed hostgeries the Lord Commissioner entertained the dignitaries of the Church of Scotland, ministers assembled to discuss points of theology or, more frequently, Church government, and grave judges clothed themselves with an awful solemnity as the third bottle of claret was set before them. For it cannot be denied that it was a drunken age. In those days bottles of port appeared upon the bench of the Court of Session and never remained long untouched. "The strong-headed stood it tolerably well," says Lord Cockburn, "but it told, plainly enough, upon the feeble. Not that the ermine was absolutely intoxicated, but it was certainly sometimes affected. This, however, was so ordinary with these sages, that it really made little apparent change upon them." On one circuit the legal officials got drunk at Ayr and continued in that state till the business of the court was finished at Jedburgh. Of Lord Hermand, the judge who presided over this 'daft circuit,' Lord Cockburn remarked: "Commonplace topers think drinking a pleasure; but with Hermand it was a virtue." When it was pleaded on behalf of a youth who had slain his companion that since he was drunk he was not responsible for his actions, Hermand startled his brethren on the bench by exclaiming: "Good God, my Laards, if he will do this when he's drunk, what will he not do when he's sober?" The Church did not frown on this vice. How could it, when the leader of the Evangelical party was famous not only as an emotional preacher but as a 'five-bottle man'? On the attitude of two typical Moderates the following passage from Dr Alexander Carlyle's *Autobiography* throws some light. The writer had visited Lord Glasgow's seat in company with Dr Robertson, Principal of Edinburgh University and leader of the Moderate party. "The wine was excellent and flowed freely. . . . After we had been four days there Robertson took me into a window before dinner and with some solemnity proposed to make a motion to shorten the drinking, if I would second him. . . . I answered that I would willingly second

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whatever measure of that kind he would propose, but added that I was afraid it would not do, as our toastmaster was very despotic, and, besides, might throw ridicule upon us. . . . ‘Well, well,’ replied the Doctor, ‘let it be so then, and let us end as we began.’”

By the early years of the nineteenth century, however, hard drinking had ceased to be fashionable, and in 1830 Lord Cockburn could speak of it as a vice which “had been long banished from all respectable society.”

### APPEARANCE OF SCOTTISH Towns

Almost as strange to modern ideas is the disregard for cleanliness. Fresh water was a luxury ; in Edinburgh it was hawked about the street by water-caddies, who sold the contents of a small cask for a penny. Not till 1818 were water-pipes laid in any house in Edinburgh. Not only had every cottage and farmhouse in the country a midden of generous proportions in front of the door ; even in Edinburgh down to the closing years of the century the householders got rid of their refuse by throwing it out of their windows to the street, where it lay all night till one or two leisurely scavengers came on their rounds about seven in the morning. As it was held to be a sin for even scavengers to work on Sunday, the condition of the streets on Sunday night was worthy of the pen of Smollett. Not without justice did Winifred Jenkins translate the housewife’s warning shout of “*Gardez l’eau !*” as “Lord have mercy upon us !”

The uncleanliness of the streets was increased by the primitive paving. Till late in the century only the centre of the street, known as the ‘plainstones,’ was paved, and the humble citizen who stepped aside to make way for the gorgeous ‘tobacco-lord’ usually sacrificed more than his dignity. Few of the towns of Scotland, in fact, were remarkable for spacious streets or stately architecture. Cupar and Kirkcaldy Dr Johnson thought “not unlike the small or straggling market-towns in those parts of England where commerce and manufactures have not yet produced opulence”; of Dundee he

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"remembered nothing remarkable." The older Scottish towns in general, he said, had "an appearance unusual to Englishmen. The houses, whether great or small, are for the most part built of stones. Their ends are now and then next the streets, and the entrance into them is very often by a flight of steps, which reaches up to the second storey. . . . The art of joining squares of glass with lead is little used in Scotland, and in some places is totally forgotten. The frames of their windows are all of wood. They are more frugal of their glass than the English." Timber-fronted houses and roofs of straw or heather were still common in the middle of the eighteenth century, though fifty years later slates or tiles had replaced thatch in all the large towns. But even Johnson found something to praise in one or two of the Scottish towns. Montrose he pronounced to be "well built, airy, and clean"; he saw signs of "increasing splendour" in Glasgow; in Aberdeen he admired the spacious streets and lofty buildings of granite, and the "evening effluvia of Edinburgh" could not make him forget the noble appearance of the broad High Street, with its towering 'lands.'

In the early years of the nineteenth century the national taste altered. Picturesque old timbered dwellings, houses with crow-stepped gables and outside stairs that had been built in the early years of the sixteenth century, 'lands' of ten or twelve stories were swept away or deserted by their noble or wealthy occupants, winding lanes were transformed into broad avenues. The prosperous Edinburgh lawyer or merchant was no longer content with five little rooms approached by a common stair; he betook himself to one of the plain, sombre, and dignified mansions that were springing up in straight rows to the north of the Old Town. Much that was ugly and filthy disappeared, but since much that was picturesque or even beautiful was also swept away "admiration for the enthusiasm of the reformers is swallowed up in horror of their vandalism."

## CHAPTER XXXV

### THE INTELLECTUAL RENAISSANCE

THE activity that was shown in other departments of national life manifested itself in the Church. The awakening was long in coming, for till the middle of the century the Church was under the influence of ministers who had been soured by persecution and exile and whose stormy youth had afforded little opportunity for study. No serious contribution to scholarship or literature was made by any Scottish divine in the first fifty years of the century. In Glasgow University Hebrew was taught by the professor of mathematics, "as having most time." In Edinburgh University there were only two applicants for the chair of Hebrew in 1704, and both failed to satisfy the examiners; but as no other candidates ventured to come forward one of the unsuccessful pair was appointed. Dr Alexander Carlyle tells us that in 1740 he attended the divinity class in Edinburgh, "which had no attractions, as the professor, though said to be learned, was dull and tedious in his lectures, insomuch that at the end of seven years he had only lectured half through Pictet's *Compend of Theology*." Fifteen years later the professor was still ploughing through Pictet. But Carlyle held that as a dull professor could form no school he indirectly helped the spread of liberal ideas.

Under such conditions it is only to be expected that the Scottish clergy would number no great theological work among their intellectual achievements. When Dr Johnson challenged Lord Auchinleck to name any theological work of merit written by a Presbyterian minister, "my father," says Boswell, "whose studies did not lie much in that way,

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owned to me afterwards that he was somewhat at a loss how to answer, but that luckily he recollects having read in catalogues the title of *Durham on the Galatians*; upon which he boldly said, ‘Pray, sir, have you read Mr Durham’s excellent commentary on the Galatians?’ ‘No, sir,’ said Dr Johnson.” But almost every other branch of learning was adorned by the Scottish clergy. “Who have wrote the best histories, ancient and modern?” said Carlyle to the General Assembly in 1788. “It has been clergymen of this Church. Who has wrote the clearest delineation of the human understanding and all its powers?—A clergyman of this Church. Who has written the best system of rhetoric, and exemplified it by his own orations?—A clergyman of this Church. Who wrote a tragedy that has been deemed perfect?—A clergyman of this Church. Who was the most profound mathematician of the age he lived in?—A clergyman of this Church. . . . Who wrote the best treatise on agriculture?”

The typical Established Church clergyman was now no narrow-minded bigot, but a cultured man of the world, who read Hume’s essays and was probably on friendly terms with that upsetting philosopher, who dabbled in science or literature and visited the county families during the week, and on Sunday delivered either philosophical discourses that were over the heads of his rustic parishioners or simple talks full of cold common sense in which they could detect no spark of evangelical fervour. “What did you mean,” said Hume to Carlyle, “by treating John’s congregation to-day to one of Cicero’s academics? I did not think that such heathen morality would have passed in East Lothian.” But ministers like Carlyle who gloried in the name of ‘Moderate’ and used ‘enthusiast’ as a term of reproach were not popular with the bulk of their parishioners. These preferred to listen to the sermons of the Evangelical divine, whose theology was less liberal, but who preached with more fervour and apparent sincerity. The Patronage Act of 1712, it must be remembered, deprived the elders of the right of choosing the minister and

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gave it to the patron, usually the chief landowner of the parish, sometimes the Crown, or one of the universities, or a town council. When the patron neglected to exercise his right within six months the choice of a minister devolved upon the local presbytery. When, as often happened, the patron refrained from exercising his right the presbytery usually appointed a minister who was approved of by the congregation. But as the century went on the patrons showed greater reluctance to forgo their privileges, and when the presbytery tried to exclude an unpopular candidate its decision was quashed by a 'riding commission' of the General Assembly. The result was that a great struggle began in the Church courts between the Moderates, who in general supported lay patronage, and the Evangelicals, who were in favour of popular election, and raged intermittently for more than a century. In 1734, as the result of a quarrel between the Assembly and one of the presbyteries, the Secession Church was formed; in 1747 the Seceders split into Burghers and Anti-Burghers; and in 1761 a fourth<sup>1</sup> body of Presbyterian dissenters, the Relief Church, came into existence. The Evangelical party declared that the growth of dissent could be traced directly to the operation of the law of patronage, pointed out that whereas in 1712 there were only a few hundred dissenters, there were now more than a hundred thousand, and demanded an inquiry into the causes and growth of schism. But the General Assembly in 1766 rejected their overture. With every year as the number of ministers presented by patrons grew larger the Moderates grew more powerful, and finally in 1784 the Evangelicals formally abandoned their opposition.

The triumph was dearly bought. Parishioners who objected to the gifts or conversation of a minister appointed by the local landowner had a remedy at hand; they simply left the parish church and joined the nearest congregation of seceders. They suffered no penalty; no social stigma was attached to

<sup>1</sup> A remnant of the Cameronians had refused to enter the Church of Scotland in William III's reign, and formed the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

## INTELLECTUAL RENAISSANCE

them ; they found themselves within a Church which held the same doctrines and with one exception was governed in the same way as the Church which they had left. Thus at the end of the century the Church of Scotland had ceased to be a national Church in the fullest sense of the word. That was not all. The defenders of patronage argued that under no other system would men whose abilities were more solid than showy have the same chance of obtaining a church. It was absurd to think that Robertson the historian should be refused a call to a church because a parcel of rustics could not follow his arguments. But a loose-living, hard-drinking, unlettered country gentleman was by no means the best judge of a minister's qualifications, and Lord Cockburn noticed that from the day that the Evangelicals abandoned the struggle against patronage "the clergy began to go down." The larger party "had no principle superior to that of obsequious allegiance to patrons ; the other, devoting itself entirely to the religion of the lower orders, had no taste or ambition for anything higher than that which religion required, or could, to ordinary minds, suggest." For fifty years little was heard of the controversy over patronage ; but the triumph of the political reformers in 1832 encouraged the supporters of democratic institutions within the Church, and the struggle began anew. For ten years it continued, till in 1843 the Evangelicals seceded from the Church of Scotland and founded the Free Church. But these events lie without the limits of this history.

## EDUCATION

At the beginning of the eighteenth century education in Scotland, though it was in some respects far in advance of that of every other country in Europe, still left much to be desired. In theory there was a competent schoolmaster in every parish, with a school-house and a salary of not less than a hundred marks Scots (£5 sterling), and not more than two hundred marks, supplemented by the scholars' fees. In reality all three—schoolmaster, school-house, and salary—were sometimes wanting. Sometimes the schoolmaster had to teach in a barn or in his

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own kitchen ; sometimes his salary fluctuated violently from year to year or vanished altogether. Not till 1803 was the parish schoolmaster guaranteed a minimum salary of three hundred marks Scots, with a house of not more than two rooms. It was natural that men of learning and talent should refuse to enter a profession where the remuneration was less than that of a ploughman ; still, an education of a sort was within the reach of almost every child in Scotland. When he reached the age of eight or nine the country youth went to the grammar-school of the neighbouring burgh, where he remained for five or six years. At the mature age of fourteen he was ready to enter the university, equipped with a fair knowledge of Latin and some Greek. In the early years of the eighteenth century the system of regenting was not extinct. The students when they first matriculated were entrusted to one regent or tutor, who guided them through the whole of their four years' course and lectured on every subject in the college curriculum, but before the middle of the century this absurd institution, like the custom of delivering lectures in Latin, had completely disappeared. The student who entered St Andrews University usually attended the classes for Latin and Greek in all the sessions of his course ; in the second and succeeding years he attended, rather unwillingly, the class for mathematics. His second year also found him wandering in the mazes of logic and metaphysics, ethics and pneumatics bewildered him in his third year, and in his fourth year the professor of natural philosophy introduced him to science. At seventeen or eighteen, if he cared to pay the fees, which he seldom did, he became a Master of Arts. Dr Johnson's incisive criticism was far from unjust : "The students, for the most part, go hither boys and depart before they are men ; they carry with them little fundamental knowledge, and so the superstructure cannot be lofty." At the same time it must not be forgotten that the universities were truly national institutions, open to all but the poorest in the community. "A student of the highest class," wrote Johnson, "may keep his annual class, or, as the English call it, his term, which lasts seven months,

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for about fifteen pounds, and one of lower rank for less than ten ; in which board, lodging, and instruction are all included."

In the earlier half of the eighteenth century the student who had completed his Arts course and wished to enter the profession of law or medicine had usually to go abroad—not to France, as his ancestors had done, but to the Dutch universities of Leyden or Groningen. The Scottish universities did, indeed, confer degrees in medicine, but they had no medical schools, and any apothecary's apprentice who could produce a certificate from two physicians could count upon being capped M.D. Some practising physicians dispensed with even this meagre qualification ; they assumed the title of 'Doctor,' certain that the average invalid would not refuse to swallow their nauseous decoctions of mummy, toad, or wood-lice, or to pay their fees. But in the second half of the eighteenth century the Scottish student of medicine no longer required to go to foreign universities. Glasgow had a splendid medical school ; the reputation of Edinburgh was world-wide, and youths came from England and the Continent to fill the lecture-rooms in the new college buildings. In 1750 there had been only sixty medical students in Edinburgh University ; in 1800 there were six hundred and sixty.

### ART AND LITERATURE

Great as were the achievements of Scotsmen in science and invention after the middle of the eighteenth century, they were surpassed by the triumphs in art, literature, and philosophy. "The spring came slowly up the way." For more than a century and a half the Presbyterian clergy had frowned on plays, romances, and poems and stifled any attempt at philosophical inquiry. The artist could no longer carve his dreams in the stone of cathedral or abbey church ; his few patrons, bailies and country lairds, did not understand mythological subjects, had no taste for landscapes, and wanted nothing beyond portraits of themselves and their wives. An occasional Spaniard or Dutchman appeared north of the

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Tweed, painted a few portraits at twenty or thirty shillings apiece, and speedily retreated to England.

### THOMSON, RAMSAY, AND FERGUSSON

But before the middle of the century one or two heralds of the coming renaissance had appeared. Thomson's *Seasons* continued the old Scottish poetical tradition of full and exact description of natural scenes ; as in Gawain Douglas's Prologues, the construction of elaborate word-picture has become an end in itself. Allan Ramsay, the jovial, round-paunched wig-maker, who set up as bookseller in the High Street of Edinburgh under the sign of Mercury, deserves to be remembered for more than his actual achievement as a poet. His pastoral play of *The Gentle Shepherd*, with its faithful transcripts from Scottish rural life, his spirited descriptive poems, and his songs, full of vigour and rollicking humour, have still a certain clumsiness in the handling, a lack of the magical touch of genius ; but he loved the old ballads and the poetry of the forgotten makars of the time of James IV, he saw, though but dimly, the beauty which could be evoked from the obscenity of the popular songs, with their ancient, haunting music, and he set himself to give back to Scotland the priceless heritage of poetry from which she had turned away in contempt. And it must never be forgotten that it was he who handed on the torch to Burns. Another poet whom Burns mentioned with reverence was Robert Fergusson, the drunken law clerk who died in a mad-house at the age of twenty-four. His poetry is narrower in its scope than that of Ramsay, but of far higher quality ; its light-hearted mirth, playful satire, vivid and spirited descriptions of nature, and felicitous use of the Scottish tongue at once challenge comparison with the work of Burns. But he lacks the passion and broad humanity of the later poet.

### HISTORIANS AND PHILOSOPHERS

Neither Ramsay nor Fergusson, for all their merits, can rank among the giants of the world of letters, and time has

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confounded the verdicts of those who classed ‘Potato’ Wilkie’s *Epigoniad* with Homer, or cried gleefully, “Whaur’s your Wullie Shakespeare noo?” when Home’s stilted tragedy of *Douglas* ravished boxes and gallery alike. Time has dealt unkindly with the reputation of Principal Robertson, whose histories of Scotland, America, and Charles V were held to be equal in merit to Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall*, and has even robbed Smollett’s boisterous merriment of some of its power to please. But the slipshod construction of Smollett’s novels, the occasional coarseness and the tendency to caricature, should not make the modern reader insensible to the lively invention, unflagging high spirits, and shrewd worldly wisdom which is apparent in almost every page of his books. If the reader has never met characters like Strap or Winifred Jenkins in real life then the loss is his. And it must not be forgotten that one of the most vivid and truthful descriptions of eighteenth-century Scotland is to be found in the pages of *Humphry Clinker*, and that adventures like those of Roderick Random befell many a Scottish youth who set out to seek his fortune with no more capital than a shrewd brain and a stock of ambition. Thomas Reid, too, who once had a European reputation as a philosopher, now interests the student of philosophy little more than Beattie, who in a vast allegorical canvas by Sir Joshua Reynolds is shown trampling Hume and Voltaire under his feet. Even the triple brass of Hume’s reputation has weathered in curious fashion. His *History*, which his contemporaries regarded as his greatest work, is now neglected; those disconcerting essays which troubled the orthodox are all but forgotten; but *The Treatise of Human Nature*, which “fell stillborn from the Press” in 1739, has placed him at the head of British philosophers, above Locke himself. It carried the arguments of Locke and Berkeley to a disturbing conclusion, a conclusion which woke Kant from his “dogmatic slumbers” and diverted the current of philosophical speculation in Europe.

Nearly a century and a half has passed since that absent and retired speculator, Adam Smith, published his *Wealth of*

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*Nations*, yet he has not lost his pre-eminence among political economists. And while many stately galleons, top-heavy with learning, are now covered by the grey waters of oblivion, Boswell's little sloop has weathered the storms of a century. Of all those who listened with amusement or contempt to the pert little advocate as he related his triumphs in love or sneered at a Highland chief whose hospitality he had enjoyed or bragged of the great men he had met at the Literary Club, how many dreamt that he would compose books which would be read with delight when Robertson's great histories were forgotten ?

But Hume and Adam Smith, though each is pre-eminent in his own sphere, and Boswell, though he is the prince of biographers, are not Scottish men of letters in the fullest sense of the word. "I am, I flatter myself," says Boswell, "a complete citizen of the world," and to write like a citizen of the world was the ambition of more than the artless 'Bozzy.' In their writings Hume and Reid, Robertson and Smollett, with all the greater and lesser lights of the academic world, spared no pains to conceal their Scottish origin. They laboriously learned English, for in their speech they still used the vigorous and racy Scottish dialect, they drew up long lists of Scotticisms, so that they might know what to avoid, and sent their proofs to be revised by English friends so that any offensive phrase might be struck out. In this respect they formed a complete contrast to Burns and Scott, who knew that the fear of being provincial is itself a sign of provincialism.

### ROBERT BURNS

It is the fashion to regard Burns as an original genius who became a great poet in spite of his environment and in spite of his defective education. Original and mighty genius he certainly was, but he was the last and greatest member of a school of poets rather than the founder of one. It is true that his verses in the style of Pope and Gray, with their Celias and Clarindas, "deluded swains" and "orient plains," are

## PLATE LXII

ADAM SMITH





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frigid and feeble productions ; it is true that he knew Dunbar and the mediaeval Scottish poets only by repute ; it is true that the old ballads moved him only to parody. But the old Scottish poetical traditions, the old Scottish forms of versification, had survived in Ramsay and Fergusson, poets whom he regarded with all the humility of a disciple. He knew what they had wanted to do, saw in spite of himself that their vision had sometimes been dim and that their hand had sometimes slipped, " pieced out their starved design " and achieved the perfection at which they had only hinted. This magical power of divining what another poet meant to say and saying it for him is shown at its highest in his lyrics. Nothing more original than these songs can be conceived ; they are the spontaneous utterances of a brilliant, wayward, lovable personality ; and yet hardly one of them is absolutely original.

It must be remembered that the Presbyterian clergy had not been able to kill the love of poetry and song ; at the most they had perverted it. The Border widow still lulled her child to sleep by crooning half-remembered fragments of some old ballad ; at the shearing, or the penny wedding, or the ' daft days ' after the New Year songs by forgotten poets, set to haunting tunes—some of them four centuries old—were still sung. But it was seldom that the beauty of the music was equalled by the beauty of the words. Though lyrics like " O waly, waly up yon braes " and " Aye waukin' O " could be altered only for the worse, in many cases the words were as obscene as they were vigorous, and often a verse or a line alive with magical power was to be found isolated in a stupid and colourless poem. Ramsay and Fergusson before Burns's day, Scott and Hogg after his death, saw that these lyrics meant far more than they actually expressed, but for one or two lyrics that were transformed and made immortal by these poets we can mention scores that were transmuted by the white fire of Burns's genius into the pure gold of song.

Nor was the environment in which Burns spent his days hostile to the development of his genius. It is true that

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the society in which he lived—ploughmen, weavers, and bonnet lairds, gaugers and innkeepers, serving-maids and gipsies—was neither noble nor learned ; still, that very fact gives a high distinction to his verse. Though we cannot compare him with a high and austere genius like Milton, who lived in a world of his own imagining, or with a poet like Shelley, or Byron, whose verse was the expression of his own splendid and wayward personality, still he has a gift which they lack, that gift which has raised him so high in the affection of his countrymen, the power of thinking, or rather feeling, himself into the nature of other men. He did not describe Tam o' Shanter from the outside ; for the time he *was* Tam o' Shanter. It is a gift that he shares with Browning ; but, unlike Browning, he had no taste for the bizarre or the remote ; he does not bore his way into the mind of a mediaeval artist or cleric ; he is content to give utterance to the feelings of the tinker, the bibulous farmer, or the bashful, heavy-footed ploughman. "The Jolly Beggars" is generally regarded as his greatest achievement in this branch of his poetic craft, but evidences of this peculiar skill are to be found on every page of his verse. Look at this picture of innocence :

O leeze me on <sup>1</sup> my spinnin'-wheel,  
O leeze me on my rock and reel;  
Frae tap to tae that eeldees me bien <sup>2</sup>  
And haps me fiel <sup>3</sup> and warm at e'en !  
I'll set me down and sing and spin,  
While laigh descends the simmer sun,  
Blest wi' content, and milk and meal—  
O leeze me on my spinnin'-wheel !

and then turn to :

O guid ale comes, and guid ale goes,  
Guid ale gars me sell my hose,  
Sell my hose and pawn my shoon ;  
Guid ale keeps my heart aboon !

or to :

I've lived a life of sturt and strife ;  
I die by treacherie :  
It burns my heart I must depart  
And not avengèd be.

<sup>1</sup> Command me to.

<sup>2</sup> Comfortably.

<sup>3</sup> Well.

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## INTELLECTUAL RENAISSANCE

In each case the description of character is perfect. But it is more than description of character. What Burns did for individuals he also did for rural society as a whole. Customs and institutions that have long since perished—the ‘holy fairs,’ the frolics at Hallowe’en, the penny weddings, the dances at harvest-time, the solemnities of the Scottish Sabbath—live again in his pages. The catholicity of his genius is indeed remarkable. In the slender volume of his works you will find satire and pathos, melancholy, quiet content, and wild merriment, love in all its aspects, from mere animalism in “The Jolly Beggars” to the coy, half-conscious affection of the girl in “Tam Glen” and the tragic passion of “Ae Fond Kiss” or “The Farewell.” Some would deny to him that magical glamour which is looked on as the exclusive property of the Celtic poet, but these critics have forgotten one astonishing fragment :

The winds were laid, the air was still,  
The stars they shot along the sky ;  
The fox was howling on the hill,  
And the distant-echoing glens reply ;

or,

The cauld blue north was streaming forth  
Her lights, wi’ hissing, eerie din :  
Athort the lift<sup>1</sup> they start and shift,  
Like fortune’s favours, tint as win.<sup>2</sup>

## WALTER SCOTT

As truly national was the genius of Walter Scott. He was born in the old town of Edinburgh; his youth was passed, partly in Edinburgh, partly in the storied Border country; his father’s position brought him into contact, while he was still a youth, with those veterans of the republic of letters who had made Edinburgh famous; his duties in connexion with the law courts took him to the Highlands at a time when they were unknown to the tourist. Among his friends he numbered men who had fought at Culloden; on his raids into the Border country he came on many an old crone whose mind was a storehouse of ballads and stories. His early days

<sup>1</sup> Across the sky.

<sup>2</sup> Lost as won.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

were spent in an age of transition, when Edinburgh was still dirty and romantic and hospitable, when its inhabitants still seemed as full of crabbed individuality as the houses in which they lived, when the broad Scottish speech was still heard on the lips of great ladies and old customs were dying, but dying hard. It was in this antique world that passed away before he reached manhood that he had his spiritual home.

It cannot be denied that Scott's reputation as a novelist is somewhat tarnished ; for the historical novel is essentially a *tour de force*, and his prose fictions in almost every case took the form of historical novels. But it must not be forgotten that Scott was constitutionally impatient of change—a proposal to reform the venerable and somewhat decrepit Court of Session brought tears to his eyes ; from boyhood he had been a lover of lost causes and “dead men out of mind.” He could laugh at himself, and heartily too—for the *Antiquary* is one long satire on himself ; but even if he had wished he could not have changed his backward-looking mind, any more than he could avoid speaking to a Frenchman in the tongue of Villehardouin or de Joinville. So he must not be confounded with the purveyor of ‘tusherie,’ who ‘gets up’ a period as a lawyer crams himself with special knowledge which he will forget as soon as his case is decided. Even then one must admit that in *Ivanhoe* and *Kenilworth*, *Woodstock* and *The Talisman*, the novels by which he is most widely known in England, there is too much stucco and painted canvas and too little stone and mortar. But this charge cannot be brought against novels like *Quentin Durward* or *The Fortunes of Nigel* ; there he has not paltered with his conscience at the behest of the publisher, neither has he laboriously pieced together carefully gathered data into the lifeless semblance of a story ; he has only recorded faithfully what he saw. For he found his Earthly Paradise in the past. From old chronicles, the echoes of old ballads, forgotten statutes, and plays in which no actor has appeared for three centuries, he could build up a world of his own, as real to him as the world outside his windows in 39 Castle Street, peopled

## INTELLECTUAL RENAISSANCE

with living men and women. The portrait of Louis XI in *Quentin Durward* is an achievement that has been excelled by no historian or historical novelist ; for a century historians have mistaken the shambling, hesitating, humorous pedant in *The Fortunes of Nigel* for the real King James, that dexterous and energetic plotter.

If the charge of unreality cannot with justice be brought against books like these, still less can it be levelled at those books in which he wrote of the country which he loved so passionately and the society which he knew through and through. *Guy Mannering* and *The Antiquary*, *Old Mortality* and *Rob Roy*, *The Heart of Midlothian* and that strangely neglected book *Redgauntlet*, into which he put more of himself than was his custom, have no taint of artifice about them. Though they are pictures of a society which in Scott's later days had become only a memory, their vitality and truth cannot be denied.

It was fortunate that Scott lived when he did, before the Industrial Revolution and the increased facilities for travelling deprived Scottish society of much of its colour and individuality by standardizing language and manners all over the country. And what a quaint, charming, multi-coloured world it is through which the wizard guides us ! Again we see the crabbed old laird, Milnwood or Dumbiedykes, sitting at the board-head among his servants, again we listen to the racy speech of those hard-headed and self-important dependents, like Cuddie Headrigg or Andrew Fairservice, or to the haunting, old-world tunes or tales of diablerie with which the blind fiddler charms his companions as he tramps over the moors of Galloway. Nor does the spell break when he leads us to his "own romantic town," among the humorous judges and crazed suitors, whimsical lawyers, stately old ladies, caddies, merchants, and decrepit City Guards. He, more than any one else, rescued Highland manners and ways of thought from oblivion. Nowhere is the tragedy of the conflict between an old and a new social order shown with more power than in the poignant little tale of *The Highland Widow*. This is

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Scott's most remarkable achievement ; in his wizard glass eighteenth-century Scotland is reflected with unerring fidelity, and at the same time appears clothed with magical light.

Time has dealt more harshly with his swinging, careless verse. His metrical romances are as exasperating as they are entertaining, for he seemed to write extempore, and one can hardly find half a dozen lines without a bad rhyme or a slip in grammar or a redundant epithet. But there were times when the fire of his inspiration burned more brightly, when he wrote, not to please his public, but to please himself, and scorned the faltering line or trivial phrase. To such moods we owe those imitations of old ballads which are veritable old ballads—"Rosabelle," or "The Battle of Harlaw," or that astonishing fragment "The Gray Brother,"—and the snatches of song scattered through the narrative poems and novels. Think of the lyrics to be found on two pages of *The Heart of Midlothian*—the harvest song :

Our work is over—over now,  
The goodman wipes his weary brow,  
The last long wain wends slow away,  
And we are free to sport and play ;

then the hymn of the dying Christian ; then a fragment that has the authentic ring of the old ballad :

Cauld is my bed, Lord Archibald,  
And sad my sleep of sorrow ;  
But thine shall be as sad and cauld,  
My fause true-love ! to-morrow ;

and finally the unearthly music of "Proud Maisie" :

Proud Maisie is in the wood,  
Walking so early ;  
Sweet Robin sits on the bush,  
Singing so rarely.

"Tell me, thou bonny bird,  
When shall I marry me ?"  
"When six braw gentlemen  
Kirkward shall carry ye."

Fragments like these, or the noble lines in *Old Mortality*,

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Sound, sound the clarion, fill the fife !  
To all the sensual world proclaim,  
One crowded hour of glorious life  
Is worth an age without a name,

will outlast the ambitiously conceived and carelessly executed descriptive passages which charmed the public in the poet's own day.

### PAINTERS AND ARCHITECTS

Until the close of the eighteenth century Scotland produced no artist of genius, though Allan Ramsay the younger was more than a talented portrait-painter. It is true that there was little encouragement for painters or architects in Scotland. Allan Ramsay's patrons belonged almost wholly to English society ; Gibbs, the first Scottish architect of note since the Reformation, took the southward road to England, where he gained some renown as the designer of St Martin-in-the-Fields and the Radcliffe Library. Robert Adam and his three brothers—the Adelphi—followed Gibbs's example, and not only became the most fashionable practitioners of the severe and formal Palladian style of architecture, but won fame as designers of furniture and decorations for houses, always graceful, if sometimes a little niggling and trivial.

### HENRY RAEBURN

But there can be no question of the genius of Henry Raeburn or of its strong national character. Born in Edinburgh in 1756, he spent all his days there except eighteen months occupied by the inevitable visit to Rome. Unlike his younger rival, Wilkie, he was the heir of no secular tradition ; he belonged to no school except the school which he founded. He was one of the few great painters who confined themselves solely to portraiture ; but there can be no question of his pre-eminence in his own sphere. In his handling of atmosphere he has been compared to Velasquez or the modern French masters ; his concentration on the essential features of his subject and disregard of detail, again, seem an anticipation of modern

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

methods. Of such things a layman is not qualified to speak ; it is sufficient to say that competent critics rank him above both Reynolds and Gainsborough. Yet one gift of his every layman can appreciate, the gift of conveying to canvas not only the outward appearance, but something of the personality of his sitters—*manus animam pinxit*. And fortunately his unique qualities as a portrait-painter were exercised at a time when he had sitters worthy of his genius ; he painted Scott three times ; to his studio came every distinguished man in Scotland except Robert Burns—and in the forty years before the painter's death in 1823 the Intellectual Renaissance in Scotland reached its height. Generals and purple-faced judges, philosophers, statesmen, Highland chiefs, and leaders of the Church are snatched from oblivion by his craft. And not only these, but unrecorded common folk share the painter's immortality—bailies and merchants, schoolmasters and country lairds, old ladies with shrewd, kindly faces, and young women with faces that knew the sun and the keen Scots winds. In short, his achievement resembles that of Scott in another sphere : he painted the soul of eighteenth-century Scotland.

### THE POLITICAL STATE OF SCOTLAND

It seems strange that in such an age of enlightenment as that just described political freedom should still be unknown in Scotland. In the whole of Scotland there were only about two thousand Parliamentary electors, and their qualification was determined neither by intellectual ability nor by wealth. In the counties the only electors were still the forty-shilling freeholders, but by an Act passed in 1681 forty shillings might mean anything from £70 to £400. This Act restricted the franchise to the holders of land assessed at forty shillings in the time of Alexander III and to those who had a property or superiority of the value of £400 Scots. But land which had been worth forty shillings in the thirteenth century was worth from £70 to £130 at the close of the eighteenth century, and in the hundred years following the passing of the Act of 1681 land increased in value from £400 Scots, or £33 6s. 8d. sterling,

## INTELLECTUAL RENAISSANCE

to £400 sterling. So the election of the county members was controlled by a few great landowners.

This was not the only defect in the county franchise. The alternative qualification for a vote, as we have seen, was the possession of a property or superiority worth £400 a year. But the superiority might be a legal fiction ; it did not involve the possession of an inch of land. So in the eighteenth century it became the practice for landowners to increase their political power by conveying the superiority of part of their estates to their more docile tenants. The landlord was still the real owner ; but he had one vote more at his command.

Nor was the political state of the burghs any more healthy. The fifty or sixty burghs were divided into groups of four or five, and each group was represented in Parliament by one member. Edinburgh was the only burgh that had a member to itself. But the members of Parliament were not elected by the burgesses. Each of the four or five town councils in the electoral groups appointed a delegate, and these delegates chose the members. As the town councils elected themselves and as the delegates usually possessed itching palms the burgesses had not the slightest control over their nominal representatives.

## MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Municipal affairs were in no better state. Lord Cockburn describes the town councils as " sinks of political and municipal iniquity, steeped in the baseness which they propagated and types and causes of the corruption that surrounded them." They were simply cliques of adventurers sticking to office for what they could get out of it ; in many cases the officials did not even belong to the town, though an old statute forbade all but " honest and substantious burgesses " to sit on the burgh council. With short-sighted greed, the public lands were sold for a trifle. The town council of Wigtown, for example, asked a feu-duty of only £16 a year for land worth £400 a year ; the common lands of Kirkcaldy are now covered by a shed about ten feet square. Nor did the bailies and councillors

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think that they were removing their neighbours' landmarks when they added generous slices of the town common to their own property. The public revenues were wasted in similar fashion. Though the town council of Edinburgh at the end of the eighteenth century was spending annually £3000 of the ecclesiastical funds of the town, £400 which should have been given to indigent burgesses, and £1500 which had been illegally levied, it added about £6000 to its debts every year.

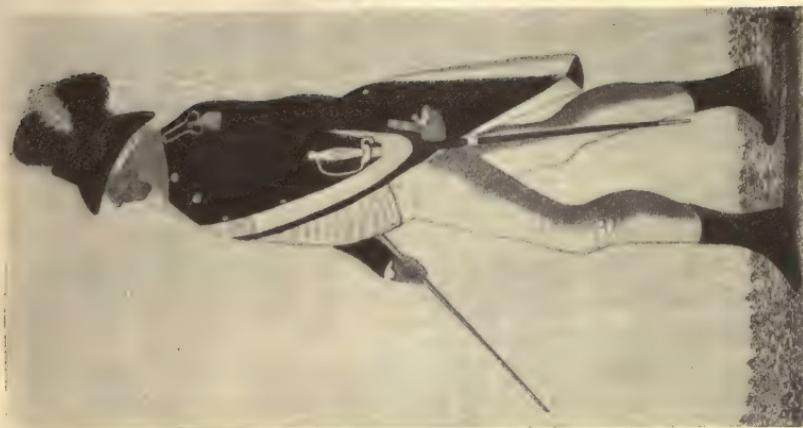
All protest was useless. As the town councils were self-elected, so also were they responsible only to themselves. Originally the burgh accounts had been submitted to the Lord Chamberlain, but when his office was abolished at the beginning of the sixteenth century there remained no check on municipal extravagance or dishonesty. It was suspected that many town councils, including the council of Edinburgh, disdained to keep accounts ; but no one could force these dignified and respectable magnates to be honest, and appeals to Parliament were met with the bland denial that any grievance existed.

### THE DUNDAS DESPOTISM

As a matter of fact the leaders of the dominant party in Parliament recognized the existence of absurdities in the government of Scotland, but they also recognized that their own predominance was dependent to a great extent on the maintenance of them. In the earlier half of the eighteenth century, when the Whigs were in power and the Whig Duke of Argyll was uncrowned King of Scotland, the forty-five Scottish members in the Commons formed a solid phalanx of supporters for the Government ; at the end of the century, though the bulk of the lower and middle classes were Whigs, forty-three out of the forty-five Scottish representatives were Tories. The four or five delegates in the electoral group could easily be bribed ; only those town councillors who were Tories dared expect that their sons would receive appointments as Custom House officers or clerkships in the service of the East India Company. Most of the sheriffs and judges belonged to the party in power. As jurymen were selected

## PLATE LXIV

LORD BRAXFIELD





## INTELLECTUAL RENAISSANCE

by the judge from a list prepared by the sheriff of the county, Whig advocates knew why they lost such a large proportion of their cases. When Thomas Muir, a Radical, was tried for sedition in 1793, Lord Braxfield, the presiding judge, whispered to one of the jurors : " Come awa, Maister Horner, come awa, and help us to hang ane o' thae daamned scoondrels." Muir's chief offence was that he had advocated adult suffrage ; he was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation.

At the close of the eighteenth century the directing genius of the whole corrupt system was Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, the friend and colleague of Pitt. The alliance between the two statesmen, or rather between the statesman and the political adventurer, was formed in 1783, and for twenty-two years every public office in Scotland was at the disposal of Dundas. His appointment to be Treasurer to the Navy and directing member on the Board of Control of the East India Company strengthened his position enormously, and needy Scots Tories seldom went away empty from his door. At one time, of the general officers in the service of the East India Company, only three were not Scotsmen.

He was a common enough type of 'political boss' : good-humoured, frank, popular with his political opponents, with any amount of ability as a financier, and an organizer ; but he was a party man before he was a statesman and his devotion to party was tempered by his resolution that " he'd be the Vicar of Bray, sir." In his own day even Scott regarded him as a king among men. When he died his fellow countrymen erected an imitation of Trajan's Column to his memory ; to-day not one in a hundred of those who pass under the shadow of the great pillar knows whom it commemorates.

It is certain that all the skill of Dundas could not have swept back the tide of reform had it not been for the French Revolution. After 1792 any one who supported even the most moderate measure of political or municipal reform was regarded as a murderous revolutionary. " Even in private society," says Lord Cockburn, " a Whig was viewed somewhat as a Papist was in the days of Titus Oates. . . . Very

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

dear friendships were in many instances broken, and although the parties may have survived till age and changed times made long severance absurd, the reconciliation was always awkward and never true." To be present at a political meeting was a crime. In 1796 Henry Erskine, the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, the ablest debater and most brilliant wit in Scotland, was deprived of his office because he had the temerity to attend a Whig demonstration. The sentence of fourteen years transportation passed on Muir was by no means exceptional, as the obelisk on the Calton Hill, erected to commemorate the political martyrs of 1793 and 1794, bears witness.

### THE COMING OF POLITICAL FREEDOM

The appearance of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802 was the first sign of better days. Its editor, Francis Jeffrey, the most brilliant of that brilliant group of Whig lawyers who had kept alive the flame of political freedom, strove to convince the timorous middle classes that every Whig was not necessarily a howling Jacobin. Three years later the impeachment and trial of Lord Melville on a charge of peculation, though it resulted in his acquittal, dealt a fatal blow to his prestige in Scotland. "Our little great men," remarked Lord Cockburn, ". . . felt the precariousness of their power; and even the mildest friends of improvement . . . were relieved by seeing that the mainspring of the Scotch proconsular system was weakened."

But another quarter of a century had to pass before the advocates of political reform saw the long struggle come to an end. In the summer of 1832 the first Scottish Reform Bill received the Royal assent. The number of county members remained the same, but the qualification for free-holders was lowered and leaseholders were admitted to the franchise. At the same time landowners were no longer allowed to add to the number of voters by conferring empty superiorities on their tenants. Eight members were added to the burgh representatives, the system of election by



PLATE LXV. LORD JEFFREY



## EPILOGUE

delegates was abolished, and all householders who paid more than £10 a year in rent were allowed to vote.

Though this measure struck a heavy blow at the corrupt town councils, a heavier one was dealt in the following year, when the councils were deprived of the privilege of electing themselves. The municipal vote was now conferred on every burgess holding or occupying property worth more than £10 a year.

In the midst of these changes died Sir Walter Scott. He did not understand the new world in which he found himself, and his dying hours were disturbed by fears for the future of his country. More than eighty years have passed since that time, yet neither his fears nor the extravagant hopes of Jeffrey and Cockburn have been justified.

At this point, when the great magician is at the point of death, and “a trouble not of clouds or weeping rain” hangs over the valley of the Tweed, we shall take our leave of the story of Scotland.

## EPILOGUE

Much has happened since 1832. Eleven years later the Church of Scotland was rent asunder; Moderate and Evangelical could no longer dwell together, and the Evangelicals departed to form the Free Church. The bitterness left by the Disruption and the ten years conflict which preceded it has long since died away, lay patronage was abolished half a century ago, but the two Churches still remain separate, though they are now at one on every point of doctrine or ceremony.

The effects of the Industrial Revolution did not cease to be felt after 1832; the migration from the Highlands and Borders to the midland counties, from the country to the larger towns, continues to this day. Along with the change in the distribution of the population has gone an increase in the number of inhabitants. In 1831 the population of Scotland was 2,364,386; to-day it is more than double that number.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

But Scotland, in spite of the mineral wealth that is hidden in the central counties, in spite of the fertile soil of the Lothians, is not too well dowered with natural advantages. One cannot grow corn on the moors of Sutherland, or pasture great flocks of sheep on the rain-washed Hebrides ; barges cannot glide down the "thundering Spey" as if it were some slow-moving river in central England ; ironfields become exhausted in time ; and so the adventurous Scottish youth of the twentieth century, like the Scottish youth of the Middle Ages, crosses the seas in search of a fortune. In the decade before the War tens of thousands of emigrants left the Clyde every year, most of them bound for Canada. That the movement will continue there is little room for doubt, and some look forward with anxiety to a time when Scotland will be drained of its hardiest and most adventurous inhabitants, and only the timorous and the weakling will linger on, in a country from which the soul has departed. But the same danger threatened the country centuries ago.

It may seem that another danger threatens Scotland, the danger that she will cease to be a nation and will become part of England, just as Normandy and Burgundy have been absorbed into France. London, rather than Edinburgh, is the literary and artistic capital of Scotland. As the educated Scotsman of the eighteenth century strove to purge his writings of every Scotticism, so the middle-class Scotsman of the present day tries to divest his speech of every Scots word and—less successfully—of any trace of a Scots accent. Even the artisan and the ploughman have forgotten many of the racy old phrases which gave strength and colour to the speech of their fathers. The visitor will look in vain for any distinctive national costume ; the kilt has disappeared from the Highlands as completely as the round blue bonnet and coat of hodden grey from the Lowlands. But these changes are superficial. Let the patriotic Scot who laments that Scotland has become a second England live south of the Cheviots for a few years ; he will become aware that he is living in an alien civilization, with institutions that are new to him, among men whose ways of

## EPILOGUE

thinking, whose whole attitude to life, are radically different from his own.

Even the superficial differences between the two countries are great enough. By no possibility could one mistake a Scottish town for an English town ; the high-built tenements of grey stone in the modern parts of a Scottish city are as distinctive as the harled walls, crow-stepped gables, and red-tiled roofs of St Andrews or Linlithgow. In the country stone dykes take the place of the tangled English hedgerows ; the grey walls and dark blue roofs of the farmhouses would look bleak and uninviting beside an English farmhouse, with its walls of moss-grown brick and ancient timber and its roof of thatch or warm red tiles.

Not only does the Scotsman build his house differently ; he lives under different institutions. He cannot understand the difference between Church and Chapel. The great gulf fixed in England between the State religion and Dissent has no parallel in Scotland. In the great majority of cases he belongs either to the 'Auld Kirk' or to the 'United Free,' both of which are Presbyterian Churches. Should he go to law he takes his case to the sheriff court, for the Scottish sheriff has powers which his English namesake lost long ago. Should he not be satisfied with the sheriff's decision he appeals to the Court of Session, which is still the supreme civil and criminal court for Scotland, and from which appeal can be made only to the House of Lords.

But the differences between the two countries go deeper than this. Just because Scotland is a poor country where Nature is harsh and the fight for existence stern the average Scotsman is stung out of his complacency. Just because his environment is so unfriendly it obtrudes itself on his consciousness and forces him to reason himself into a definite attitude toward it. He may be tempted to prize a purely material good overmuch and be too careful in the hoarding of sixpences ; he may, on the other hand, conquer his environment by setting his heart on a non-material good and so become a philosopher : the point is that, compared with the Englishman, he is more

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restless, more enterprising, more dissatisfied. Thus one finds that while he dislikes change for the sake of change he is impatient of long-established compromises whose only reason for existing is that they have always existed ; he is usually a Radical, for example.

The Scottish zeal for education is another illustration of this attitude. The Scotsman does not want a certain kind of education for his son because it is proper to his class ; he wants his son to receive an education that will make him master of his fate. The Englishman, knowing that the Scottish universities are open to the very poorest scholar, contends that the average Scotsman is educated above his station. The Scotsman, even when he does not deny that such a thing as social status is worth troubling about, cannot see why it should be mixed up with education, since education will make a poor man rich, or, better still, show him how to live liberally even though he remains poor.

The conception, then, of the Scotsman as a more stolid and reserved Englishman is erroneous. The difference is not of degree, but of kind. His sense of humour is not more blunt ; the trouble is that he laughs at a different type of joke. If he does not have the emotional restlessness of the Southerner he has the more disturbing intellectual restlessness. He wants to get to grips with reality and will not be put off with appeals to immemorial custom or universally received opinion. And this makes him seem childish beside the average Englishman. He does not see why he should not talk about what he is interested in if he is to talk at all, so he seems at one time unduly reserved, at another time almost indecently communicative. He will probably boast inordinately of his country—is not the gibe at "*le brave Escossois*" as old as du Bellay ?—that sterile promontory with its history of bloodshed and baffled endeavour, but do not smile at his enthusiasm, for he sees what you cannot see, the soul of his perfervid and indomitable race.

## LIST OF IMPORTANT DATES

The numbers in parentheses indicate the page in the text in which the subject is first dealt with.

- 80–85. Agricola in Caledonia (1).
- 84. Battle of Mons Graupius (3).
- 122 (c.). Hadrian's Wall built (5).
- 140 (c.). Invasion of Lollius Urbicus (5). Antonine Wall built (6).
- 183 (c.). End of the Roman occupation of Caledonia (7).
- 208. Invasion by Septimius Severus (8).
- 397 (c.). Ninian brings Christianity to Caledonia (14).
- 498 (c.). Scots occupy Dalriada (15).
- 563. Coming of Columba (18).
- 664. Synod of Whitby (29).
- 844. Union of Pictish and Scottish kingdoms under Kenneth MacAlpin (35).
- 900–943. Reign of Constantine II (38).
- 937. Battle of Brunnenburgh (40).
- 945. Cumbria becomes a Scottish dependency (41).
- 1005–34. Reign of Malcolm II (44).
- 1018. Battle of Carham (45). Scotland extended to the Tweed on the south-east. Cumbria incorporated in the kingdom of Scotland.
- 1034–40. Reign of Duncan I (47).
- 1040–57. Reign of Macbeth (48).
- 1058–93. Reign of Malcolm III (Canmore) (58).
- 1068 (c.). Malcolm marries Margaret (59).
- 1072. William the Conqueror invades Scotland (62). Malcolm does homage to William (63).
- 1092. Southern half of Cumbria lost to Scotland (64).

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- 1097-1107. Reign of Edgar (67).  
1107-24. Reign of Alexander I (70).  
1124-53. Reign of David I (74). Rise of the burghs (78).  
1138. Battle of the Standard (81).  
1153-65. Reign of Malcolm IV ('the Maiden') (84).  
1165-1214. Reign of William the Lion (86).  
1174. William the Lion taken prisoner; humiliation of Scotland; Treaty of Falaise (88).  
1189. Scotland regains independence (94).  
1214-49. Reign of Alexander II (98).  
1249-86. Reign of Alexander III (106).  
1263. Haco's invasion (111). The battle of Largs (113).  
1266. The Isles gained for Scotland (115).  
1292. Balliol crowned (137).  
1295. First alliance with France (138).  
1296. Edward I's first invasion (140). Humiliation of Scotland (214). The Stone of Destiny brought to England (143).  
1297. Rise of Wallace (145). Battle of Stirling Bridge (147).  
1298. Battle of Falkirk (153).  
1305. Subjugation of Scotland. Capture and execution of Wallace (158).  
1306. Murder of Comyn (162). Bruce crowned (163).  
1306-29. Reign of Bruce (163).  
1314. Battle of Bannockburn (172).  
1326. Burghs represented in Parliament (186).  
1328. Treaty of Northampton (184).  
1329-71. Reign of David II (188).  
1332. Edward Balliol invades Scotland (190); crowned (192).  
1333-37. Edward III's invasions (194).  
1341. End of the Wars of Independence (198). Return of David (199).  
1346. Battle of Neville's Cross (202).  
1349. Great pestilence (203).  
1370. Creation of Committee of the Articles.  
1371-90. Reign of Robert II (207).  
1385. French forces in Scotland (214).

## IMPORTANT DATES

1388. Battle of Otterburn (217).  
1390–1406. Reign of Robert III (220).  
1402. Battle of Homildon Hill (223).  
1406. Capture of Prince James (224).  
1406–37. Reign of James I (225).  
1411. Battle of Harlaw (227).  
1412. University of St Andrews founded (first university in Scotland) (246).  
1420. Scots send an army to France (227).  
1421. Battle of Baugé (228).  
1424. James released (229). Battle of Verneuil (228).  
1437–60. Reign of James II (249).  
1451. University of Glasgow founded.  
1460–88. Reign of James III (259).  
1472. Orkney and Shetland annexed (260).  
1488. Battle of Sauchieburn (266).  
1488–1513. Reign of James IV (268).  
1495. University of Aberdeen founded (284).  
1496. First Education Act (284).  
1503. James marries Margaret Tudor (274).  
1507. The first printing-press in Scotland (284).  
1513. Battle of Flodden (295).  
1513–42. Reign of James V (298).  
1515. Albany Regent (299).  
1520. 'Cleanse the Causeway' (301).  
1528. James begins to rule (305).  
1532. College of Justice, or Court of Session, instituted (307).  
1537. James marries Madeleine of France (310).  
1538. James marries Mary of Guise (310).  
1540. The Isles annexed by the King (307).  
1542. Battle of Solway Moss. Birth of Mary (313).  
1542–67. Reign of Mary (321).  
1543. War with England (322).  
1544. Edinburgh burned (322).  
1545. Battle of Ancrum Moor (323).  
1546. Martyrdom of George Wishart. Murder of Cardinal Beaton (324).

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- 1547. Battle of Pinkie (325).
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1920-7-28 K. & R. A. J.  
Spiraling and ribbed leaf  
Climbing vine with small, thin  
leaves, 1-2 cm. long, 1-2 mm. wide,  
sparsely pubescent, with short  
hairs. Leaflets 4-10, all oppo-  
site, elliptic-lanceolate, 1-2 cm.  
long, 0.5-0.8 cm. wide, acute at  
the apex, rounded at the base,  
pubescent, with short hairs.  
Petioles 1-2 cm. long, pubescent,  
with short hairs. Stems pubescent,  
with short hairs. Flowers yellow,  
solitary, 1-1.5 cm. long, 1-1.5 cm.  
wide, with a short pedicel. Corolla  
about 1.5 cm. long, 1.5 cm. wide,  
slightly pubescent, with short hairs.  
Lip about 1.2 cm. long, 1.2 cm. wide,  
slightly pubescent, with short hairs.  
Ovary pubescent, with short hairs.  
Stamens 4, inserted on the upper part  
of the lip. Ovary pubescent, with short hairs.  
Style pubescent, with short hairs.  
Stigma pubescent, with short hairs.  
Pods 1-2 cm. long, 0.5-0.8 cm. wide,  
slightly pubescent, with short hairs.

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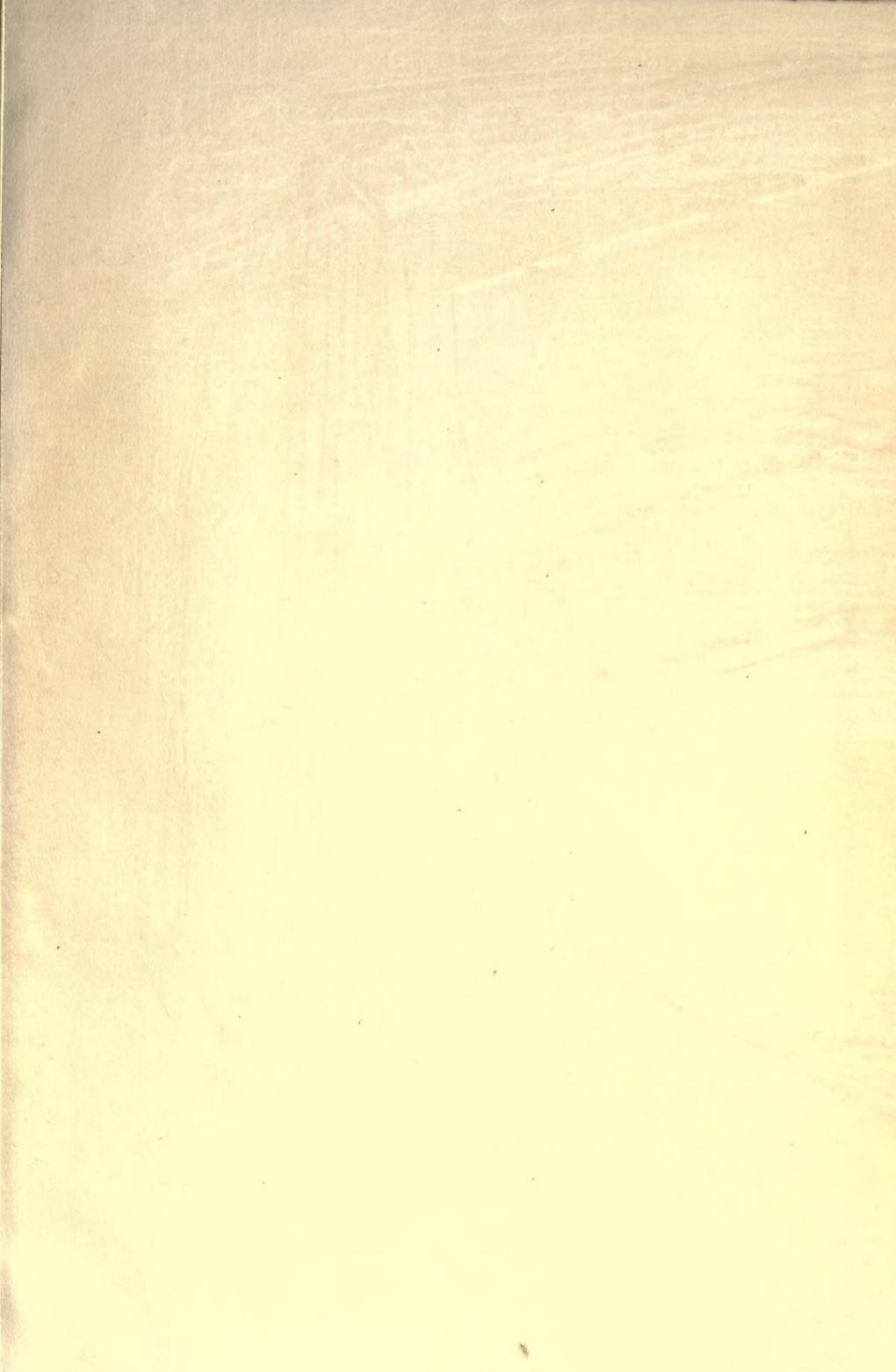
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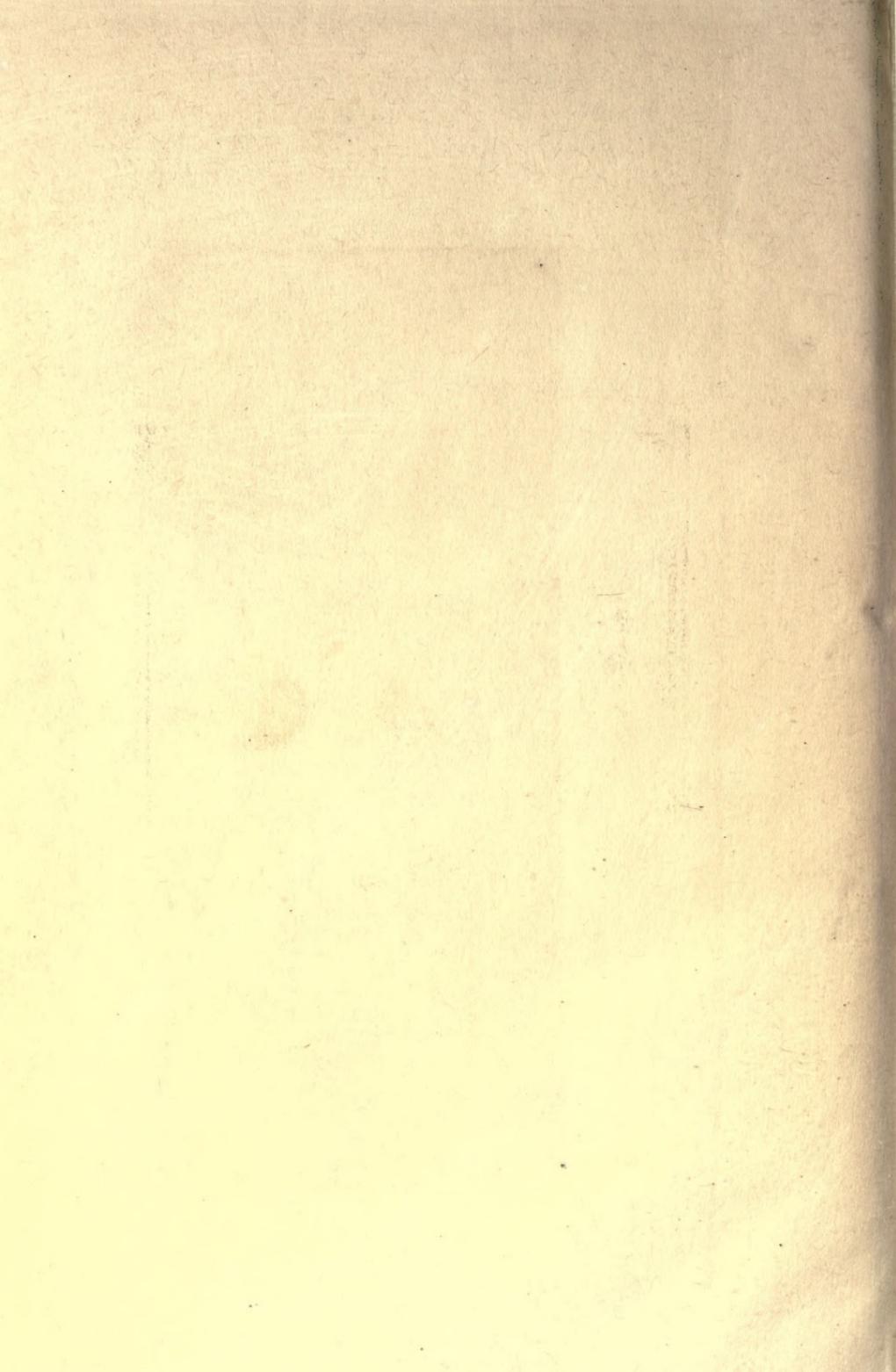
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